

LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA

LSI

SIKKIM

PART-I



LANGUAGE DIVISION
OFFICE OF THE REGISTRAR GENERAL, INDIA

CONTENTS

Foreword		iii - v
Preface		vi – xi
Acknowledgement		xii - xiii
Abbreviations and Symbols		xiv - xvi
List of Maps		xvii
Introduction	Kakali Mukherjee	1- 23
	Bhotia Group	24-201
Bhotia and its comparison with Tibetan	Kakali Mukherjee	26-148
Sherpa	S. Ganesh Baskaran	149-201
	Pronominalised Himalayan Group	202-327
Limbu	P. Perumal Samy	204-279
Rai	R. Nakkeerar	280-327
	Non-Pronominalised Himalayan Group	328-674
Lepcha	S. Ganesh Baskaran	330-387
Tamang	P. Perumal Samy	388-455
Gurung	R. Nakkeerar	456-498
Newari	S. Ganesh Baskaran	499-560
Mangari	S. Ganesh Baskaran	561-613
Sunwar	S. Ganesh Baskaran	614-674
	Comparative Lexicons of 11 Languages	675-721
	Pronominalised Group	675-691
	Non-Pronominalised Group	692-721

FOREWORD

The Linguistic Survey of India is an ongoing research project of Government of India, Office of the Registrar General, India, Language Division since Sixth Five Year Plan. The Office of the Registrar General, India working in its survey program for nearly 30 years, is aware of the difference between state based study and the language based study of a region. The States have boundaries whereas the languages don't. This has different implications for states as well as languages. From idiolect to dialect, dialect to language, different kinds of contacts leading from bilingualism, trilingualism to multilingualism and creation of pidgins and creoles, are dimensions to be discovered by a linguistic survey. What is most important is the grammar of each of the languages and varieties concerned. It is to be understood that a linguistic survey opens up avenues for the study of language pedagogy, language and ethnicity, language and society, language and mind, language and communication and language and politics. The Registrar General, India is aware of the interdisciplinary nature of the survey and the role of linguists. A little publicized and academically less understood organization, it has been rendering yeomen's service to the country.

I feel immense pleasure in presenting the LSI-Sikkim volume - the third presentation of Post-Griersonian Linguistic Survey of India Series. This is the part of our continuing efforts to present the Language profile of the country State by State. The survey operations in the state of Sikkim were started in 1995 and these continued upto 2000, covering the investigations on Bhotia and Tibetan, Lepcha, Limbu, Sherpa, Rai, Tamang, Newari, Gurung, Mangari, and Sunwar. In 2008, there was another visit for updating of the linguistic data and for collecting Sociolinguistic information for this volume.

All the way, starting with Orissa, traversing then Dadra & Nagar Haveli, Bihar, West Bengal, Sikkim, and Rajasthan (partly) the LSI-Series has reached Himachal Pradesh for field survey operations presently. Orissa and Dadra & Nagar Haveli volumes having been released already, Sikkim is

making its way to be listed in the series. The publication of LSI-Rajasthan (Part-I) is in line, which will be followed by subsequent presentation of LSI-West Bengal, LSI-Bihar, LSI-Himachal Pradesh, LSI-Rajasthan (Part-II) and others. The Survey is planning thereafter to cover the Southern part and North Eastern part of India before its advent towards the other left out parts of the country.

The present volume brings out the linguistic situation of Sikkim state in the historical, political and social background. The peculiarity of the linguistic composition of the state lies in the existence of Nepali, the only language of Indo-Aryan family, as the first most populous language amidst various Tibeto-Burman ethno-linguistic communities. Being the most populous language as well as the language used for education, administration etc., Nepali has emerged as the superposed language of the state. The immigrant Bhutias (the descendents of the Tibetan) has become the second populace followed by the other major settlers of the land originally inhabited by the Limbus, Lepchas and others. This background frames the existence of the groups and sub-groups of Tibeto-Burman linguistic communities in the land of Sikkim- the Himalayan Queen.

It is a tremendous achievement to capture the neglected visible languages. But there are many ignored and invisible languages. Because of urbanization, displacement of population due to industrialization and modernization, pressure of dominant languages that smaller and marginalized languages are under threat. Unless a conscious effort is made to describe, revive and preserve them, valuable national heritage will be lost.

So far, the only comprehensive study of Indian languages referred to at the national and international level has been the *Linguistic Survey of India* 1894-1927 Sir George Abraham Grierson. The study gives an overall language profile of the pre-independent country in a totality. But the coverage of languages under the Tibeto-Burman family was not as elaborate as the coverage of the Indo-Aryan family. This might be due to scant availability of data on Tibeto-Burman languages as survey material. The present Volume is

a humble attempt to speak, among others, on the Tibeto-Burman languages of the Eastern part of the country.

As there is no Sir George Grierson now, deficiencies are bound to be there in descriptions. I hope some of the deficiencies would be addressed by the Linguistic Survey of India.

The volume has been prepared with descriptions on important languages of the state of Sikkim. The document, undoubtedly, would be useful as it will provide insight into linguistic picture of Sikkim at a glance to the researchers, planners and data users.

I must place on record the extensive efforts put in by the team led by Shri Devender Kumar Sikri, the Special Secretary and Registrar General, India and Census Commissioner, India in bringing out this Report.

New Delhi

November, 2009

Professor D. P. Pattanayak

-----O-----

PREFACE

Linguistic Survey of India - a monumental survey of Indian languages by Sir George Abraham Grierson, is a publication widely known across India to the scholars of Linguistics, Anthropology and other Social Science disciplines. The publication is covered in 19 parts, 11 volumes and 9440 pages plus *addenda minora*. The span of this production was from 1894-1927 (LSI.Vol-1. pt-I. p-17), a period when the geopolitical boundaries of the Indian subcontinent included Afghanistan, Baluchistan, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Burma. These are not part of India at present.

The need for a survey of all the languages exclusively spoken in India in the post independence period is long felt. This was followed by a proposal to Government of India resulting in assignment of a fresh Linguistic Survey of India Project to Office of the Registrar General, India, Language Division in 6th five year plan. Accordingly, a fresh Linguistic Survey of India project was initiated in 1984. The project is now one of the regular activities of the Division.

The sole objective of the present Linguistic Survey of India is to present an updated linguistic scenario, taking into account the changes in our society as well as in our language resources, thereby making it imperative on the part of linguists to see the changes taken place in Indian languages after Grierson's study. It will also provide necessary inputs to the social/educational planners in the respective States for their planning to attain the envisaged goals. With this objective, survey of languages/mother tongues have been undertaken by this Division state by state based on language returns in decennial census and specially keeping the language census tradition of India in view.

The first in the series of Linguistic Survey of India, undertaken by Language Division of the Office of the Registrar General, India (Ministry of Home Affairs of Government of India), is the LSI-Special Studies-Orissa, published in 2002. The publication has been followed by LSI-Special Study Series-Dadra and Nagar Haveli published in 2003. The present volume, i.e., LSI-Sikkim, is, in fact, part of continuous presentation of language profile of the country-state by state. Our fourth volume on the state of Rajasthan (Part-I) is in the line which will be followed by LSI-West Bengal, LSI-Bihar, LSI-Himachal Pradesh, LSI-Rajasthan (Part-II) etc.

The present volume of Sikkim, prepared and presented as Part-I, does not include the description of Nepali the first populous language of Sikkim. It has been planned to give a detailed description of Nepali spoken in Sikkim along with a comprehensive and comparative study of Nepali, surveyed in other parts of India (West Bengal, Himachal Pradesh etc.), in the volume of Sikkim - Part-II. The present volume has been presented in **eleven** Chapters. Chapter One provides the introduction covering a) The history of Sikkim and its people, their linguistic composition, ethnicity and sociolinguistic information of the state; b) Grierson's classification about the languages spread in Sikkim; c) The mode of survey of the languages under the present volume; d) The brief introduction about the Linguistic as well as tribal communities under survey and; e) The distribution of the language/mother tongue speakers along with Bilingualism as per the availability in census. The linguistic profile of Sikkim by specific maps has been exhibited at appropriate places in various Chapters. The presentation of the languages, surveyed for the Volume has followed the broad division of Tibeto Himalayan Branch under the Tibeto-Burman languages where Bhotia, Tibetan and Sherpa comprise the Bhotia group and Limbu-Rai come under the Pronominalised Division whereas remaining languages are the members of Non-Pronominalised Himalayan group. Accordingly, the languages of Bhotia group have been presented from Chapter Two to Chapter three comprising Bhotia along with its comparison with Tibetan and Sherpa.

Chapter Four and Five take care of **Pronominalised Himalayan Group** of languages (represented by Limbu and Rai) followed by the presentation of six languages of **Non- Pronominalised Himalayan Group** (namely, Lepcha-Tamang – Gurung - Newari - Mangari -Sunwar) in consecutive Chapters. All the Chapters on individual languages have been appended with one common text “How the crow – hen killed the black snake”. One comparative lexicon of studied 11 Languages, comprising conceptually selected 500 items, has also been presented at the end of the Volume.

The sociolinguistic descriptions included in the survey give a glimpse of the dynamics of the sociolinguistic situation prevailing in the state of Sikkim. The description of the bilingualism in tabular forms for the state according to the availability in census throw some light on the attitude towards language use of the linguistic communities inhabiting in Sikkim. The census data have been presented in two sets, one for language and the other for mother tongue, giving full values to Language/Mother Tongue dichotomy in Indian Census tradition, that is *Mother Tongue data* which is exclusive and *Language Data* which is inclusive of its variants or mother tongue(s) grouped under each language (LSI-Orissa: 2002: p-8).

Survey for the LSI-Sikkim volume has been conducted based on the common questionnaire containing exhaustive word list comprising of different registers, one sentence list and one connected story specifically developed for the LSI scheme by Language Division. However, among the different registers used, a list of 500 selected lexicon has been presented with the volume in comparative manner, considering the limitations of the pages of the volume. The comparative 500 conceptually categorised lexical items have been presented under two categories – ‘Pronominalised’ and ‘Non- Pronominalised’. Though Bhotia along with Tibetan and Sherpa belong to Bhotia Group of Tibeto Himalayan languages but structurally they are also Non-Pronominalised in all respect. Hence, the comparative data in respect of Bhotia, Tibetan and Sherpa have been put under Non-Pronominalised Group of lexicon.

The survey in the state of Sikkim was initiated by Dr. B.P.Mahapatra, Ex-Deputy Registrar General, (Language) in the year 1995 when only Bhotia (Sikkim-Bhotia) was surveyed. Following his superannuation in January 1997, the survey work was carried out in respect of Tibetan, Lepcha, Sherpa, Limbu, Tamang, Rai and Gurung under the guidance of Shri S.S.Bhattacharya, Ex-Senior Research Officer (Language) till Dr. C.Sivashanmugam took over the charge as Deputy Registrar General (Language) in February 1999, and the Survey on Sunwar, Mangari, Newari languages were undertaken during his period. After his departure from the Division in February 2000, the work was again taken up by Shri S.S.Bhattacharya, Ex-Senior Research Officer (Language). During his tenure he submitted the proposal for preparation of Maps for the volume to be drawn by the Map Division of Office of the Registrar General, India and looked after the submission of reports by respective researchers and evaluation of the same by Dr.(Smt.) Kakali Mukherjee, Senior Research Officer (Language). Following his superannuation in January 2004, Dr. S.P.Datta, Ex-Senior Research Officer (Language) took overall care in respect of evaluated and revised reports. Subsequent to his retirement in February 2005, Shri S.P.Ahirwal, Senior Research Officer (Language) encouraged the finalisation and submission of the volume, which has been successfully carried out by unstinted efforts of Dr. (Smt.) Kakali Mukherjee, Senior Research Officer (Language) as co-ordinator of the volume being cooperated by the contributors namely Dr. S.Ganesh Baskaran, Research Officer (Language), Dr. P.Perumalsamy, Research Officer (Language) and Dr. R.Nakkeerar, Research Officer (Language). The contributors of the Map Division under the guidance of Dr. A. P. Singh, DRG (Map) and special efforts by Dr. Kandhai Singh, Research Officer (Map) deserve a special acknowledgement for the imagination and creativity in developing the Maps of the volume.

The reports on the survey took their present shape under the constant directions, help and encouragement of the successive Registrar General and Census Commisioners from 1995 namely, Dr. M.Vijayan Unni, Shri Jayant

Kumar Banthia, Shri Devender Kumar Sikri and presently Dr. C Chandramouli.

The inspiration received from Shri R.C.Sethi, Additional Registrar General and Shri N.M.Perumal, Ex-Joint Registrar General, deserve due acknowledgement.

Shri K.Narayan Unni, Ex-Deputy Registrar General (C&T) and Shri R.G.Mitra, Ex-Deputy Registrar General (C&T) had been regularly monitoring and encouraging the finalisation of the volume. Their interest in work is duly acknowledged.

The efforts of Shri Anand Kumar, Ex-Additional Director, Shri P. K. Banerjee, Deputy Registrar General and Dr. Ranjita Pattanaik, Research Officer (Linguist) in the process of final editing of the volume are duly acknowledged in the Volume.

Collection of data on the languages spoken in the state of Sikkim could not be completed without the cooperation and help of Directorate of Census Operations, Sikkim, namely Shri R.K.Ram, the-then Director and other officials of the Directorate. The efforts and cooperation of the officials of the State Secretariat and Sikkim Legislative Assembly are duly acknowledged in the volume. In preparation of the volume the constant help and cooperation received from Directorate of Census Operations, West Bengal is sincerely acknowledged.

The informants, without whose dedication and deliberation of copious data the volume could not be compiled, are acknowledged in this volume with sincere gratitude. Due to the impediment of space restriction their names have been listed in full in the Acknowledgement section separately.

The cooperation and understanding received from the members of the staff of Language Division during the survey, writing of reports and finalizing the volume including the preparation of CRC are acknowledged. Few of them with direct specific contributions have been mentioned in Acknowledgement.

In addition to assigned research works, the continuous monitoring and sincere efforts of Dr. Sibasis Mukherjee, Investigator (Language) made possible to bring out the CRC of the linguistic reports of the volume. The overall completion of the CRC along with designing the cover page with colour scheme for the volume is the exclusive and enthusiastic creative contribution of Shri Pradip Kumar Sen, Lower Division Clerk of the Division.

The finalization and completion of the volume could not have been possible in any way without the sincere and dedicated efforts of Shri Jagadish Sutar, Data Entry Operator Gr. 'B' of DCO, West Bengal who single handedly transferred the manuscripts of the language reports of the volume into electronic version. Shri Bibhas Kanti Hira and Shri Madhusudan Banerjee, Data Entry Operators Gr. 'B' of DCO, West Bengal are also thanked for their assistance.

Last but not least, warm thanks are due to the contributors of the volume who painstakingly collected the data during field-investigations with restricted facilities and braving the inclement weather of the region.

I hope, this volume will serve the needs of different sector of populace according to respective purposes in socio-educational-linguistic planning.

New Delhi

November, 2009

DR. C. CHANDRAMOULI, IAS

**REGISTRAR GENERAL &
CENSUS COMMISSIONER, INDIA**

-----O-----

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Office of the Registrar General, India LANGUAGE DIVISION, KOLKATA

Shri Sudama Prasad Ahirwal	Senior Research Officer (L)
Dr.(Smt.) Kakali Mukherjee	Senior Research Officer (L)
Dr. Ranjita Pattanaik	Research Officer (L)
Dr. S.Ganesh Baskaran	Research Officer (L)
Dr. P.Perumalsamy	Research Officer (L)
Dr. R.Nakkeerar	Research Officer (L)
Dr. Sibasis Mukherjee	Research Officer (L)
Shri P.Edward Vedamanickam	Research Officer (L)
Dr. N.Gopalakrishnan	Investigator (L)
Smt. Tandra Datta	Statistical Investigator (Gr.I)
Smt. Rina Bala	Senior Compiler
Shri Pradip Barua	Compiler
Shri Mahadev Ghosh	Office Superintendent
Shri Pradip Kumar Sen	Lower Division Clerk
Ms. Jhuma Ghosh	Scholar of Mother Tongue Survey of India
Ms. Basudha Das	Scholar of Mother Tongue Survey of India

MAP DIVISION, (ORGI)

Dr. A. K. Singh	Deputy Registrar General (Map)
Dr. Kandhai Singh	Research Officer (Map)
Shri. Pooran Singh	Research Officer (Map)
Smt. Subhra Talukdar	Draftsman

DIRECTORATE OF CENSUS OPERATIONS, WEST BENGAL

Shri Jagadish Sutar	Data Entry Operator (Grd. 'B')
Shri Bibhas Kanti Hira	Data Entry Operator (Grd. 'B')
Shri Madhusudan Banerjee	Data Entry Operator (Grd. 'B')

List of Language wise Informants

Bhotia

Shri Pema Rinzin Lama
Shri T.N.Dorzi
Smt. Kiden Bhutia

Director, Bhutia Section Sikkim Secretariat
Sr. Teacher, T.N.H.S.Govt. School, Gangtok.
All India Radio, Gangtok.

Tibetan

Shri Tashi Dorzi Lama
Shri T.W.Bhutia
Shri Kunga Dorzi

Secretariat Monastery
DCO, Sikkim
S.I.B. Gangtok.

Lepcha

Shri Lha Tshering

Translator, Sikkim Legislative Assembly

Limbu

Shri Saran Subba
Shri Krishna Subba

Translator, Sikkim Legislative Assembly
Translator, Sikkim Legislative Assembly

Sherpa

Shri Dawa Sherpa

Translator, Sikkim Legislative Assembly

Tamang

Ms. Sumitra Dong
Shri K.M.Tamang

Translator, Sikkim Legislative Assembly
Retd. Govt. Official, Seori, Gangtok

Rai

Shri P.C.Rai
Shri B.B.Chamling
Shri R.K.Rai
Shri A.B.Rai
Shri M.D.Rai

Retd. CAG, Government of Sikkim
Director (Finance Sikkim Electricity Board)
Teacher, Namchi
Teacher, Namchi
Teacher, Namchi

Gurung

Shri Megraj Gurung
Shri Pradeep Gurung
Smt. Padma Gurung
Shri Mahendra Gurung

Translator, Sikkim Legislative Assembly

Translator, Sikkim Legislative Assembly

Sunwar

Shri Norbahadur Sunwar

Translator, Sikkim Legislative Assembly

Newari

Ms. Kalpana Pradhan
Mr. Hari Maya

Translator, Sikkim Legislative Assembly
Asst. Translator

Mangari

Ms. Abimanyu Maya Thapa
Mr. Bishnu Kr. Mangar

Translator, Sikkim Legislative Assembly
Asst. Editor, Sikkim Information Dept.

-----O-----

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

Abbreviations:	General
CRC	Camera Ready Copy
DCO	Directorate of Census Operations
DRG(C & T)	Deputy Registrar General (Census and Tabulation)
F	Female
L/lg.	Language
LSI	Linguistic Survey of India
M	Male
MT	Mother Tongue
P	Person
T	Total
R	Rural
U	Urban
U.Ts	Union Territories
i.e.	That is

Abbreviations:		Grammatical Descriptions	
abl.	Ablative	c.f.	Compare
acc.	Accusative	sec.	Section
adj.	Adjective	e.g.	For example
instru.	Instrumental	class.	Classifier
dat.	Dative	vl.	Voiceless
adv.	Adverb	vd.	Voiced
loc.	Locative	C	Consonant
gen.	Genitive	V	Vowel
caus.	Causative	obj.	Object
neg.	Negative	fut.	Future
sg.	Singular	mar.	Marker
pl.	Plural	cont.	Continuous
pre.ten.	Present Tense	N	Noun
pas.ten	Past Tense	pass.	Passive
pr.cont.	Present Continuous	per.mood	Permissive Mood
past.prog.	Past Progress	fin.	Finite
subj.	Subject	UA	Un aspirated
masc.	Masculine	asp.	Aspirated
vb.	Verb	eld.	elder
fem.	Feminine	pr.n	Pronoun
hon.	Honorific	sub.	Substantive
ord.	Ordinary	perf.	Perfect
aux.	Auxiliary		

Symbols Used

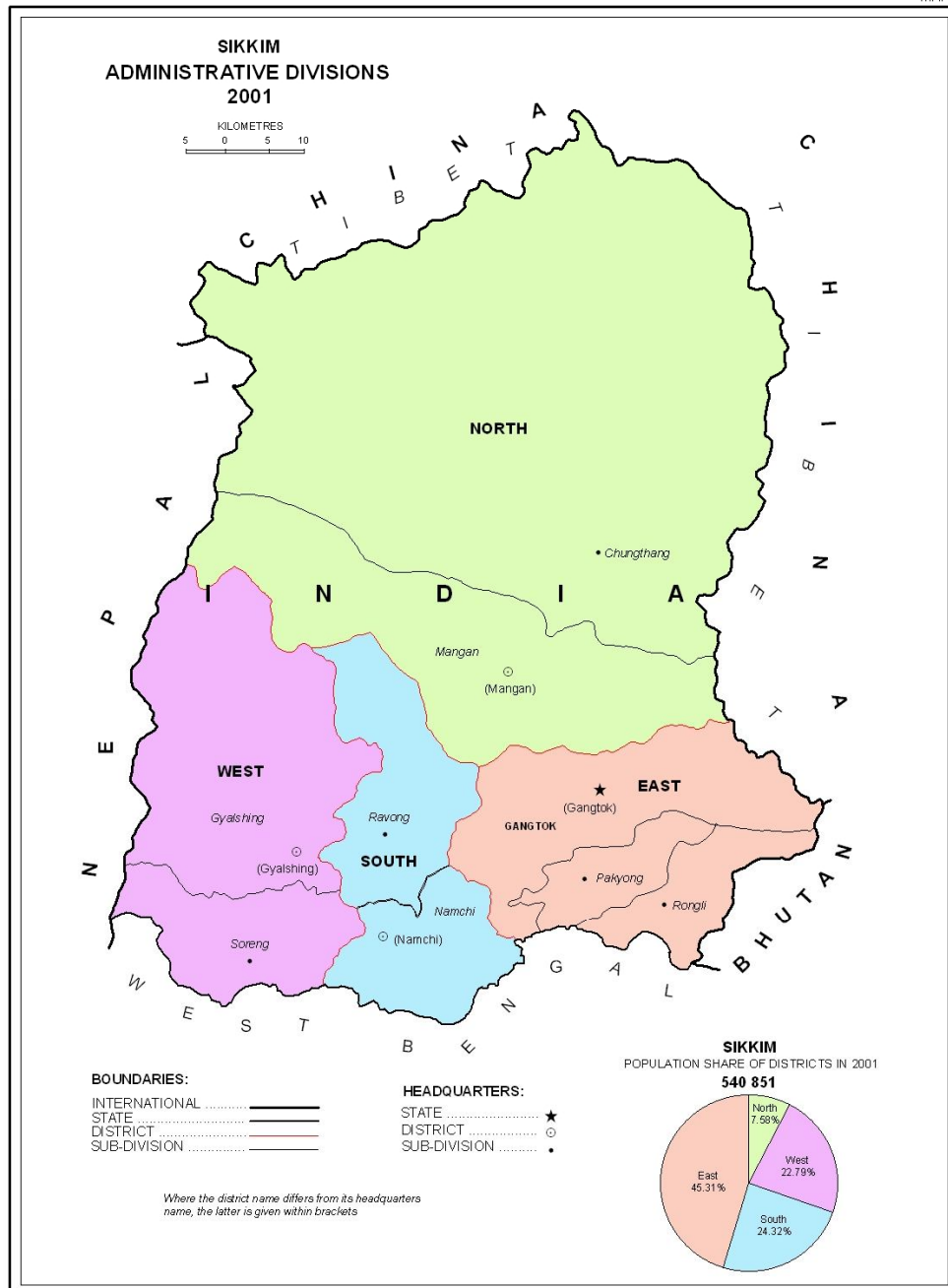
<i>i</i>	High Front Unrounded Vowel	<i>p^h/ph</i>	Aspirated Voiceless Bilabial Stop
<i>I</i>	Lower High Front Unrounded Vowel	<i>b</i>	Voiced Bilabial Stop
<i>e</i>	Mid High Front Unrounded Vowel	<i>b^h/bh</i>	Aspirated Voiced Bilabial Stop
<i>E</i>	Mid Low Front Unrounded Vowel	<i>t̥</i>	Voiceless Dental Stop
<i>æ</i>	Mid Low Front Rounded Vowel	<i>t^h/th</i>	Aspirated Voiceless Dental Stop
<i>Æ</i>	Low front Rounded Vowel	<i>d̥</i>	Voiced Dental Stop
<i>a*</i>	Low Front Unrounded Vowel	<i>d^h/dh</i>	Aspirated Voiced Dental Stop
<i>ɨ</i>	High Central Unrounded Vowel	<i>t</i>	Voiceless Alveolar Stop
<i>ʉ</i>	High Central Rounded Vowel	<i>t^h/th</i>	Aspirated Voiceless Alveolar Stop
<i>A</i>	Mid Central Unrounded Vowel	<i>d</i>	Voiced Alveolar Stop
<i>a</i>	Low Back Unrounded Vowel	<i>d^h/dh</i>	Aspirated Voiced Alveolar Stop
<i>ɒ</i>	Low Back Rounded Vowel	<i>T</i>	Voiceless Retroflex Stop
<i>O</i>	Mid Low Back Rounded Vowel	<i>T^h/Th</i>	Aspirated Voiceless Retroflex Stop
<i>o</i>	Mid High Back Rounded Vowel	<i>D</i>	Voiced Retroflex Stop
<i>U</i>	Lower High Back Rounded Vowel	<i>D^h/Dh</i>	Aspirated Voiced Retroflex Stop
<i>u</i>	High Back Rounded Vowel	<i>c</i>	Voiceless Palatal Stop
<i>ɯ</i>	High Back Unrounded Vowel	<i>c^h/ch</i>	Aspirated Voiceless Palatal Stop
<i>p</i>	Voiceless Bilabial Stop	<i>j</i>	Voiced Palatal Stop

<i>j^h/jh</i>	Aspirated Voiced Palatal Stop	<i>x</i>	Voiceless Velar Fricative
<i>C</i>	Voiceless Alveolar Affricate	<i>h</i>	Voiceless Glottal fricative
<i>J</i>	Voiced Alveolar Affricate	<i>ɦ</i>	Voiced Glottal fricative
<i>k</i>	Voiceless Velar Stop	<i>l</i>	Alveolar Lateral
<i>k^h/kh</i>	Aspirated Voiceless Velar Stop	<i>l^h/lh</i>	Aspirated Alveolar Lateral
<i>g</i>	Voiced Velar Stop	<i>w</i>	Bilabial Approximant/Semi vowel
<i>g^h/gh</i>	Aspirated Voiced Velar Stop	<i>y</i>	Palatal Approximant/Semi vowel
<i>q</i>	Voiceless Uvular Stop	<i>ˈ</i>	Rising Tone
<i>ʔ</i>	Voiced Glottal stop	<i>ˋ</i>	Falling Tone
<i>m</i>	Bilabial Nasal	<i>></i>	indicates “Becomes”
<i>m^h/mh</i>	Aspirated Bilabial Nasal	<i><</i>	indicates “Comes from”
<i>n</i>	Alveolar Nasal	<i>/ /</i>	Phonemic Representation
<i>n^h/nh</i>	Aspirated Alveolar Nasal	<i>[]</i>	Phonetic Representation
<i>M'</i>	Palatal Nasal	<i>Φ</i>	Zero Morpheme
<i>M</i>	Velar Nasal	<i>~</i>	Alternation
<i>r</i>	Alveolar Trill	<i>~_v</i>	Nasalised Vowel
<i>R</i>	Retroflex Flap	<i>=</i>	Equal to
<i>f</i>	Voiceless labio dental fricative	<i>+</i>	Plus
<i>s</i>	Voiceless Alveolar Fricative	<i>:</i>	Length
<i>z</i>	Voiced Alveolar Fricative	<i>{ }</i>	Morphemic Representation
<i>S'</i>	Voiceless Palatal Fricative	<i>()</i>	Parenthesis

* relevant for Sherpa, Lepcha, Sunwar, Mangari and Newari reports

CONTENTS OF MAPS	PAGE
Map – 1: Administrative Divisions, 2001	1
Map – 2: Rural-Urban distribution of Major Languages, 2001	4
Map –3: Rural-Urban distribution of Major Mother tongues, 2001	6
Map – 4: Districtwise Distribution of Languages Surveyed under LSI – SIKKIM, 2001	14
Map – 5: Scheduled Tribe and their Languages, 2001	16
Map – 6: Bilingualism and Trilingualism of Surveyed Languages, 2001	19
Map – 7: Districtwise Rural – Urban distribution of Tibetan Group (Bhotia, Tibetan, Sherpa) , 2001	25
Map – 8: Limbu & Rai: Districtwise Rural – Urban distribution of Pronominalised Languages, 2001	203
Map – 9 :Lepcha & Tamang : Districtwise Rural – Urban distribution of Non-Pronominalised Languages, 2001	329

----0----



Based upon Survey of India map with the permission of the Surveyor General of India.

© Government of India, copyright 2008.

INTRODUCTION

I

BRIEF HISTORY OF SIKKIM

Sikkim, one of the States of Indian Union is spreading over an area of 7,096 square kilometer with 540,851 population. The state is surrounded by Tibet in the north and north east, by Bhutan in south-east and by Darjeeling district of West Bengal in the south. [Ref. *Primary Census Abstract, Census of India 2001, Administrative Divisional Map, India, 2001*]. Sikkim being a small heavenly abode in the lap of Himalayan Mountain is romantic by nature as well as colourful by its history.

Historically, Sikkim was a Princely State in the eastern Himalayas, a protectorate of India. Lepchas were the main inhabitants as well as the Ruler of the land upto 1641. Subsequently, Sikkim existed as a dependency of Tibet up to the end of the 18th century. During that period, its rulers were designated as Governor of Sikkim. In 1642, Phuntshog Namgyal became the first king of Sikkim as well as the ruler of the land, being recognised by Dalai Lama.

Since its origin in seventeenth century, the state of Sikkim faced numerous invasions from its neighboring countries of Bhutan and Nepal. Among them, the attack from Nepal's kingdom (Shah dynasty in different phases, starting from mid eighteenth century) was more significant, which ended by the signing of peace-treaty between China and Nepal in 1791. Thereafter, the number of Nepalese increased significantly with the advent of British rule in the land of Sikkim. Gradually, the Nepalese became a major community in Sikkim who started striving for a new political set up challenging the British ruler.

A new phase in the history of Sikkim was introduced with the Anglo-Gorkha War in the beginning of nineteenth century and thereby the signing of the treaty (Treaty of Sugauli) in 1815 between Nepal and East India Company followed by another one (Treaty of Titaliya) in 1816 between Sikkim and East India Company. Thus the year 1816 landmarked the year of relationship between British and Sikkim, or otherwise the British influence in Sikkim. The British activities in Sikkim gained momentum with the establishment of its Residency at Gangtok and the first appointment of a political officer (J.C.White) in 1889. The power and role of the king of Sikkim became considerably reduced in the administration of Sikkim through this political change.

In the year of 1947 with the attainment of independence in India the British paramountcy over Sikkim came to be abolished and the new Dominion of India assumed responsibility over external affairs, communications and defense of Sikkim. In 1949 the king of Sikkim – Tashi Namgyal- was assisted by India in restoring administrative order in Sikkim. An Indian Civil Servant (J. S. Lall) was nominated as a Dewan or Chief Minister of Sikkim for the purpose. Generally, the power of the king of Sikkim was restored again which had declined after 1889. In the December of 1950, a formal treaty (Indo-Sikkim Treaty) affirmed the role of Republic of India in the protection of Sikkim followed by the formation of State Council comprising of five elected and four nominated members of India in 1953. Out of five elected members two of them were assigned to assist the king of Sikkim in the day -to- day administration of the State. This

administrative set up continued up to 1975 till the inclusion of Sikkim as the 22nd state of Indian Republic Union on 26th April of 1975.

With this new set up the state of Sikkim was functioning till 1995 according to the overall pattern of Government of India along with giving due recognition to royal tradition, already prevailing in Sikkim. After 1995 the Royal Tradition of Sikkim has been replaced by public forum Government i.e., by democratic set up.

II

ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISION OF SIKKIM

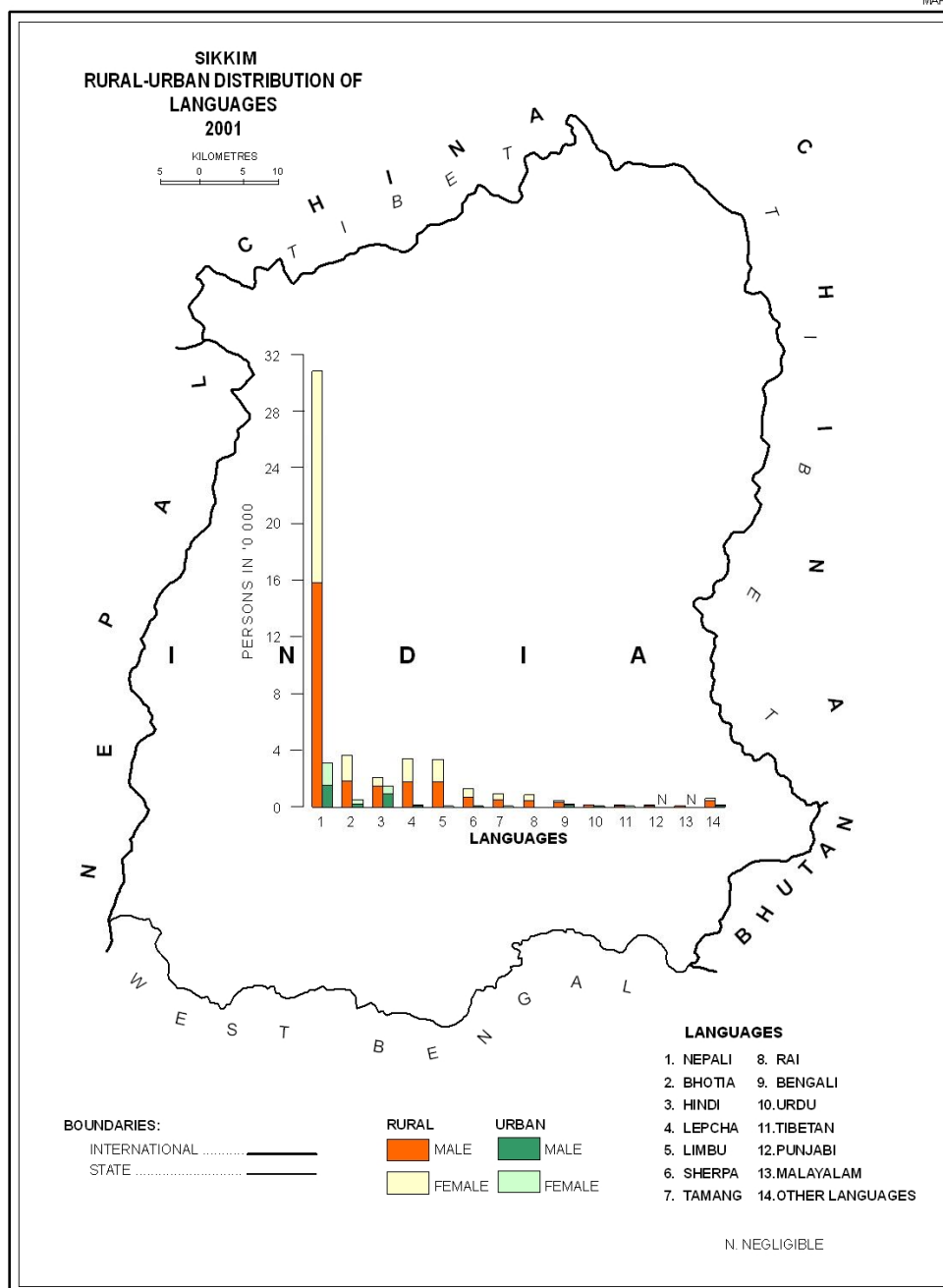
As per the latest Census publication of 2001, the present Sikkim state, covering an area of 7096 sq km. of Indian Union territory, is administratively divided into 4 districts, namely North, East, South and West.

The district wise, sex wise, rural and urban breakup of the population of Sikkim is as follows.

State/District	Total	Male	Female	Rural	Urban
SIKKIM	540851	288484	252367	480981	59870
NORTH	41030	23414	17616	39782	1248
EAST	245040	132917	112123	192188	52852
SOUTH	131525	68241	63284	127579	3946
WEST	123256	63912	59344	121432	1824

[Ref.: *Census of India 2001: Primary Census Abstract, page-6*]

The information on people, languages, mother tongues and bilingualism in the state of Sikkim are furnished relevantly in the following sections of the Volume.



Based upon Survey of India map with the permission of the Surveyor General of India.

© Government of India, copyright 2008.

III

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR LANGUAGES

The population of Sikkim comprises of the main linguistic groups, namely

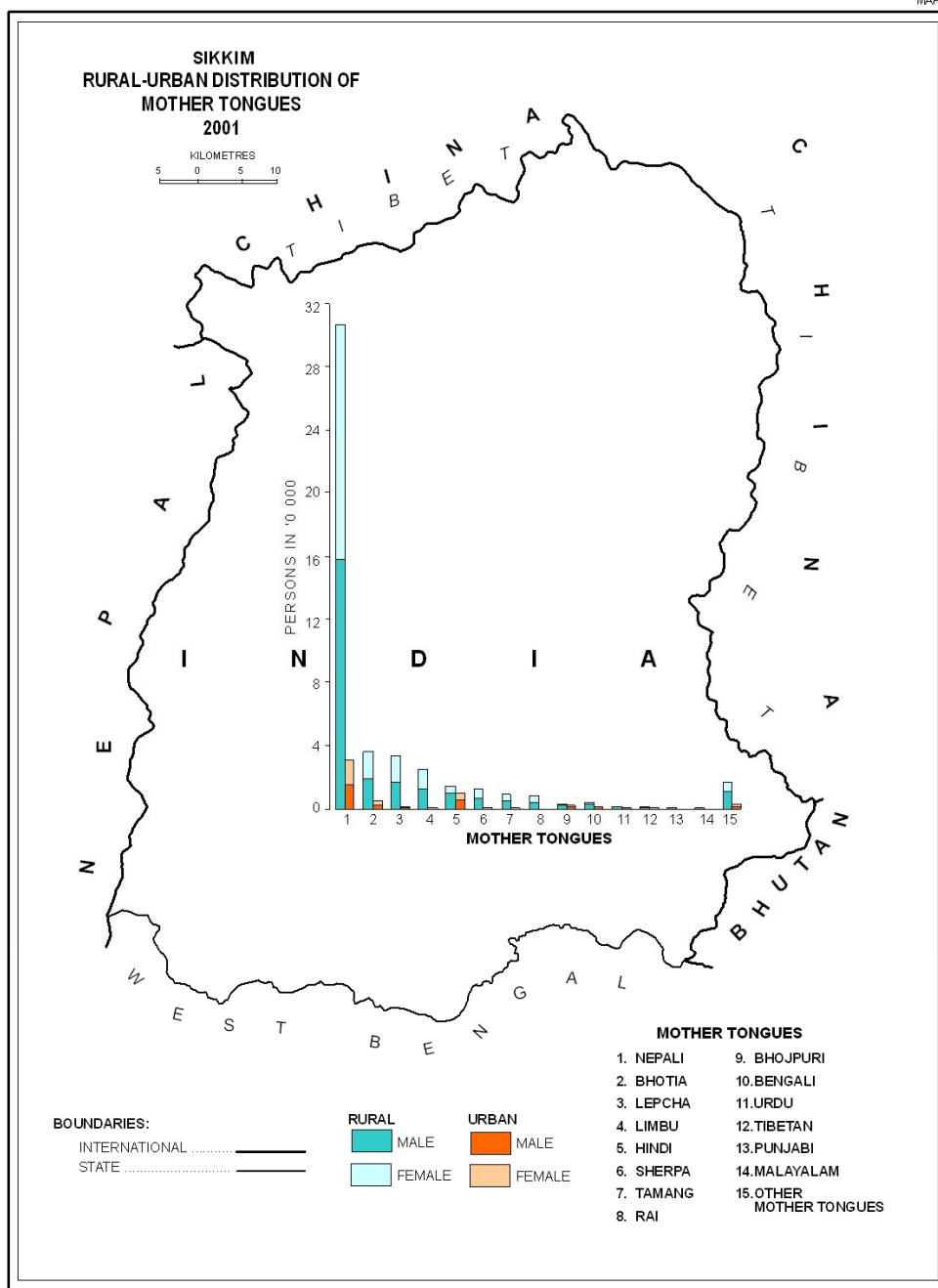
1. Nepali
2. Bhotia (The Bhutia people migrated from Tibet in seventeenth century and in different phases from time to time which includes other subgroups of Bhutias like Chumbipa, Dophthapa, Dukpa, Kagatey, Sherpa, Tibetan, Tromopa, Yolmo)
3. Hindi
4. Lepcha
5. Limbu

alongwith linguistic communities like Gurung, Sunwar, Mangari, Newar, Rai etc. and other plainsmen who have migrated here from other states of India.

According to the first official Census conducted in Sikkim in 1891 the population of Sikkim was constituted by Lepcha, Bhutia, Limbu, Gurung, Murmi, and Rai (Jimdar), Khambu, Kami, Brahman, Mangar, Chhettri, Newar and Darzi. In the independent India, too, upto Census of 1971 the Nepali (63.97 percent), the Lepcha (10.63 percent) and the Bhotia (11.23 percent) constituted the main population of Sikkim which was 85.83 percent of the total population of Sikkim. After the merger of Sikkim with India in 1975 there was an influx of population in Sikkim from other parts of the country resulting in a rise in population of Sikkim. (Singh: **SIKKIM**: 1993, pp 4-5.)

After the year of 1995, the year that Democratic Government of Sikkim came into existence, the latest census data published on Sikkim is that of 2001 Census. According to 2001 Census the total population of the state is 540,851 out of which 288,484 are male and 252,367 are female constituting 0.05 % of the total population of India. Total population of India is 1,028,737,436. (Census of India 2001 : Primary Census Abstract).

According to the present composition of Sikkim the numerically the six major languages of the State are Nepali, Bhotia, Hindi, Lepcha, Limbu and Sherpa. Owing to the over-whelming presence of Nepalese, being the first populous community in Sikkim, the Nepali is found as a *lingua franca* in the state. Among these Bhotia, Lepcha, Limbu and Sherpa are the Tibeto-Burman languages whereas Nepali and Hindi belong to Indo-Aryan family. Except Hindi the other languages are the official languages in the State and are taught in school as subject. English is the medium of instruction in the State. However, being the language of administration, education, intergroup communication and being spoken by the majority of population of Sikkim as a mother tongue and as a second language by other population, Nepali may be considered as the superposed variety for almost all the languages. And thereby Nepali is under the process of gaining the status of language of power and prestige. And Hindi, also, is gradually becoming popular language as a medium of intergroup communication.



Based upon Survey of India map with the permission of the Surveyor General of India.

© Government of India, copyright 2008.

IV

THE LINGUISTIC COMPOSITION OF SIKKIM

The dichotomy of *language* and *mother tongue* in Indian Census is co-terminus and as such both language as well as mother tongue data are shown in Language Tables. *Language* is inclusive of its variant mother tongues and *Mother Tongue* is exclusive. As per the latest Census publication of 2001 out of the total rationalised and classified 1635 mother tongues at all India level, 92 Mother Tongues of speakers strength of 10000 and above have been returned from the state of Sikkim which have been grouped under 21 Scheduled (Part –A) languages (out of 22) and 55 Non-Scheduled (Part B) languages (out of 100). Thus the linguistic composition of Sikkim state comprises 76 main languages out of which the first 15 major languages in descending order are presented below along with the percentage to the total population of Sikkim. The rural and urban break-up is also being accounted.

Sl.No.	Language	Speakers	Rural	Urban	Percentage
1	NEPALI	338606	307545	31061	62.61
2	BHOTIA	41825	36488	5337	7.73
3	HINDI	36072	21246	14826	6.67
4	LEPCHA	35728	34289	1439	6.61
5	LIMBU	34292	33693	599	6.34
6	SHERPA	13922	13281	641	2.57
7	TAMANG	10089	9650	439	1.87
8	RAI	8856	8740	116	1.64
9	BENGALI	6320	4288	2032	1.17
10	URDU	2930	1831	1099	0.54
11	TIBETAN	1977	1369	608	0.37
12	PUNJABI	1364	1225	139	0.25
13	MALAYALAM	1021	856	165	0.19
14	ASSAMESE	545	487	58	0.10
15	MAITHILI	543	405	138	0.10

[Census of India 2001 Language Tables, pp- 267-268]

The district wise distributions of the above 15 languages of Sikkim are as follows:

	Nepali	Bhotia	Hindi	Lepcha	Limbu	Sherpa	Tamang	Rai	Bengali
North	9198	6418	3893	12628	3697	1581	1170	530	282
East	160274	23110	23723	9430	4099	4357	3133	3052	4157
South	96160	5594	5997	5146	3778	4879	2934	2573	1342
West	72974	6703	2459	8524	22718	3105	2852	2701	539

	Urdu	Tibetan	Punjabi	Malayalam	Assamese	Maithili
North	34	125	196	250	104	19
East	2026	1066	1096	678	424	322
South	630	734	70	66	13	164
West	240	52	2	27	4	38

Out of the 540,851 total population of Sikkim in 2001 a number of 530,617 speakers (total of the above mentioned 15 language returns) constitute more than 98% of the total population of Sikkim. The remaining 10,234 speakers returned by other 66 languages (out of the 76 languages of Sikkim) constituting less than 2% of the population of Sikkim.

The Mother Tongues returned from Sikkim in 2001 census are mainly 92 in number out of which the speaker's strength along with percentage in respect of first 15 mother tongues are mentioned below in descending order.

Sl.No.	Mother Tongue	Total	Rural	Urban	Percentage
1	NEPALI	338603	307542	31061	62.61
2	BHOTIA	41823	36486	5337	7.73
3	LEPCHA	35728	34289	1439	6.61
4	LIMBU	25412	24969	443	4.70
5	HINDI	25130	14974	10156	4.65
6	SHERPA	13922	13281	641	2.57
7	TAMANG	10089	9650	439	1.87
8	RAI	8829	8713	116	1.63
9	BHOJPURI	6777	3792	2985	1.25
10	BENGALI	6261	4250	2011	1.16
11	URDU	2930	1831	1099	0.54
12	TIBETAN	1955	1347	608	0.36
13	PUNJABI	1359	1220	139	0.25
14	MALAYALAM	1009	845	164	0.19
15	MARWARI	947	292	655	0.18

The district wise distribution of the first 15 numerically major mother tongues are furnished below. Of course, the data on languages/mother tongues relevant for the Volume are presented herewith in section V.

Districts	NEPALI	BHOTIA	LEPCHA	LIMBU	HINDI	SHERPA	TAMANG
North	9196	6418	12628	2319	3893	1581	1170
East	160273	23109	9430	2864	23723	4357	3133
South	96160	5593	5146	2782	5997	4879	2934
West	72974	6703	8524	17447	2459	3105	2852

Districts	RAI	BHOJPURI	BENGALI	URDU	TIBETAN	PUNJABI	MALAYA LAM	MARWARI
North	530	490	282	34	113	196	248	23
East	3052	1918	4157	2026	1061	1095	669	605
South	2546	3788	1342	630	729	66	65	298
West	2701	581	239	240	52	2	27	21

Though the first major 15 languages include Hindi, Urdu, Punjabi, Malayalam, Assamese, Maithili but they are not the concern of the volume on the consideration of state-specificity. And Nepali – the first populous language - has been planned to be presented exclusively and comprehensively in the Second part of the LSI - Sikkim Volume. Bhotia along with Tibetan, Lepcha, Limbu, Sherpa, Tamang, Rai and other specific languages of Sikkim namely, Gurung, Mangari, Newari and Sunwar, which have been returned by less than 10,000 speakers in 2001 Census, comprise the subject matter of the present volume LSI-Sikkim (Part - I).

V

THE TREATMENT OF LANGUAGES IN SIKKIM IN GRIERSON'S LSI AND SUBSEQUENT TO THAT

Before going into any details about the languages surveyed in Sikkim under the Linguistic Survey of India project of The Registrar General, India, the treatment of the languages of Sikkim according to the Linguistic Survey of India by Sir George Abraham Grierson and subsequent studies needs to be highlighted.

The languages dispersed in the state of Sikkim are mainly classified as belonging to the Tibeto-Burman sub- family of 'Tibeto-Chinese' language family. The sub – family 'Tibeto-Burman' is named after the fact that the Tibetan is the northern representative of Indo-Himalayan speeches and Burmese is the southern representative of the Indo-Himalayan speeches. Between the Tibetan and Burmese along the Indo-Himalayan range all the Tibeto-Burman languages exist. The two extremes that is Tibetan and Burmese are connected along with two distinct linguistic chains. While the eastern chain consisting of the Kachin and Lolo forms of speech which connect Tibetan directly with Burmese the Western chain is at first a pair of chains each beginning in a different locality, but joining together lower down like the letter Y. The joint chain then goes on and ends again in Burmese. And keeping the picture of these two distinct linguistic chains in view the

Tibeto-Burman sub- family is divided into three branches namely—Tibeto-Himalayan branch, North-Assam Branch and Assam Burmese branch in Grierson's LSI.

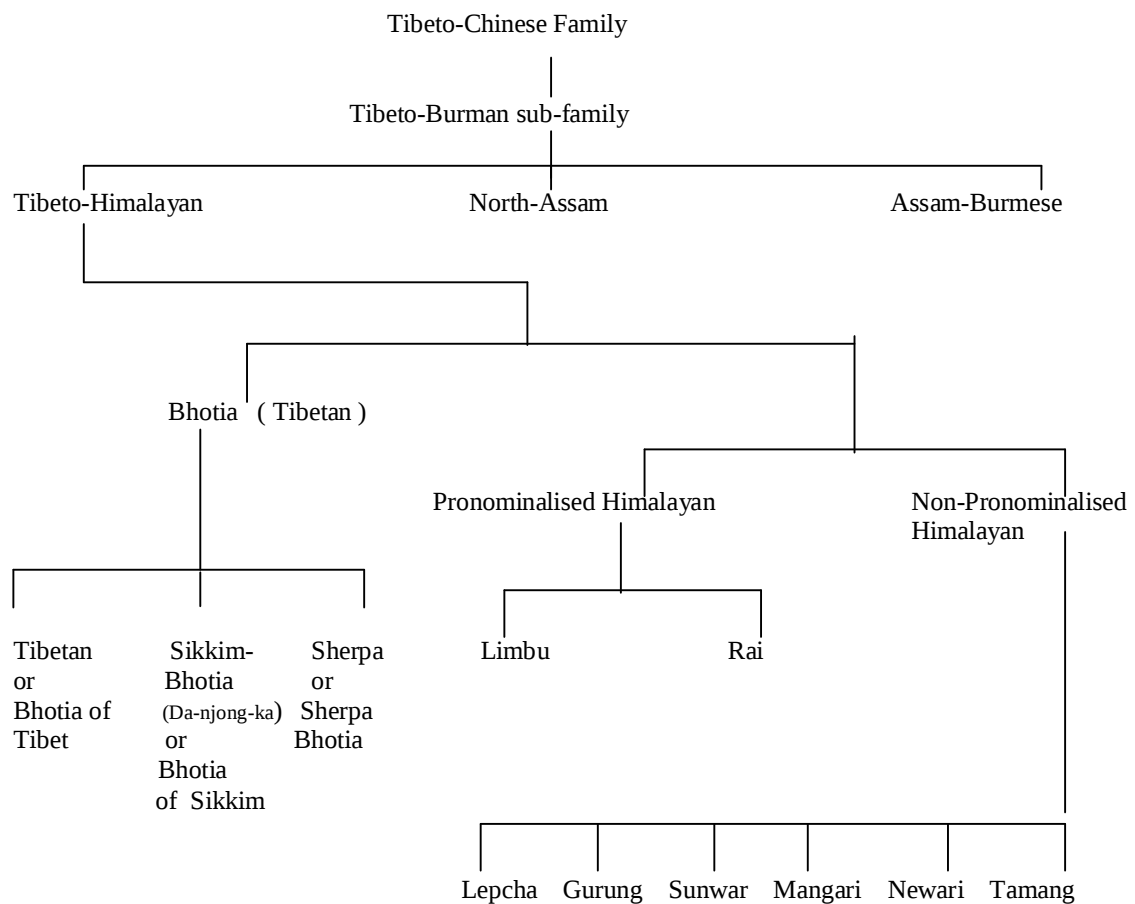
According to the classification of Sir Grierson (1909) in *Linguistic Survey of India* the Bhotia (Tibetan) group of languages and Himalayan group of languages comprise the Tibeto-Himalayan branch of the Tibeto - Burman languages of the great Tibeto-Chinese family. Bhotia is the general name of the group of dialects of which Bhotia of Sikkim or Dan-jong-ka, Bhotia of Tibet or Tibetan, and Sherpa Bhotia are the variants alongwith the combination of other forms like

- Bhotia of Baltistan or Balti
- Bhotia of Purik
- Bhotia of Ladakh or Ladakhi
- Bhotia of Lahul or Lahauli
- Bhotia of Spiti
- Bhotia of upper Kanawar or Nyamki
- Bhotia of Tehri Garhwal or Jad
- Bhotia of Sikkim or Da-jong-ka
- Bhotia of Bhutan or Lhoke
- Kagate
- Bhotia of Khams and other dialects.

The Himalayan group is divided into two sub-groups, namely , 1. Pronominalised Himalayan group represented by Limbu and Rai in Sikkim and 2. Non-Pronominalised group being represented by Lepcha or Rong, Tamang or Murmi, Gurung, Mangari, Newari, Sunwar. These languages of Tibetan and Himalayan group are the subject matter of the present Volume.

Leaving aside these mentioned names, other several important languages also are there under Tibetan and Himalayan groups. They have not been covered in the volume since these languages are not significantly concentrated in Sikkim. However, Toto (a non-pronominalised Himalayan Language) has been covered under LSI-West Bengal volume, which will be available to the readers/users after its publication.

The treatment of the concerned languages, surveyed for the Volume, revealed in Grierson's *Linguistic Survey of India* is presented by the diagram below.



Subsequent to Grierson's study the Tibeto Burman languages of India as well as of Sikkim have been studied by other scholars also like Robert Shafer (1966-1974), Paul Benedict (1972), Bradley (1997) etc. According to the study of Robert Shafer the languages of the family are classified into 6 divisions, namely,

1. Sinitic
2. Daic
3. Bodic
4. Burmic
5. Baric
6. Karenic

Among the 6 divisions the languages of Sikkim are mainly covered by Bodic division.

The classification of Paul Benedict (1972) puts the Tibeto Burman languages into 7 main branches, namely

1. Tibetan-Kanauri
2. Bahing-Vayu
3. Abor-Miri-Dafla
4. Kachin
5. Burmese-Lolo
6. Boro-Garo and
7. Kuki-Naga.

The Tibetan-Kanauri, which is relevant for the classification of Tibeto-Burman languages of Sikkim, is further subdivided into groups like

- a. Bodish
- b. Himalayish.

The Tibetan, Bhotia, Lepcha, Mangari etc. of Sikkim are covered under Himalayish group whereas Kinnauri is covered under Bodish group.

A newer classification by Bradley has added further information towards the classification of Tibeto-Burman languages. According to Bradley the Tibeto-Burman languages are covered under 6 branches, namely,

1. Bodic (which includes Bodish and Himalayan) and the languages mainly Tibetan, Gurung, Tamang etc. [Studied for the present volume.]
2. North-East India (which includes Bodo-Garo group)
3. Kuki-Chin (which includes Kuki, Chin etc.)
4. Central (which includes Lepcha, Abor-Miri-Dafla etc.) [Lepcha studied for the present volume.]
5. North-Eastern
6. South-Eastern (which includes Burmese-Lolo, Karen group etc.)

Taking the above classifications into account this can be summed up that the Tibeto-Himalayan group of languages under Tibeto-Chinese family of Grierson's classification are referred as the languages of Bodish and Himalayish group under Bodic branch of later classification, being represented by the studied Bhotia along with Tibetan, Sherpa, Limbu, Rai, Lepcha, Tamang, Gurung, Sunwar, Mangari and Newari languages of the present volume.

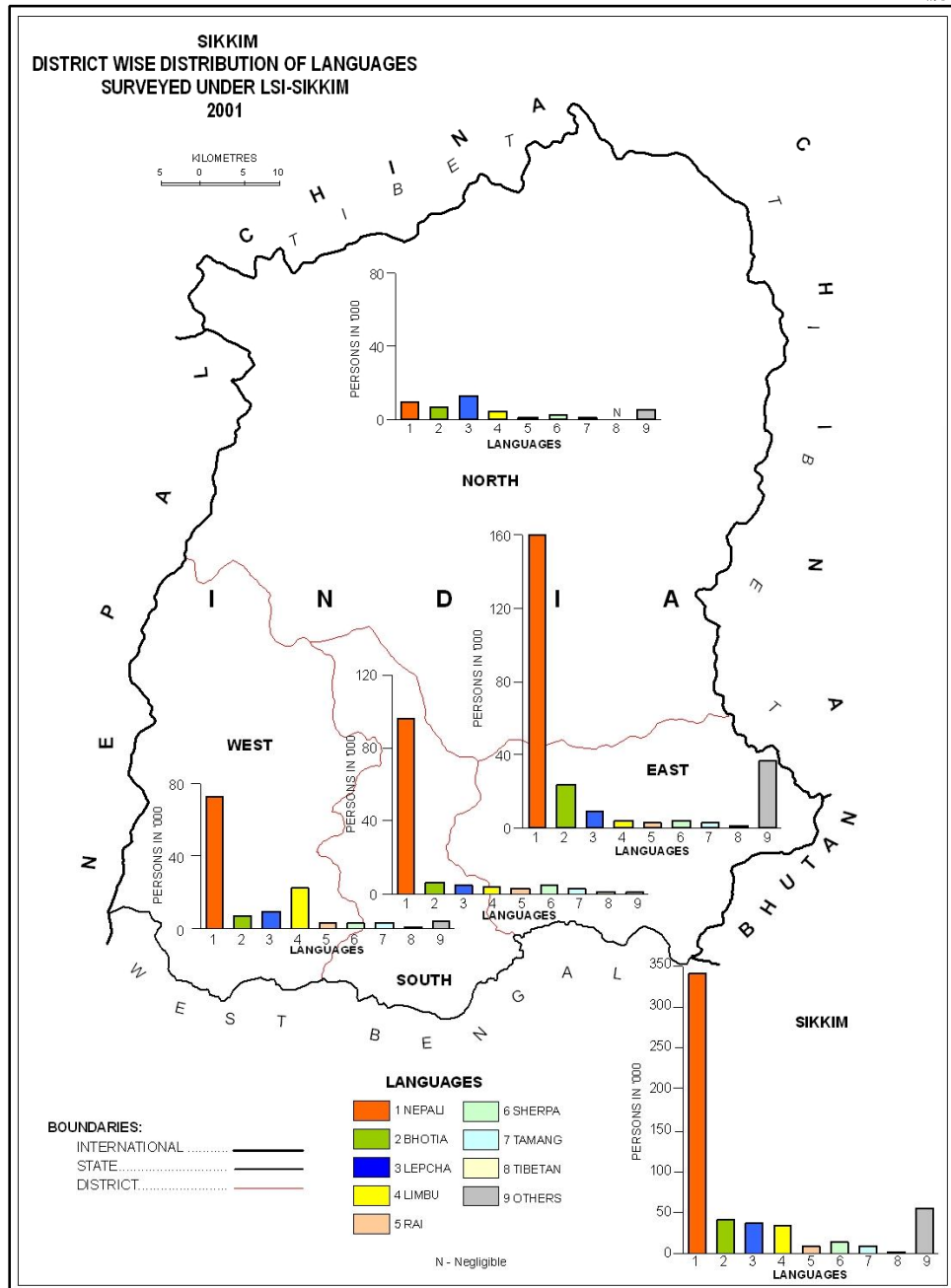
VI

THE PRESENT SURVEY

Under the present Linguistic Survey of India scheme the Survey was conducted in Sikkim state during the period from 1995-2000 and in 2008 (a short survey for checking purpose) on the basis of framework developed by the Language Division, Office of the Registrar General, India, for the purpose. The survey covers the following languages of the states.

- | | |
|--|------------|
| 1. Bhotia alongwith a comparative study of Tibetan | 6. Tamang |
| | 7. Newari |
| | 8. Gurung |
| 2. Lepcha | 9. Mangari |
| 3. Limbu | 10. Sunwar |
| 4. Sherpa | |
| 5. Rai | |

Though Nepali is the most numerous as well as an important language in the state of Sikkim but **the present volume of Sikkim, prepared and presented as Part-I, does not include the description of Nepali. It has been planned to give a detailed description of Nepali spoken in Sikkim along with a comprehensive and comparative study of Nepali, surveyed in other parts of India (West Bengal, Himachal Pradesh etc.), in the volume of LSI- Sikkim (Part-II).** So far as the official status of the above languages are concerned the recognition were accorded by the Sikkim administration to Nepali, Bhutia, Lepcha at first instance as per the notification of Government of Sikkim vide Sikkim Official Language Act 1977 (Act-5.No.5 LL/77 dated 25.10.1977. The notification inter-alia reads “.....With effect from such date as the State Government may by notification in the official Gazette specifying in this behalf, the Nepali, the Bhutia, and the Lepcha languages shall be the languages to be used for all official purpose of the state of Sikkim....”. Subsequently Limbu was also declared as official language of Sikkim alongwith Nepali, Bhotia and Lepcha. During the Golden Jubilee year of Indian Independence, i.e., 1997, recognition was accorded to seven more languages, namely Rai, Gurung, Newari, Mangari, Sherpa, Tamang, and Sunwar for official purposes.



Based upon Survey of India map with the permission of the Surveyor General of India.

© Government of India, copyright 2006.

VII

ETHNIC INFORMATION OF THE COMMUNITIES UNDER SURVEY

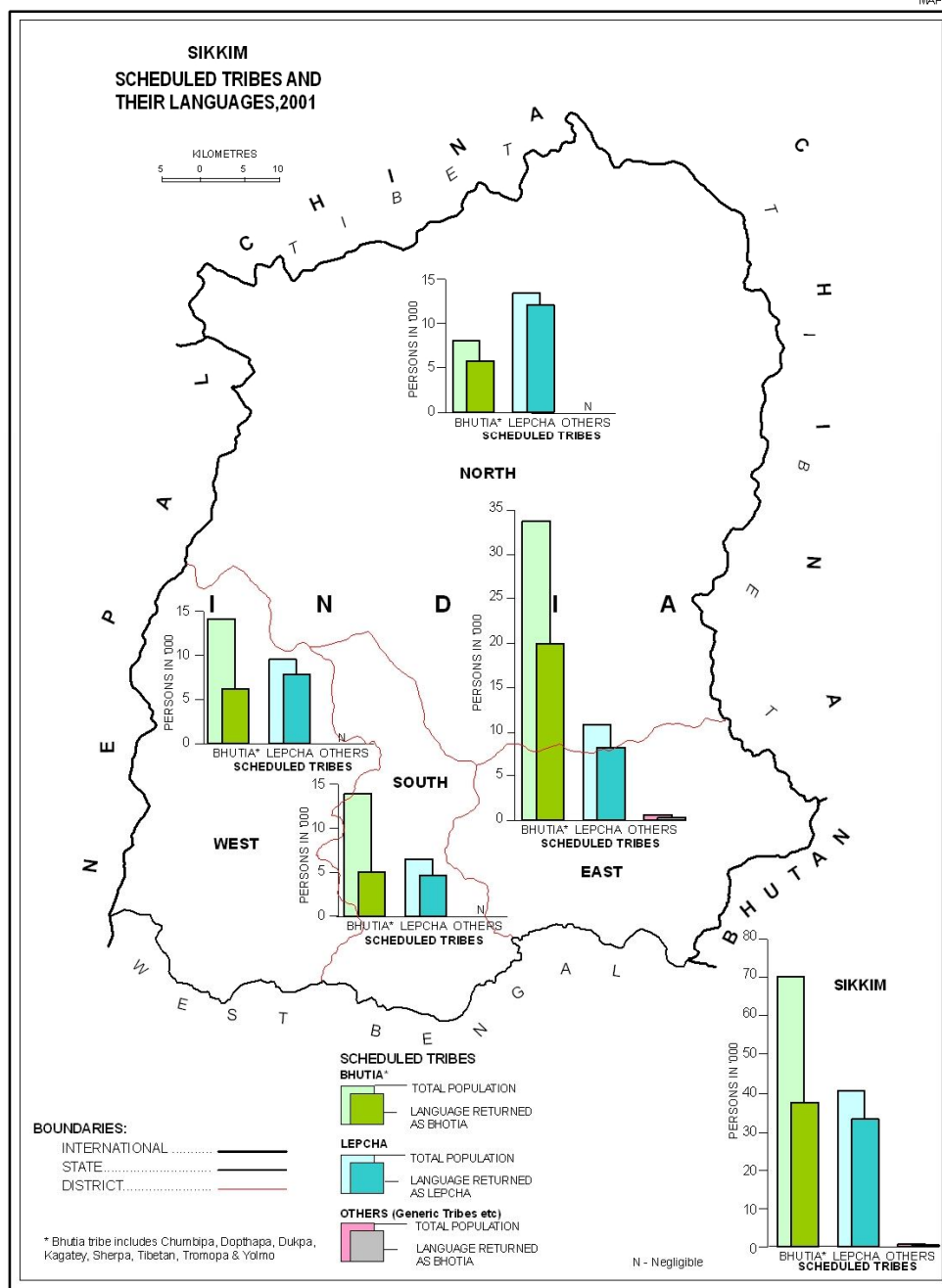
The linguistic identity of the **eleven** languages covered under the present volume, like Bhotia, Lepcha, Sherpa and Tibetan are co-terminus with their tribal names. In Sikkim 1. Bhotia (including Chumbipa, Dophapa, Dukpa, Kagatey, Sherpa, Tibetan, Tromopa, Yolmo) and 2. Lepcha are the recognized Scheduled Tribes as per the Scheduled Tribe list of Government of India, Census of India 2001. The brief description of each ethnic group is presented in the respective language Chapters.

VIII

CENSUS DATA ON LANGUAGES SURVEYED

As already discussed, all the languages studied under *Linguistic Survey of India – Sikkim* (Part-I) belong to the Tibeto-Burman sub-family of Tibeto-Chinese family. The broad divisions of the Tibeto-Burman languages spoken in Sikkim have been explained alongwith the diagram in the second section of the present chapter. And as per the diagram of Sir G.A. Grierson the three Bhotia group of languages, namely, Bhotia and Tibetan and Sherpa and eight languages belonging to Himalayan group namely Lepcha, Gurung, Sunwar, Mangari, Newari, Tamang as non-pronominalised ones as well as Limbu and Rai being the pronominalised have been surveyed for the present Volume.

So far Bhotia and Tibetan, Lepcha, Limbu, Tamang and Rai are concerned the figures of them are given as per their latest appearance in 2001 Census which have been detailed in respective **Language Chapters**. In 1971, Bhotia appeared under two heads namely Bhotia and Sikkim-Bhotia. Accordingly the figures for both Bhotia and Sikkim-Bhotia in 1971 is also presented below:



Based upon Survey of India map with the permission of the Surveyor General of India.

© Government of India, copyright 2008.

Sikkim –Bhotia as a single language / mother tongue in 1971 Census

	Total	Male	Female
India	11173	5805	5368
Rural	9082	4702	4380
Urban	2091	1103	988
Sikkim	10891	5647	5244
Rural	8956	4631	4325
Urban	1935	1016	919

Bhotia as a single language/mother tongue in 1971 Census

	Total	Male	Female
India	33226	16834	16392
Rural	30495	15349	15146
Urban	2731	1485	1246
Sikkim	8064	4295	3769
Rural	7764	4127	3637
Urban	300	168	132

The figures for Gurung, Mangari, Newar and Sunwar, are presented here as per their last appearance in 1961 Census. After 1961 Census the figures in respect of these languages could not be published following the decision of the Government of India.

GURUNG	Total	Male	Female	SUNWAR	Total	Male	Female
India	82	62	20	India	297	155	142
Sikkim	65	51	14	Sikkim	1	0	1
MANGARI	Total	Male	Female	NEWARI	Total	Male	Female
India	1136	616	520	India	284	188	96
Sikkim	60	21	39	Sikkim	143	113	30

IX

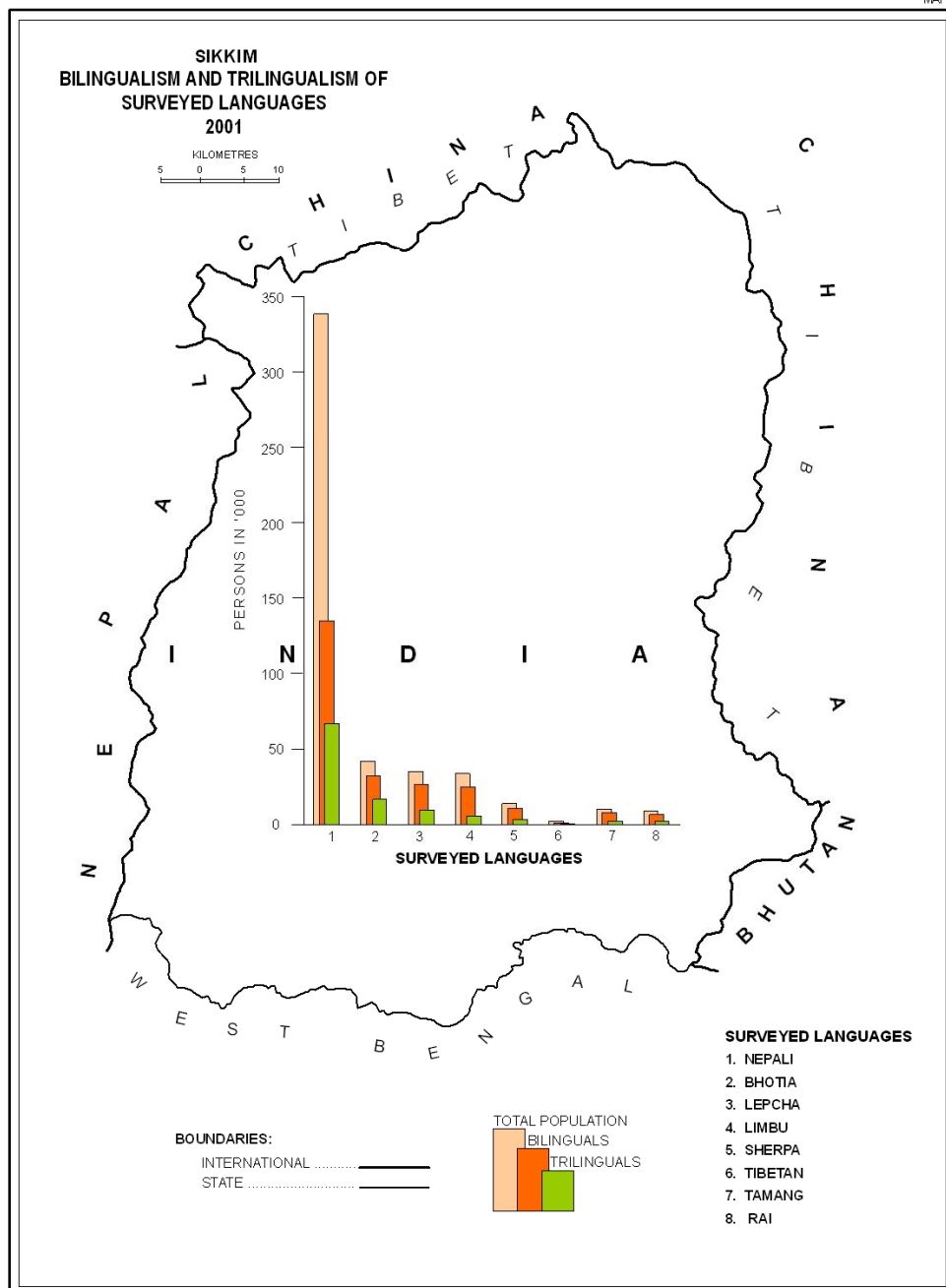
BILINGUALISM

Though Sikkim is inhabited mostly by the communities who have their own indigenous languages but many of them have shifted from their indigenous languages to regional language, i.e. Nepali, in spite of maintaining a separate ethnic identity. This situation of shifting has emerged from the Independence of India and subsequent inclusion of Sikkim in Indian Union and thereby trends of democratization, economic mobility and mass- media exposure to those tribal communities of Sikkim who were

remaining in isolation due to their living in inaccessible areas. They have gradually opened up for intense interaction with the dominant linguistic communities of the country as a result of which their lifestyle and communication pattern have significantly changed. Except home domain most of these minor linguistic communities have switched over to Nepali—the dominant regional language of the state—, Hindi and English as language of the country, for intergroup as well as for official communication.

The eleven languages covered in the present Survey, namely, Bhotia, Tibetan, Gurung, Sherpa, Tamang, Lepcha, Sunwar, Mangari, Newari, Limbu and Rai belong to Tibeto-Burman group of languages. Because of their prolonged contacts with Nepali (the most populous language of the state) and presently with Hindi—the Indo-Aryan languages—the above mentioned six languages have developed many linguistic as well as cultural features of Indo-Aryan origin. It has been observed that the people belonging to older generation (of age group of 40 and above) maintain their respective mother tongues more compared to the younger generations. Especially the younger section (of the age group between 14 to 25 years) are indifferent to their respective mother tongues and prefer Nepali and Hindi and sometimes English, depending upon their exposure as medium of communication, because of the languages of power prestige and attraction. It has also been noticed that there is languages shrinkage at lexical level, for example, the native terms for different rituals, elaborate kinship terms, exhaustive names of flora, being replaced with the lexicons of Nepali and to some extent of Hindi.

This interference of the second language, that is Nepali or Hindi, in the use of respective first languages has become the phenomenon of these communities of Sikkim, which ultimately is leading towards language shift. Though shifting towards Nepali is the main feature among the communities of Sikkim but the vice versa is not the case with Nepali speakers. Rather maintenance of the Nepali is the feature of Nepali speaking community. This can be observed from the data available in the Census on Bi-lingualism and Tri-lingualism where it has become evident that while the speakers of these Tibeto-Burman linguistic communities use Nepali as the first subsidiary language. Nepalese are bilinguals in Hindi and English only and rarely any of these minor languages. However, it is pertinent to mention here that very recently a trend has been observed to revive their linguistic glory in the form of nativistic movements organized by these linguistic communities of Sikkim.



Based upon Survey of India map with the permission of the Surveyor General of India.

© Government of India, copyright 2008.

In 2001 Census the total population of India was 1,028,737,436 and the population of Sikkim was 540,851. Out of the total population 52.57% population constitutes the Bi-lingual population of the State. Below is the presented the table showing the percentage of Bi-lingualism feature of the population of the Sikkim.

Serial No.	Name of the Languages	Total Speakers	Bilinguals	Percentage of Bi-lingualism
1	2	3	4	5
1	ASSAMESE	545	481	88.26
2	BENGALI	6,320	5,199	82.26
3	BODO	53	48	90.57
4	DOGRI	215	200	93.02
5	GUJARATI	132	104	78.79
6	HINDI	36,072	21,052	58.36
7	KANNADA	146	133	91.10
8	KASHMIRI	36	31	86.11
9	KONKANI	17	16	94.12
10	MAITHILI	543	443	81.58
11	MALAYALAM	1,021	959	93.93
12	MANIPURI	223	202	90.58
13	MARATHI	521	466	89.44
14	NEPALI	338,606	135,365	39.98
15	ORIYA	515	458	88.93
16	PUNJABI	1,364	1,321	96.85
17	SANSKRIT	3	3	100.00
18	SANTALI	80	67	83.75
19	SINDHI	4	4	100.00
20	TAMIL	484	445	91.94
21	TELUGU	340	305	89.71
22	URDU	2,930	2,316	79.04
23	ADI	6	4	66.67
24	ANAL	19	19	100.00
25	ANGAMI	20	14	70.00
26	AO	18	18	100.00
27	BHOTIA	41,825	32,490	77.68
28	BHUMIJ	9	7	77.78
29	BISHNUPURIYA	10	10	100.00
30	CHANG	4	3	75.00
31	DIMASA	1	1	100.00
32	ENGLISH	61	48	78.69
33	GANGTE	1	1	100.00
34	GARO	19	17	89.47
35	GONDI	116	109	93.97
36	HMAR	17	13	76.47
37	HO	6	6	100.00
38	KABUI	2	1	50.00
39	KARBI MIKIR	4	3	75.00
40	KHANDESHI	1	1	100.00

Serial No.	Name of the Languages	Total Speakers	Bilinguals	Percentage of Bi-lingualism
41	KHARIA	1	1	100.00
42	KHASI	17	10	58.82
43	KOCH	2	2	100.00
44	KUKI	67	65	97.01
45	KURUKH/ORAOON	92	83	90.22
46	LADAKHI	1	1	100.00
47	LALUNG	1	1	100.00
48	LEPCHA	35,728	26,620	74.51
49	LIMBU	34,292	24,863	72.50
50	LOTHA	7	7	100.00
51	LUSHAI/MIZO	106	98	92.45
52	MARING	2	2	100.00
53	MISHMI	5	5	100.00
54	MOGH	7	6	85.71
55	MONPA	7	7	100.00
56	MUNDA	35	31	88.57
57	MUNDARI	16	13	81.25
58	NICOBARESE	1	1	100.00
59	NISSI /DAFLA	10	5	50.00
60	NOCTE	4	4	100.00
61	PAITE	15	11	73.33
62	RABHA	3	3	100.00
63	RAI	8,856	6,680	75.43
64	SANGTAM	4	4	100.00
65	SEMA	10	9	90.00
66	SHERPA	13,922	10,900	78.29
67	SIMTE	1	1	100.00
68	TAMANG	10,089	8,256	81.83
69	TANGKHUL	14	13	92.86
70	TANGSA	5	4	80.00
71	THADO	11	11	100.00
72	TIBETAN	1,977	1,588	80.32
73	TRIPURI	22	16	72.73
74	VAIPHEI	2	2	100.00
75	WANCHO	7	7	100.00
76	ZELIANG	1	1	100.00
77	ZOU	4	4	100.00
	OTHERS	3,198	2,615	81.77
	Total Population	540,851	284,333	52.57

However, the detailed data for Bi-lingualism and Tri-lingualism in respect of the relevant languages are presented in each chapter with the detailed linguistic description.

Nepali occupies the first rank both as a language and as a mother tongue in the state of Sikkim as per 2001 census. After Nepali, the linguistic communities of Sikkim, mostly use English and Hindi as their second language . As a result of this pattern of

bilingualism it is found that in spite of recognition of the indigenous languages of Sikkim, namely Bhotia, Lepcha, Limbu, Sherpa, Rai, Tamang, Gurung, Mangari, Newari, and Sunwar, accorded by the Government of Sikkim, the Nepali occupies the predominant place in the state of Sikkim followed by English, Hindi and Bhotia.

X

PRESENTATION FORMAT

Introducing Sikkim in its socio-historical and demographic background the present Volume presents grammatical sketches of **eleven** languages including Tibetan, which is presented for the purpose of comparison with Bhotia. The chapters on languages have been presented following the order

- (i) under Bhotia group- Bhotia and its comparison with Tibetan, Sherpa
- (ii) under Pronominalised Himalayan group – Limbu and Rai
- (iii) under Non-Pronominalised Himalayan group –Lepcha, Tamang, Gurung, Mangari and Sunwar.

The present volume of Sikkim, prepared and presented as Part-I, does not include the description of Nepali - the first populous language of Sikkim. It has been planned to give a detailed description of Nepali spoken in Sikkim along with a comprehensive and comparative study of Nepali, surveyed in other parts of India (West Bengal, Himachal Pradesh etc.), in the volume of Sikkim - Part-II.

A questionnaire format containing a word list, a sentence list and a text in the form of story developed for field-surveys are the tools, which have been used by the Researchers for field investigations. Out of these the common text transcribed in respective surveyed languages has been appended with the respective language reports. And conceptually categorised 500 selected lexical items have been presented in comparative manner under two broad Division-Pronominalised Himalayan languages and Non-Pronominalised Himalayan languages. Though Bhotia along with Tibetan and Sherpa represent the Bhotia group of Tibeto-Himalayan languages but considering their Non-Pronominalised structure the comparative lexicons in respect of these three languages have been furnished under Non-Pronominalised category. It is inherent in human conditions to err and we make no claim to being an exception. As far as the descriptions of grammatical structure of individual languages are concerned the best efforts have been given to maintain the uniformity in presentation, which, of course could not be maintained in some cases due to data constraints.

XI

SCOPE OF THE FUTURE STUDIES

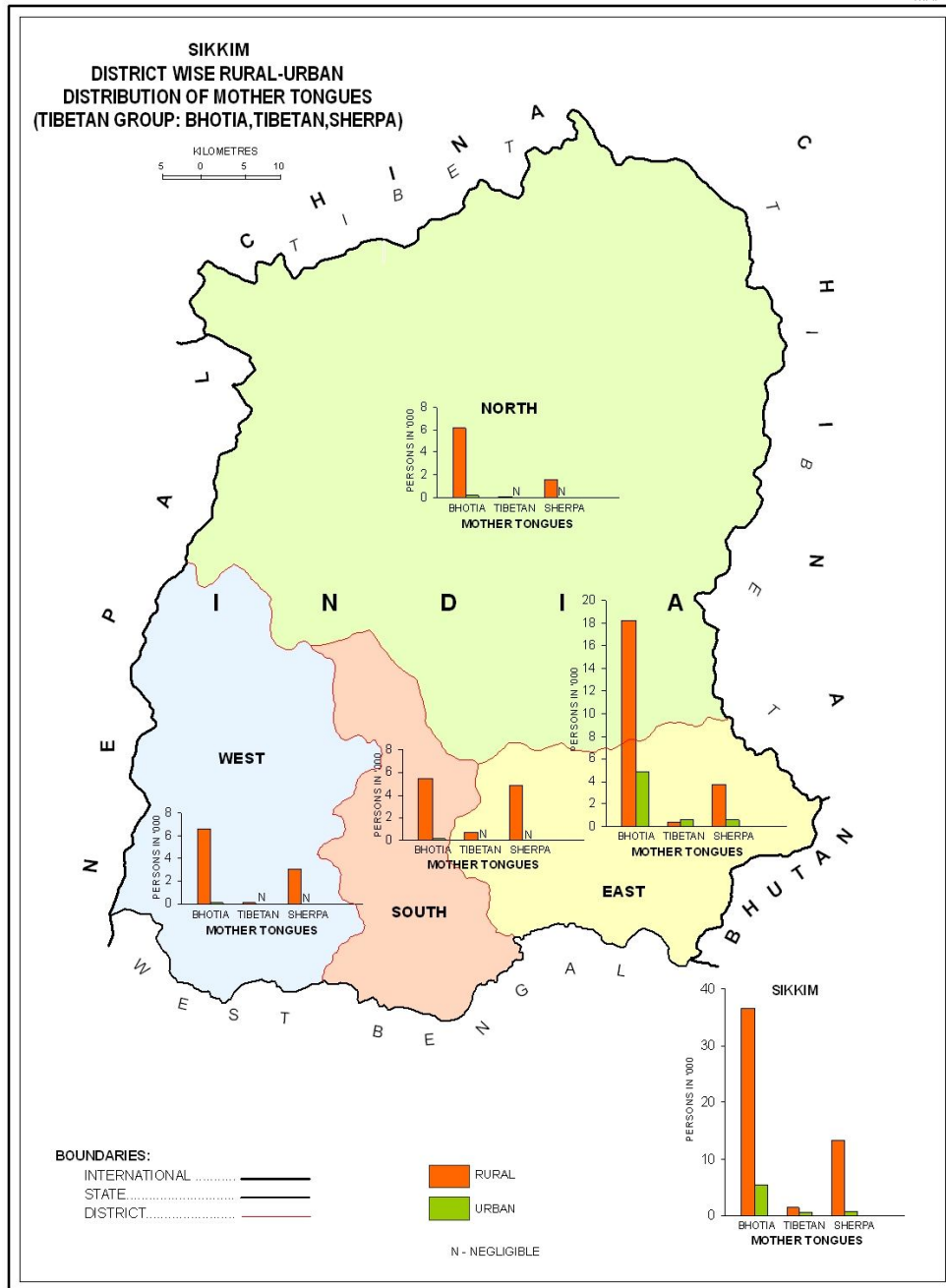
All the reports of the Volume have centered around the so-called popularly known variety of the languages because of non-availability of the data on the process of standardization of these languages. However, the process of standardization in respect of Bhotia, Lepcha and Limbu can be quantified in terms of their development, gaining the use in more domains whereas which cannot be quantified for the remaining languages in the context of Sikkim. Moreover, the dialectal varieties of these languages are yet to be explored which may be taken up as follow-up-work of this Volume.

BIBLIOGRAPHY & REFERENCES

- | | | |
|---|--------------|---|
| Asher, R.E.
(Editor in-Chief)
Benedict, Paul K. | 1994
1972 | The Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics, Pergamon Press, U.K.
Sino-Tibetan: A Conspectus. J.A. Matisoff (Ed.). Cambridge: The University Press. |
| Bhattacharya, Aparna
Bradley, David | 1989
1977 | Sikkim, National Book Trust, India.
Tibeto-Burman languages and classification. In D. Bradley (Ed.), Papers in South East Asian Linguistics: Tibeto-Burman languages of the Himalayas (No. 14, pp. 1-71). Canberra: Pacific Linguistics. |
| Grierson, George
Abraham | 1909 | Linguistic Survey of India. Vol. III Part -I (Reprint 1967), Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi. |
| Shafer, Robert. | 1966 | Introduction to Sino-Tibetan (Part-1). Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz. |
| Shafer, Robert. | 1967 | Introduction to Sino-Tibetan (Part-2). Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz. |
| Shafer, Robert. | 1968 | Introduction to Sino-Tibetan (Part-3). Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz. |
| Singh, K.S. | 2001 | The Scheduled Tribes, (People of India, National Series, Volume III) Anthropological Survey of India and Oxford India Paperback, Delhi. |
| Singh, K.S. | 1993 | Sikkim, (People of India Volume XXXIX) Anthropological Survey of India, Calcutta and Sea Gull book, Calcutta. |
| Risley, H.H. | 1891 | The Tribes and Castes of Bengal (Calcutta, Bengal Secretariat Press,); Reprint 1981, Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta. Vol -II. |
| Mahapatra, B.P. &
et.al | 1989 | The Written Languages of the World: A Survey of the Degree and Modes of Use. Government of India, New Delhi and Laval University Press, Canada. |
| Mahapatra, B.P. &
et.al | 2002 | Linguistic Survey of India. Special Studies, Orissa Office of the Registrar General, India, Language Division, Kolkata. |
| Hutton, J.H. | 1986 | Census of India 1931: With Complete Survey of Tribal Life and Systems (Delhi: Gian Publishing House) Vol .I- III. |
| Encyclopedia
Britannica
Ltd. | 1768 | Encyclopedia Britannica, Vol-20 "Sikkim" p-650-651 London Reprint-1964. |
| Census of India 2001 | 2004 | Primary Census Abstract, Total Population Table A-5 Delhi. |
| Census of India 1991 | 2004 | Language Atlas of India 1991 Delhi. |
| Census of India 1991 | 1992 | Series -I, India Paper 2 of, Final Population Totals: Brief analysis of Primary census abstract, Delhi. |
| Census of India 1991 | 1999 | Part IV B (i) (a) - C-Series, Language, Table C-7, Delhi. |
| Census of India 1991 | 1999 | Part IV B (i)(b) - C Series, Bilingualism and Trilingualism, Table C-8, Delhi. |
| Census of India 1961 | 1964 | Volume 1, part -II -C (ii) Language Tables Delhi. |
| Census of India 1971 | 1977 | Series I, Part-II -C (i) Social and Cultural Tables, Delhi. |
| Census of India 1971 | 1972 | R.C. Nigam "Language Handbook on Mother Tongues in Census, Delhi. |
| Census of India 1951 | 1954 | Paper No. I of 1954, Language Table. |

-----0-----

BHOTIA GROUP
(BHOTIA, TIBETAN AND SHERPA)



Based upon Survey of India map with the permission of the Surveyor General of India.

© Government of India, copyright 2008.

BHOTIA AND ITS COMPARISON WITH TIBETAN

KAKALI MUKHERJEE

1. INTRODUCTION

The present study “Bhotia and its Comparison with Tibetan” in Sikkim is presented in the Volume based on the field data collected from Gangtok during May, 1995 – June, 1995, that is one month only and during June, 1997 for a period of 16 days.

The ‘Bhotia’ and ‘Tibetan’ are the important speeches of Tibeto-Burman languages of Tibeto Chinese Language family in India.

1.1 FAMILY AFFILIATION

According to Sir George Abraham Grierson’s *Linguistic Survey of India* (LSI) the language-group classified and attested as ‘Bhotia’ comprises the distinguished sub-dialects namely Bhotia of Tibet or Tibetan, Bhotia of Sikkim or Danjong-ka, Bhotia of Sherpa or Sharpa Bhotia, Bhotia of Bhutan or Drukpa (Lhoke), Bhotia of Ladakh or Ladakhi, Murmi or Tamang, Bhotia of Lahul or Lahuli, Bhotia of Baltistan or Balti, Bhotia of Spiti, Bhotia of Purik and other dialects. And Bhotia of Tibet, Bhotia of Sikkim or Danjongka, Bhotia of Bhutan or Lhoke, Bhotia of Sherpa or Sharpa Bhotia etc are the eastern dialects of Bhotia or Tibetan group of Tibeto – Burman family (Grierson 1909 : pp.- 14 – 15 & 1927: pp.- 54 – 55) and have been studied under the present Volume of LSI-Sikkim (Part-I). The present report deals with Bhotia along with its comparison with Tibetan.

In the 1901 Census (Census of India, 1901) it was reported that the main language of the Tibeto-Himalayan Branch of Tibeto-Burman family is that which the Europeans called as *Tibetan*. The Tibetan speakers were called by them as “Pho-Ke” and the Indians used to call the language as “Bhotia”. It has been further reported that, the name “Tibetan” does not exactly connote all the forms of speech which are included in “Bhotia” and therefore “Bhotia” is the more accurate name. Hence, to save any sort of confusion it is therefore best to speak of the language-group as Bhotia, of which Tibetan or Bhotia of Tibet, Balti or Bhotia of Baltistan, Sherpa or Bhotia of East Nepal, Denjong-ke or Bhotia of Sikkim are those dialects (amongst many others) with which the Census of India is more immediately concerned”. (Census of India 1961: *Language Tables* : pp.- 374-379). Accordingly, the group name ‘Bhotia’ has been selected for presenting Bhotia and Tibetan as well as Sherpa in the present Volume.

Tibetans are said to have immigrated from U and Tsang districts of Tibet to Sikkim in India. The standard form of Tibetan is closely related to the dialect spoken in Central Tibet is found to be developed independently in India. Sikkim—Bhotia (i.e. “Danjong-ka or Bhotia of Sikkim”) is the speech of a Tibetan race migrated to Sikkim from Tsang district of Tibet (Grierson 1909, pp. 14-31 & 119-122).

An interesting observation given by Shri R.C.Nigam (1971) where he has explained that “Bhotia” (‘Bhotia-Unspecified’) is the general name or a group of dialects of which “Bhotia” is an important speech whereas “Tibetan” is the standard form of

Bhotia group of dialects”. (*Language Handbook on mother tongues in Census* - pp.33, 229, 245).

As already explained, after Grierson the classification of Tibeto-Chinese languages have undergone several changes by different scholars, notably by Robert Shafer. Discarding the scheme of Grierson’s classification of Tibeto-Chinese family of languages Shafer classified the family as Sino-Tibetan with six primary divisions like 1. Karenic 2. Baric 3. Barmic 4. Bodic 5. Daic and 6. Sinitic. And the Tibeto-Burman languages of India as per Grierson’s classification may be covered by the three divisions devised by Shafer namely Baric-Barmic-Bodic. Tibetan or Bhotia group of languages are covered by Bodic division of Shafer being classified under South Bodish unit. [The written languages of the world, 1989, pp. 683-685].

For the present study the presentation of Bhotia and Tibetan has been preferred to be under the ‘Bhotia’ group of Tibeto Himalayan branch of Tibeto Burman Languages.

1.2 LOCATION

So far Bhotia is concerned the language is spoken in the eastern part of India especially in the state of Sikkim. “Denjong-ke” or Bhotia of Sikkim is the language of one of the predominant tribes of the State. They are the descendants of Tibetans who began to rule Sikkim about 350 years ago and they now form the ruling race. The original race migrated from Tsang area of Tibet and their language has since been developed on lines of its own with language specific features. (Census of India 1901: pp – 260-261).

Sikkim is the Gurkha name of the state, but the indigenous denomination of the place is Da-njong i.e. rice district. The name ‘Bhotia of Sikkim’ / ‘Sikkim – Bhotia’ for the language was proposed by Rev. Graham Sandberg, the writer of “Manual of the Sikkim- Bhotia language or Denjong ke” (1888). The State Government of Sikkim has recognized ‘Bhutia’ for official purposes along with other ten languages of the state namely 1. Nepali 2. Lepcha 3. Limbu 4. Rai 5. Gurung 6. Newari 7. Mangari 8. Sherpa 9. Tamang and 10. Sunwar (vide Sikkim Language Act 1977 and subsequent notification).

Tibetans who migrated from Tibet in different phases are found in the state of Sikkim and States of Himachal Pradesh, Arunachal Pradesh, Karnataka, Orissa etc. Tibetan, thus, is the language of the immigrant group and is considered as different from that of Bhotia.

1.3 SPEAKERS’ STRENGTH: LANGUAGE, MOTHER TONGUE AND BILINGUALISM

Language

So far as the speaker strength is concerned the latest available data for Bhotia and Tibetan as per 2001 Census and Sikkim–Bhotia as it appeared in 1971 Census are given below for India as well as Sikkim State.

‘Bhotia’ and ‘Tibetan’ language speakers in 2001 Census are as follows

BHOTIA	TOTAL	M	F	RURAL	M	F	URBAN	M	F
INDIA	81,012	41,118	39,894	70,011	35,499	34,512	11,001	5,619	5,382
Sikkim	41,825	21,479	20,346	36,488	18,763	17,725	5,337	2,716	2,621

TIBETAN	TOTAL	M	F	RURAL	M	F	URBAN	M	F
INDIA	85,278	48,938	36,340	63,364	37,069	26,295	21,914	11,869	10,045
Sikkim	1,977	949	1,028	1,369	652	717	608	297	311

Sikkim—Bhotia as per 1971 Census:

SIKKIM – BHOTIA	TOTAL	M	F	RURAL	M	F	URBAN	M	F
INDIA	11173	5805	5368	9082	470 2	4380	2091	1103	988
SIKKIM	10891	5647	5244	8956	463 1	4325	1935	1016	919

Since the data of 1971 census on languages and mother tongues of India were not presented in the manner as in 1991 so the figure of Bhotia as a mother tongue could not be presented separately. However, no mother tongue was grouped under Bhotia language.

Mother Tongue

‘Bhotia’ and ‘Tibetan’ mother tongue speakers in 2001 census are as follows.

BHOTIA	TOTAL	M	F	RURAL	M	F	URBAN	M	F
INDIA	68,800	34,837	33,963	58,003	29,339	28,664	10,797	5,498	5,299
Sikkim	41,823	21,478	20,345	36,486	18,762	17,724	5,337	2,716	2,621
TIBETAN	TOTAL	M	F	RURAL	M	F	URBAN	M	F
INDIA	77,305	44,883	32,422	56,349	33,507	22,842	20,956	11,376	9,580
Sikkim	1,955	938	1,017	1,347	641	706	608	297	311

1.4 BILINGUALISM

Bhotia

As returned in 2001 Census out of 41825 Bhotia speakers in Sikkim 32490 are the bilinguals and they are Bi-linguals in the following language in descending order .

Sl. No	Language of Bilingualism	Total	Male	Female	Language of Trilingualism among the Bilingualism	Total	Male	Female
-------------------	-------------------------------------	--------------	-------------	---------------	---	--------------	-------------	---------------

1	Nepali	20978	10607	10371	i. Hindi	3809	2179	1630
					ii. English	2659	1456	1203
					iii. Lepcha	236	100	136
					iv. Tibetan	121	94	27
					v. Limbu	52	31	21
					vi. Sherpa	17	8	9
					vii. Tamang	2	1	1
					viii. OTHERS@	19	12	7
2	English	8064	4280	3784	i. Nepali	3919	2038	1881
					ii. Hindi	3290	1782	1508
					iii. Tibetan	29	17	12
					iv. Limbu	12	9	3
					v. Lepcha	10	5	5
					vi. OTHERS@	21	15	6
3	Hindi	3033	1689	1344	i. Nepali	1396	813	583
					ii. English	803	453	350
					iii. Lepcha	8	5	3
					iv. Tibetan	7	4	3
					v. Limbu	1	1	0
					vi. OTHERS@	4	2	2
4	Tibetan	228	204	24	i. Nepali	91	77	14
					ii. Lepcha	1	0	1
					iii. OTHERS@	23	20	3
5	Lepcha	103	42	61	i. Nepali	61	28	33
					ii. Tibetan	1	0	1
					iii. OTHERS@	7	5	2
6	Limbu	30	21	9	i. Nepali	15	10	5
					ii. Sherpa	1	0	1
					iii. OTHERS@	5	5	0
7	Sherpa	3	1	2	i. Hindi	2	0	2
					ii. Nepali	1	1	0
8	Tamang	2	0	2	i. English	1	0	1
9	Oriya	22	13	9	i. Hindi	13	11	2
					ii. Nepali	7	1	6
10	Total of Others#	49	29	20	i. Nepali	3	0	3
					ii. OTHERS@	1	0	1

Accordingly 77.68% are bilinguals among the Bhotia speakers of Sikkim.

Tibetan

As returned in 2001 Census out of 1977 Tibetan speakers in Sikkim 1588 are the bilinguals and they are Bi-linguals in the following language in descending order .

Sl. No	Language of Bilingualism	Total	Male	Female	Language of Trilingualism among the Bilingualism	Total	Male	Female
1	Nepali	1009	467	542	i. Hindi	407	172	235
					ii.English	116	54	62
					iii.Sherpa	3	3	0
					iv.Limbu	1	0	1
					v.Bhotia	1	1	0
					vi.OTHERS@	2	0	2
2	English	316	157	159	i.Nepali	148	71	77
					ii.Hindi	140	70	70
					iii.Bhotia	4	2	2
					iv.Limbu	1	0	1
3	Hindi	246	142	104	i.Nepali	114	69	45
					ii.Bhotia	2	2	0
					iii.OTHERS@	32	18	14
4	Bhotia	12	6	6	i.Nepali	6	2	4
					ii.English	1	1	0
5	Limbu	2	1	1	i.Nepali	2	1	1
6	Sherpa	1	0	1	i.Nepali	1	0	1
7	Total of Others #	15	7	8				

Accordingly 80.32% are bilinguals among the Tibetan speakers of Sikkim.

Under the languages of Bilingualism the clubbed Total of Others comprise of Bilingual speakers strength in relevant languages below 100. But in the states of Sikkim the languages like Nepali, Bhutia, Limbu, Lepcha, Sherpa, Tibetan, Tamang and Rai are the most important languages. So, the bilingual strength in respect of these languages, even if it is below 100 speakers, have been taken separately and not clubbed under "Total of Others"

@ Under the head Trilingualism the clubbed Others comprise of trilingual speakers strength in relevant languages below 100. But in the states of Sikkim the languages like Nepali, Bhutia, Limbu, Lepcha, Sherpa, Tibetan, Tamang and Rai are the most important languages. So, the trilingual strength in respect of these languages, even if it is below 100 speakers, have been taken separately and not clubbed under "Others"

1.4 SOCIOLINGUISTIC SETTING

The Bhutia tribe of Sikkim is divided into two groups, namely, 1. The Tondurushi Bhotia and 2. Bebtse Gye Bhotia. The Tondurushi group has four exogamous units namely Chechuthapa, Sandarpa, Kachopa and Sengapa and the Bebtse Gye group is found with eight clans, namely, Gensapa, Namchangopa, Chungiapa, Ithempa, Venchungpa, Veinpunadikpa, Namnakpa and Machangpa. Both the groups are traditionally Endogamous, though cases of intermarriage with the Lepcha, Sherpa and Tamang are also reported. But marrying one's own clan member is highly prohibited.

The Bhutias graze their sheep in summer in high altitudes of Sikkim hills and in winter they practice agriculture in relatively low altitude. Of course some men and women are engaged in service while others are involved in business. Land is under individual proprietorship whereas forest resources are controlled by individuals as well as government. The Bhutias practice terrace cultivation..

The "Bhotia" is identified as the mother tongue of Bhutias. Bhotia belongs to the Tibetan branch of Tibeto-Burman sub-family of Tibeto-Chinese language family. A majority of them are conversant with Nepali- an Indo-Aryan language. The script adapted by them is named as "Bhutia" which has been developed from Tibetan script by way of certain modifications.

By religion the Bhutias are all Buddhists.

The Bhotias are distributed in four districts of Sikkim with a major concentration in north-district.

The oral tradition of Bhutias is maintained in composition of songs of socio-economic and socio-religious significance.

The Tibetans who return their mother tongue as "Tibetan" in Sikkim are commonly referred as "Bhote". Based on the period of migration the Tibetans are divided into two groups, namely 1. the Tibetans migrated from Tibet before 1959 and 2. the Tibetans migrated from Tibet after 1959. (Singh, 2001)

Among the Tibetans the clans like Thomowa, Drobthaba, Khampa, Lhasawa, Tsongpa and Andowa have been reported. They are monogamous. The Tibetans maintain congenial relations with their neighbouring communities. Connubial relations are maintained with the Sherpa, Drukpa, Tamang and Lepcha communities.

The traditional occupation of the Tibetan is agriculture. They specially cultivate ginger and cardamom. Some Tibetans are employed in government jobs while some are involved in trade.

As reported the Tibetans speak different dialects among themselves like Themo, Kham, Lhasa, Tsong, and Amdo- etc. Tibetan thus comprising of all these dialects is a language belonging to the Tibetan branch of Tibeto -Burman sub- family of Tibeto-Chinese language family. They are having their own Script "Tibetan". For intergroup communication the Tibetans use Nepali, Hindi and English according to the need.

The Tibetan are Buddhist by religion.

The Tibetans are distributed majorly in east- district of Sikkim.

The Tibetan are rich with the tradition of folk songs, folk tales and folklore.

Sikkim was the princely state of India since British rule. Though the chief administrator was the king himself but the Chief Minister was appointed by Government of India. This was introduced as a system since 1861 and continued to be in vogue upto 1975. In the 26th of April of 1975 Sikkim was included in the territory of India as the 22nd state of Indian Union.

Historically the Lepchas were the original inhabitants of Sikkim. But presently the population of Sikkim comprises of Nepali, Bhutia and Lepchas as the main ethnic groups. The Bhutias are the descendants of the immigrants from Tibet and Bhutan who migrated to Sikkim during 17th century A.D. and subsequently settled in Sikkim. But the majority of the population in Sikkim is of Nepalese origin. The Bhutias and Lepchas are occupying the second rank in population. People of other communities comprise the third rank in population who are namely Sherpa, Limbu, Rai, Tamang, Mangar, Sunwar, Gurung etc. including the plainsmen who have arrived Sikkim from all over India in connection with occupation and business.

Thus first three main languages of the Sikkim state are Nepali, Bhotia and Lepcha. Nepali as spoken by the majority of the population is the lingua franca of Sikkim. English is the medium of instruction in school and colleges as well as first language. Nepali is taught as a subject in schools and colleges as well as the language of inter group communication. Of late, Hindi is becoming popular in communication network across the communities.

Being a state dominated by Buddhists since the eighteenth century, i.e. the time of the advent of the ancestors of the Royal family in Sikkim from Tibet, Tibetan got a strong hold in Sikkim and that being the reason Tibetan remained the regional language in Sikkim upto 1973. And slowly that has been replaced by Bhotia since then. The Bhotia is called by the people of Sikkim as either “Sikkimese” or “Bhutia” or “Lhoke”. The present Bhotia grammar is based on the ‘Lhoke’ variety which is considered as the standard –both written and spoken-. And the Bhotia text books are written presently in the Lhoke variety of Bhotia.

After inclusion of Sikkim in Indian Union the Bhotia language substituted Tibetan slowly as the written language of the state. It was introduced as vernacular subject from class I to class VIII (i.e. upto junior final examination) under Sikkim Board of Education. From the year 1984 this trend has been further extended by introducing “Bhutia” as a vernacular subject upto XIIth standard under Sikkim Board of Education. From 2001 onwards Bhotia has been included as a subject in graduate level too. The situation is developing rapidly by way of promoting the language as the State Official language by Government of Sikkim. Of course, along with Bhotia the other languages of the states are also taken care by the Government of Sikkim for their overall promotion as per the following report. The magazine India Today in an article “crowning glory” (November 18, 2002, pp 54-55) reports that “*There is a multitude of languages and most of them like Tamang, Gurung, Rai and Sherpa have now been given official recognition as “State languages” and are taught in schools. Along with Nepali, the other state languages spoken by the three main ethnic groups – Lepcha, Limbu and Bhutia – are now being taught at the university level*”.

With the advent of “Bhutia” as the regional language of Sikkim since 1977 the urge for modification of the existing script for “Bhutia” language was felt. Accordingly, a script by suitable modification and simplification of the Tibetan script was made for the

language. And this Bhutia script is used in writing textbook and other materials for the students from Ist to XIIth standard University level too following the guidelines of Government of Sikkim and “Bhutia language Text Book Bureau” .The Department of Education of Government of Sikkim is giving special efforts to promote “Bhutia” by way of conducting various projects, like translation works from Bhutia to English and vice versa. Besides the preparation of Text Books the Government of Sikkim has prepared a “Bhutia-English Dictionary” about which mention has already been made.

Regarding the use of Bhotia in other domains like mass-media it has been informed as well as observed that the AIR, Gangtok broadcasts programmes in Bhutia language daily for 1 hour which comprises the news in Bhutia for 5 minutes, and other programmes like music as well as other spoken words covering socio-cultural aspects. Doordarshan, Gangtok, also occasionally telecast some cultural programmes in Bhotia language.

In the judiciary, the judgements is recorded in English only in High court whereas the use of Nepali or Hindi is found in use in passing judgments in the lower courts. However, the pleading, witnessing and producing evidence in courts is permissible in “Bhutia” alongwith.

Although the literature- both narrative and non-narrative- is in its incipient stage of development but it is growing day-by-day. The first novel published in Bhotia is ‘*Richi-hope-Asa*’ written by Baichung Tshichudarpa. The poem published by Baichung Tshichudarpa and Neydup Bhutia also deserves special mention. As per the study conducted under “The Written Language Survey” (1989) some 20 publications including novelette, short story, nov-el, lyric, play and text book alongwith some translation box in Bhotia was reported. However, a newspaper ‘*Dhatay Danjong*’ is being published in Bhutia almost on regular basis (twice in a month). The Bhotia version of ‘*Sikkim Herald*’ news paper is also published at Government Enterprise.

Bhotias are Buddhist by religion. The most important ceremonies or festivals observed by them are *Losung* (yearly festival), *Losar* (harvesting festival), *Saga Dawa*, *Lhabab Dhuechen* etc (religious festivals).

1.6 REVIEW OF EARLIER WORKS

So far the studies have been made on Bhotia language of Sikkim mention may be first made of Brian Houghton Hodgson’s work “*On the aborigines of the Sub – Himalayas with comparative vocabularies of Tibetan, Serpa, Bhutani, Lepcha, Limbu, Kiranti, Murmi, Newar, Gurung, Mogor and Sunwar*” published in 1847 in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (vol. – 16, part-2, pp.:1235-1244), where the features described for Bhutani resembles with those of Bhotia of Sikkim. The next, mention can be made about the work on Sikkim–Bhotia by Rev. Graham Sandberg in his book entitled “*Manual of the Sikkim-Bhutia language or Den jong ke*” published in 1895 where the Bhotia has been discussed in a much detailed way with all its grammatical features. Reference can be made of Grierson’s “*Danjongka or Bhotia of Sikkim*” published in 1909 in Linguistic Survey of India where Bhotia has been broadly analysed and presented along with the comparison of it with Tibetan. From the University of Helsinki there has

been a Thesis by Juha Yliniemi (2005) where the phonemes of Bhotia language has been discussed along with its dialectal varieties.

During the field investigation we have come across with the information about the “Bhotia – English Dictionary” (published by Government of Sikkim) where the Bhotia words have been presented both in Bhotia script and in Roman script alongwith English gloss. The editors of the dictionary are Shri Norden Tshering and Shri Pema Rinjin Lama. One more Bhotia – English Dictionary has also been published by Shri Pintso Bhutia where the Bhotia words have been presented in Bhotia script along with their English meaning.

The studies on Tibetan language are more in number in comparison to Bhotia. The first in the series of mentionable works on Tibetan language is Alexander Csosma De Koros’s “*A grammar of the Tibetan Language in English*”, (Calcutta, 1834, Prepared under the patronage of the Government under the auspices of the Asiatic Society of Bengal). The book by Hodgson (1847), as mentioned, has dealt with Tibetan along with other languages belonging to the same group. And besides “Manual of Sikkim – Bhotia” Sandberg contributed a book entitled “*Handbook of Colloquial Tibetan*” (1894), where the Tibetan usages have been shown specifically. Tibetan has been extensively discussed by Grierson in Linguistic Survey of India (1909), showing the contrast with other languages of Bhotia group. In the post – Grierson period mention may be made of the works like George. N. Roerich and L. Phungtshok Lhalungpa’s “*Text book of colloquial Tibetan (Dialect of Central Tibet)*” (1972), Losang Thondon’s “*Modern Tibetan Language (Vol.I)*” (1988), Herbert Bruce Hannah’s “*A Grammar of the Tibetan Language*” (1912), etc. But the most remarkable and mentionable work is Robert Shafer’s “*Introduction to Sino – Tibetan*” in 3 volumes (1966-68) where Grierson’s scheme of classification of Tibeto- Burman languages has been discarded and re-classified the Tibeto-Burman languages of the Indian sub-continent in six primary divisions, which has already been mentioned in section II of Introduction. The article ‘*Tibetan language*’ available in internet from the source of Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia also attracts mention in regard to the classification as well as description of Tibetan language.

1.7 INFORMANTS OF BHOTIA AND TIBETAN

For the elicitation of data on Bhotia the resource persons of the Sikkim Secretariat (Bhutia Section) , All India Radio, Gangtok and T.N.H.S. Govt. School, Gangtok were contacted and the data were mainly collected from Shri Pema Rinzin Lama, the-then Deputy Director of Bhutia Section in Sikkim Secretariat, Ms. Kiden Bhutia, the-then Programme Director of AIR,Gangtok and Shri T.N.Dorzi, the-then Senior Teacher of T.N.H.S.school, Gangtok. The Tibetan data were collected from Shri T. W. Bhutia of Directorate of Census Operations (=DCO), Sikkim and Tashi Lama of Palace Monastery at Gangtok and the scholars of Institute of Tibetology, Gangtok and Shri. Kunga Dorzi of SIB, Sikkim. The Tibetan data collected for the purpose is mainly the colloquial form of the language used in the home domain where the scope of use of formal variety is less. The coordination and cooperation of DCO, Sikkim (espeicially of Shri R.K.Ram, the-then Deputy Director of DCO, Sikkim , Shri Mohan Singh Dorji, the- then Investigator of DCO, Sikkim and others) in respect of liasoning the informants, resource persons in

Sikkim Secretariat, Government Organizations (especially AIR), Schools, Monasteries, Institutions etc. deserve special mention.

2. PHONOLOGY

The Phonological system of Bhotia is presented below based on the data collected from the informants of Gangtok during field investigation.

2.1 PHONEMIC INVENTORY

The segmental phonemes of Bhotia comprise of 8 vowels (including 2 optional vowel phonemes which are /i/ and /ʊ/ having limited occurrences), 29 Consonants and 3 tones. An effort has been made to present them with suitable examples.

2.1.1 SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i>	<i>ɨ</i> <i>ʊ</i>	<i>u</i>
Mid	<i>e</i>	<i>ʌ</i>	<i>o</i>
Low			<i>a</i>

Consonants

	Bilabial		Dental		Alveolar		Palato-Alveolar		Palatal		Velar		Glottal	
	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd
Stops	<i>p</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>t̪</i>	<i>d̪</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>d</i>			<i>c</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>g</i>		
Asp.	<i>pʰ</i>		<i>t̪ʰ</i>		<i>tʰ</i>				<i>cʰ</i>		<i>kʰ</i>			
Affricates							<i>C</i>	<i>J</i>						
Nasals		<i>m</i>		<i>n</i>						<i>Mʹ</i>		<i>M</i>		
Fricatives			<i>s</i>						<i>Sʹ</i>					<i>h̃</i>
Laterals						<i>l</i>								
Asp.						<i>lʰ</i>								
Trills						<i>r</i>								
Approximant		<i>w</i>								<i>y</i>				

Tones

1. Rising / ˈ /
2. Falling / ˋ /
- and
3. Level /unmarked/

2.1.2 SUPRA-SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

If syllables have a rising or falling pitch in comparison to the pitch level of the normal speech they are said to be having a rising (or high) or falling (or low) tone respectively. The syllables whose pitch level remains constant are said to be having a level tone. And Bhotia has three lexically significant pitch levels i.e. 1. Rising / ˈ / 2. Falling / ˋ / and 3. Level /unmarked/ .

<i>Ma</i> ˈ	‘I’	<i>M</i> ˋ <i>a</i>	‘five’	<i>Ma</i>	‘drum’(used in puja)
<i>ta</i> ˈ	‘horse’	<i>t</i> ˋ <i>a</i>	‘tiger’	<i>ta</i>	‘sign’
<i>da</i> ˈ	‘arrow’	<i>d</i> ˋ <i>a</i>	‘to follow’	<i>da</i>	‘message’
<i>l</i> ^h <i>o</i> ˈ	‘year’	<i>l</i> ^h <i>o</i> ˋ	‘south’	<i>l</i> ^h <i>o</i> (<i>c</i> ^h <i>u</i>)	‘(water)floating’

Though length and nasalisation are realised in Bhotia but they are not phonemic. Their occurrences vary freely and mostly realised in the final position of the word or syllable as shown in the following examples.

/i/		/e/		/a/
[ari:]	/ari/ ‘field’	[me:]	/me/ ‘bed’	[Ma:mo] /Mamo/ ‘sweet’
[ri:]	/ri/ ‘creeper’	[be:]	/be/ ‘is’	[ja:ti:] /jati/ ‘nutmeg’
[c ^h ari:]	/c ^h ari/ ‘key’			[pa:ku] /paku/ ‘barks’
[tari:]	/tari/ ‘axe’			[pa:ña] /paña/ ‘terrace’
[mit ^h u:]	<	mit ^h uk		‘flower’
[yo:]	<	y ^h ok		‘work’
[ya:]	<	y ^h ar		‘upwards’

Regarding nasalization this can be said that in most cases the velar nasal is dropped in the word final position by nasalizing the preceding vowel.

/d̥AM/ ‘and’ (a connective particle) is freely pronounced as [d̥AM] or [d̥ã]
 /at̥ArAM/ ‘always’ (an adverb) is freely pronounced as [at̥ArAM] or [at̥Arã]
 /ribaM/ ‘hare’ (a noun) is freely pronounced as [ribaM] or [ribã]
 /ked̥AM/ ‘banana’ (a noun) is freely pronounced as [ked̥AM] or [ked̥ã]

2.2 THE DESCRIPTION AND DISTRIBUTION OF PHONEMES

The occurrence of the vowels in Initial, Medial and Final positions are as follows.
Front vowels do not occur in initial position.

[Hereafter for Initial-Medial-Final the short form I-M-F respectively will be used]

Vowels

/i/ high front unrounded vowel

I	M	F
	<i>k^him</i> ‘house’	<i>ri</i> ‘hill/mountain’
	<i>r imo</i> ‘picture’	<i>k^hyi</i> ‘dog’
	<i>S im</i> ‘wood’	<i>ali</i> ‘cat’

/e/ mid high front unrounded vowel

<i>p ema</i> ‘lotus’	<i>r e</i> ‘paddy’
<i>t epo</i> ‘praise’	<i>C e</i> ‘full moon night’
<i>g ego</i> ‘door’	<i>M oce</i> ‘vegetables’

/A/ mid central unrounded vowel

<i>AMia</i> ‘child’	<i>phÁgi</i> ‘that’	<i>p^h A</i> ‘year’
<i>ACAM</i> ‘onion’	<i>kAmpu</i> ‘leather’	<i>dApA</i> ‘porter’

/u/ high back rounded vowel

<i>uMa</i> ‘pillow’	<i>luM</i> ‘wind’	<i>c^hu</i> ‘worker’
<i>uh</i> ‘breath	<i>b um</i> ‘daughter’	<i>bu</i> ‘boy’
<i>ucuk</i> ‘to insist	<i>k^huc^hu</i> ‘cuckoo	<i>sihu</i> ‘claw’

/o/ mid high back rounded vowel

<i>ola</i> ‘crow’	<i>t^hom</i> ‘sand’	<i>c^ho</i> ‘lake’
<i>o m</i> ‘milk’	<i>p^ho Cen</i> ‘penis’	<i>raco</i> ‘horn’
<i>op e</i> ‘nipple’	<i>cilo k</i> ‘rib’	<i>do</i> ‘stone’

/a/ low back unrounded vowel

<i>a`cu</i>	‘elder brother’	<i>dam</i>	‘mud’	<i>ta´</i>	‘horse’
<i>a´m</i>	‘mother’	<i>lam</i>	‘river’	<i>ra´</i>	‘goat’
<i>atAraM</i>	‘always’	<i>bal</i>	‘wave’	<i>namk^ha</i>	‘sky’

The marginal phoneme /ɨ/ - high central unrounded vowel- occurs at the end of the words like /d`ɨ/ ‘is/was’, /dɨ´/ ‘sit’, /dɨ´n/ ‘seven’ etc.

And /ʉ/- high central rounded vowel – occurs medially in the words like /dʉ ʉp/ ‘like’, /dʉ (dɨ´)/ ‘was lying’ etc.

Consonants

The description of the consonants along with their available occurrences in the initial, medial and final position are given below. The occurrences of the aspirated stops in the final position is not realized distinctly.

/p/ voiceless bilabial stop

I		M		F	
<i>p`ema</i>	‘lotus’	<i>p`epo´</i>	‘leach’	<i>t^hap</i>	‘fire place’
<i>pumú</i>	‘knee’	<i>t^hopo´</i>	‘forehead’	<i>g`anu p</i>	‘yesterday’
<i>pák</i>	‘skin’	<i>M`epo´</i>	‘goods’	<i>bala p</i>	‘wave of water’
			‘articles’		

/p^h/ aspirated voiceless bilabial stop

<i>p^hA</i>	‘male’	<i>dop^hi</i>	‘knot’
<i>p^hi</i>	‘flour’	<i>nap^há</i>	‘jungle pig’/’boar’
<i>p^hodaM</i>	‘palace’	<i>Aop^hí</i>	‘handkerchief’

/b/ voiced bilabial stop

<i>b`u</i>	‘worm’	<i>babó</i>	‘goitre’
<i>balap</i>	‘wave’	<i>ribaM</i>	‘hair’
<i>babó</i>	‘goitre’	<i>laMbo´i</i>	‘elephant’
<i>bu`na</i>	‘middle’	<i>di´bu</i>	‘bell’

/t/ voiceless dental stop

<i>tá´</i>	‘horse’	<i>at`AM</i>	‘always’
<i>t`o</i>	‘food’	<i>mutík</i>	‘pearl’
<i>taga</i>	‘nut’	<i>pitó</i>	‘thigh’

/tʰ/ aspirated voiceless dental stop

<i>tʰ`opo</i>	‘forehead’	<i>kʰatʰuk</i>	‘direct’
<i>tʰum</i>	‘spoon’	<i>patʰa</i>	‘cane’
<i>tʰariM</i>	‘far’	<i>S`etʰu</i>	‘spoon’

/d/ voiced dental stop

<i>dá´</i>	‘arrow’	<i>rida</i>	‘wild animal’	<i>k`ed</i>	‘sound’
<i>d`um</i>	‘spear’	<i>kedAM</i>	‘banana’	<i>y`ed</i>	‘rainbow’
<i>dibu</i>	‘bell’	<i>cʰaMdí</i>	‘market’	<i>n`ed</i>	‘utensil’

/t/ voiceless alveolar stop

<i>ti`po</i>	‘bile’	<i>tʰ`eten</i>	‘health’
<i>tibik</i>	‘beam’	<i>kʰ`eta</i>	‘wise’
<i>t`og</i>	‘top’	<i>cʰito(luMcʰa)</i>	‘cyclone’

/tʰ/ aspirated voiceless alveolar stop

<i>tʰ`om</i>	‘market’	<i>m`etʰí</i>	‘cot’
<i>tʰuMtʰuM</i>	‘crane’	<i>S`iMtʰu´</i>	‘fruit’
<i>tʰ`onpo</i>	‘well’	<i>S`elwatʰaM</i>	‘bathing’

/d/ voiced alveolar stop

<i>daka</i>	‘moon’	<i>kudí(ajo)</i>	‘great grand father’
<i>d`om</i>	‘pox’	<i>g`edó</i>	‘joke’
<i>daMa</i>	‘leaf’	<i>jadu</i>	‘wife’

/c/ voiceless palatal stop

<i>ci´k</i>	‘one’	<i>ac`u</i>	‘elder brother’
-------------	-------	-------------	-----------------

<i>cu</i>	‘ten’	<i>raco´</i>	‘horn’
<i>cugu</i>	‘twig’	<i>g`eca</i>	‘lock’

/c^h/ aspirated voiceless palatal stop

<i>c^hu´</i>	‘water’	<i>ac^ho</i>	‘elder sister’s husband’
<i>c^hem</i>	‘tooth’	<i>k^huc^hu</i>	‘cuckoo’
<i>c^ham</i>	‘niece’	<i>Moce´</i>	‘vegetable’

/j/ voiced palatal stop

<i>j`a</i>	‘tea’	<i>ajo</i>	‘grand father’
<i>jukma</i>	‘tail’	<i>l^huja</i>	‘tune’
<i>jae´</i>	‘rainbow’		
<i>juga</i>	‘bed bug’		

/k/ voiceless velar stop

<i>ke´</i>	‘neck’	<i>t^hako</i>	‘rope’	<i>S`u k</i>	‘pain’
<i>kaMpo´</i>	‘leg’	<i>aku</i>	‘father’s brother’	<i>arak</i>	‘liquor’
<i>karm`o</i>	‘star’	<i>daka</i>	‘moon’	<i>ci´k</i>	‘one’

/k^h/ aspirated voiceless velar stop

<i>k^him</i>	‘house’	<i>pak^ha</i>	‘terrace’
<i>k^hako</i>	‘bitter’	<i>gak^ha</i>	‘where’
<i>k^horlo´</i>	‘wheel’	<i>Cak^ha</i>	‘floor’

/g/ voiced velar stop

<i>g`om</i>	‘door’	<i>gyagar</i>	‘India’	<i>tog</i>	‘top’
<i>go´e</i>	‘head’	<i>gugul</i>	‘a costly incense’	<i>ambag</i>	‘guava’
				<i>rag</i>	‘metal’
<i>g`u</i>	‘nine’	<i>n^haguk</i>	‘nose’	<i>rog</i>	‘friend’

/C/ voiceless palato-alveolar affricate

<i>Ci´</i>	‘date’	<i>dúMCì</i>	‘silk’
<i>C`ek^ha</i>	‘winter’	<i>kaMCì</i>	‘ankle’
<i>Cikka</i>	‘autumn’	<i>b`oCo´</i>	‘child’
		<i>k^hoCí</i>	‘chopsticks’

/J/ voiced palato alveolar affricate

<i>J`eCi</i>	‘chilly’	<i>t^hupJí</i>	‘button’
<i>Jí</i>	‘foundation’	<i>S`apJ`a</i>	‘shoe’
<i>jipo´</i>	‘child’	<i>yiJér</i>	‘beam’

/s/ voiceless dental fricative

<i>sa</i>	‘land’/‘ground’	<i>k^has`op</i>	‘whisper’
<i>s`o</i>	‘tooth’	<i>s`osó</i>	‘separate’
<i>suM</i>	‘story’ / ‘talk’	<i>sisé</i>	‘death’

/S'/ voiceless palatal fricative

<i>S`a</i>	‘flesh’	<i>aS`aM</i>	‘mother’s brother’
<i>S`iM</i>	‘wood’	<i>aS`om</i>	‘alive’
<i>S`i</i>	‘four’	<i>aS`i</i>	‘sister’

/h/ voiced glottal fricative

<i>haM</i>	‘lie’	<i>mañ i´</i>	‘buffalo’	<i>dañ</i>
‘signal’				
<i>hur</i>	‘noise’	<i>b`oño</i>	‘calf’	<i>mañ</i> ‘wound’
<i>hap^hop</i>	‘zigzag’	<i>siñu</i>	‘claw’	<i>Mañ</i> ‘mantras’
<i>hac^haM</i>	‘very much’	<i>c^huñu</i>	‘cheese’	<i>doñ</i> ‘sutras’

/m/ bilabial nasal

<i>mi´</i>	‘man’	<i>ama</i>	‘father’	<i>o´m</i>	‘milk’
<i>men</i>	‘medicine’	<i>lama</i>	‘lama’/‘guru’	<i>g`om</i>	‘door’
<i>mig</i>	‘eye’	<i>kimi</i>	‘thread’	<i>m`oryem</i>	‘widow’
<i>me´</i>	‘fire’	<i>Mamo</i>	‘camel’	<i>b`um</i>	‘daughter’

/n/ dental nasal

<i>nap^ha</i>	‘jungle pig’	<i>gana</i>	‘where’	<i>dɨn</i>	‘seven’
<i>namco</i>	‘ear’	<i>gyanak</i>	‘china’	<i>ken</i>	‘reason’
<i>naca</i>	‘disease’	<i>sanum</i>	‘kerosene’	<i>ɬ^hepcen</i>	‘thumb’

/M'/ palatal nasal

<i>M'yim</i>	‘sun’	<i>ɬ^haM'i</i>	‘near’
<i>M'yi</i>	‘two’	<i>duM'i</i>	‘beat’ (Heart pulse)
<i>M'idu</i>	‘umbrella’	<i>c`eM'a</i>	‘discuss’

/M/ velar nasal

			<i>t^hár`iM</i>	‘far’	
<i>M`a</i>	‘five’	<i>uMa</i>	‘pillow’	<i>S`iM</i>	‘wood’
<i>Me l</i>	‘sleep’	<i>daMa</i>	‘leaf’	<i>S`uM</i>	‘story’
<i>Mu l</i>	‘silver’	<i>l^haMa</i>	‘frying pan’	<i>g`ocuM</i>	‘window’

/l/ alveolar lateral

<i>laM</i>	‘ox’	<i>kalop</i>	‘advice’	<i>Mu l</i>	‘silver’
<i>liMbu</i>	‘flute’	<i>M`alam</i>	‘dream’	<i>k^hul</i>	‘area’
<i>laMboci</i>	‘elephant’	<i>alag</i>	‘toy’	<i>du l</i>	‘dust’ (loan from Hindi)
				<i>Me l</i>	‘sleep’

/l^h/ aspirated alveolar lateral

<i>l^hu</i>	‘song’	<i>al^ham</i>	‘silent’
<i>l^ham</i>	‘shoe’		
<i>l^h`o</i>	‘south’		

/r/ alveolar trill

<i>ra`</i>	‘goat’	<i>arak</i>	‘liquor’	<i>gur</i>	‘tent’/‘shelter’
<i>rimo</i>	‘picture’	<i>seru</i>	‘rhinoceros’	<i>kar</i>	‘white colour’
<i>raco</i>	‘horn’	<i>gorom</i>	‘sweets’	<i>gabur</i>	‘camphor’

/w/ bilabial approximant

<i>w`eJar</i>	‘ray’	<i>nawa</i>	‘ill’	<i>sáow</i>	‘deer’
<i>wulpo</i>	‘poor’	<i>gawa</i>	‘joy’	<i>k^háow</i>	‘snow’
<i>w`oMca</i>	‘power’	<i>S’iwa</i>	‘peace’	<i>t^héow</i>	‘dust’
<i>wu^hS’uM</i>	‘central government’	<i>c^hiwa</i>	‘tusk’	<i>lów</i>	‘lungs’

/y/ palatal approximant

<i>y`ar</i>	‘upwards’	<i>S’eyen</i>	‘education’
<i>yaM</i>	‘or’	<i>neyam</i>	‘epidemic’
<i>yigi</i>	‘letter’	<i>mayam</i>	‘step mother’
<i>ye`nduM</i>	‘deaf’	<i>dayue`</i>	‘moonlight’

2.3 MAJOR ALLOPHONIC DISTRIBUTION

Vowels

Vowel /e/ and /o/ freely vary with their lower positional variants - low front unrounded vowel [E] and low back rounded vowel [O] respectively in the first syllable of a word with a falling tone on it.

/e/

[E]	[l`Eka]	/l`eka/	‘work’, ‘occupation’
	[c ^h `Empa]	/c <sup>h</sup> `empa/	‘big’
	[k`E]	/k`e/	‘hair’
	[pE`ma]	/p`ema/	‘lotus’
[e`]	[S’e` ^h u]	/S’e` ^h u/	‘spoon’
	[Moce`]	/Moce`/	‘vegetables’
	[me` <sup>h</sup> i]	/me` ^h i/	‘cot’

/o/

[O]	[g`Om]	/g`om/	‘door’
	[M`Oca]	/Mo`ca/	‘grass’

	[g`Ot̪i]	/g`ot̪i/	‘turban’
	[k ^h `Orlo`i]	/k ^h `orlo`i/	‘(of)wheel’
[o]	[o`m]	/o`m/	‘milk’
	[cilo`k]	/cilo`k/	‘rib’
	[raco`]	/raco`/	‘hom’

Consonant

All the voiced unaspirated stops /b, d, j, g/ freely vary with their voiced counterparts in initial position as [b^h, d^h, j^h, g^h] when they are followed by /y/ or a vowel with falling tone.

[b ^h OCo]	/b`oCÓ/	‘child’
[b ^h a]	/b`a/	‘cow’
[d ^h ep]	/d`ep/	‘book’
[d ^h o]	/d`o/	‘stone’
[j ^h ah]	/j`ah/	‘rainbow’
[j ^h am]	/j`am/	‘squirrel’
[g ^h yenc ^h a]	/gyenc ^h a/	‘ornaments’
[g ^h yaple]	/gyaple/	‘after’

The dental fricative /s/ freely varies with [z] and the palatal fricative /S'/ freely varies with [z^h] in initial position in case of open monosyllabic words.

[zawa]	/sawa/	‘eat’
[z ^h i]	/S'i/	‘four’
[z ^h o]	/S'o/	‘gambling’

The alveolar trill /r/ freely varies with the retroflex flap /R/ when it is in the intervocalic position.

[aRak]	/ar`ak/	‘liquor’
[p ^h iRu]	/p ^h ir`u/	‘night’
[t̪aRi:]	/t̪ari:/	‘Axe’

2.4 CLUSTERS

2.4.1 Vowel

Bhotia distinguishes clusters of vowels like /iu, eo, eu, ao, oa, ue, ai, Ao, ou, oi, ui, ei, ea/. These clusters are sequences and generally occur in the medial and final positions.

Occurrences of the clusters are as follows

-eo-	}	in medial position	-ao	}	both in medial and final position	-iu	}	in final position
-Ao-			-ue			-eu		
-ei-			-ea			-oa		
						-ai		
						-oi		
						-ui		
						-ou		
						-oe		

Examples:

	Medial	final
/-iu/		<i>tiu</i> ´ ‘axle’ <i>kiu</i> ´ ‘potato’ <i>diu</i> ´ ‘bullet’
/-ei/	<i>me</i> ´ <i>n</i> ‘medicine’	
/- ea-/	<i>se</i> ´ <i>a</i> p ´o ‘yellow’	<i>Me</i> ´ <i>a</i> ´ ‘somehow’
/- eo-/	<i>t</i> ^h <i>e</i> ´ow ‘dust’ <i>beo</i> ´ <i>p</i> ´ <i>a</i> ‘elopment’	
/-eu/		<i>peu</i> ´ ´ ‘monkey’ <i>seu</i> ´ ´ ‘hailstone’
/- ai/		<i>Mai</i> ´ ´ ‘my’
/- ao-/	<i>sa</i> ´ow ´ ‘deer’ <i>k</i> ^h <i>a</i> ´ow ´ ‘snow’ <i>ga</i> ´ow ´ ‘cover’	<i>ne</i> ´ <i>nmesao</i> ´ ‘tiffin’
/-Ao-/	<i>nA</i> ´op ^h i ´ ‘handkerchief’	

/- oi/		<i>b`ompo i`</i> ‘very’
		<i>k^hOrlo i`</i> ‘of wheel’
/-oe/		<i>go´e</i> ‘head’
		<i>Mo´e</i> ‘herbs’
/-oa/		<i>m`oa</i> ‘plough’
/-ou/		<i>t^ho´u</i> ‘hammer’
		<i>lo Mmou</i> ‘plough’
/-ui/		<i>k^hui´</i> ‘his’, ‘its’
/-ue-/	<i>rue bel</i> ‘tortoise’	<i>S`ue´</i> ‘bow’

2.4.2 Consonants

A sequence of two identical and two non-identical sounds is cluster. Bhotia has both the clusters of two identical sounds and of two non-identical sounds. Bhotia has clusters of three consonants also.

Consonant clusters in Bhotia occur in initial and medial position and they have high frequency of occurrence in the medial position than in the initial position.

In the initial two consonant clusters the following consonants appear generally as the first member like /p/, /ph/, /k/, /kh/, /b/, /g/, /M'/ who are combined with /y/ as the second member. And the consonants like /d/, /d/ occur as the first member when /r/ appears as the second member of the cluster.

<i>k</i>	+	<i>y</i>	(<i>ky</i>)	=	<i>kya´</i>	‘hair’
<i>k^h</i>	+	<i>y</i>	(<i>k^hy</i>)	=	<i>k^hyi´</i>	‘dog’
<i>g</i>	+	<i>y</i>	(<i>gy</i>)	=	<i>gy´um</i>	‘mother’
<i>b</i>	+	<i>y</i>	(<i>by</i>)	=	<i>by`a</i>	‘paddy’
<i>p^h</i>	+	<i>y</i>	(<i>p^hy</i>)	=	<i>p^hy´icuM</i>	‘bird’
<i>M´</i>	+	<i>y</i>	(<i>M´y</i>)	=	<i>M´y´a</i>	‘fish’
<i>d</i>	+	<i>r</i>	(<i>dr</i>)	=	<i>dro ba</i>	‘morning’
<i><u>d</u></i>	+	<i>r</i>	(<i><u>d</u>r</i>)	=	<i><u>d</u>re ba</i>	‘fever’

The combinations of two identical consonants in medial position are like the following

<i>k</i>	+	<i>k</i>	(<i>kk</i>)	<i>na kku</i>	‘black’
<i>p</i>	+	<i>p</i>	(<i>pp</i>)	<i>ba ppo</i>	‘flow’
<i>m</i>	+	<i>m</i>	(<i>mm</i>)	<i>ka mmo</i>	‘pincer leg’

The combinations of two non-identical consonants are like the following categories

1. stop + stop

$k+j = c^hi kja$	‘coffee’
$p+c = g^a pci$	‘lid’
$k+c = su kc`um$	‘finger’
2. stop + fricative

$p+s = sa ps`u$	‘socks’
$p+S' = t^ha pS'`iM$	‘fuel’
$k+s = gyo ks`im$	‘white ant’
3. stop + affricate

$k+C = la kCi$	‘wrist’
$p+C = t^ha pCaM$	‘kitchen’
4. stop + trill

$k+r = su kriM$	‘comet’
$g+r = ba gra$	‘cockroach’
$d+r = du kdra$	‘thunder’
5. stop + nasal

$k+m = su kma$	‘tail’
----------------	--------
6. nasal + nasal

$n+m = ne nmesao$	‘tiffin’
$M+m = M'yu Mma$	‘bamboo’
7. nasal + stop

$m+t = M'ya mti$	‘grasshopper’
$M+t = ra Mta$	‘grinding stone’
$M+d = pa Mden$	‘apron’
$m+p = h a mp`o$	‘foam’
$n+p = c^h enpo`$	‘liver’
$m+k^h = na mk^ha$	‘sky’
$M+k^h = t^ha Mk^hu M$	‘tobbaco’
$m+c = ma mcu$	‘lip’

		$n+c^h = gy`enc^ha$	‘ornament’
		$n+k = c^h`enko$	‘arm-pit’
		$n+j = \acute{h}a`nju$	‘blouse’
		$m+b = S`embo$	‘youngman’
		$n+\underline{d} = me`ndu$	‘spice’
8.	nasal+fricative	$n+s = da`nsiM$	‘lunar eclipse’
9.	nasal+lateral	$m+l = sa`mliM$	‘comet’
10.	nasal+trill	$m+r = \underline{d}u`mra$	‘garden’
11.	lateral+stop	$l+j = S`olja$	‘tea’
12.	trill+stop	$r+p = karp`o$	‘tape’
		$r+b = nArb`u$	‘gem’
13.	trill+nasal	$r+m = karm`o$	‘star’
		$r+n = barn`a$	‘middle’
14.	trill+semi-vowel	$r+y = m`oryem$	‘window’

The occurrence of three consonant clusters, available only in medial position, are like the following in Bhotia.

$p+k+y$	(pky)	=	$\underline{d}Apky`a$	‘stair-case’
$m+b+y$	(mby)	=	$damby`a$	‘duck’
$M+k^h+y$	(Mk^hy)	=	$li`Mk^hye`m$	‘hornet’
$k+p^h+y$	(kp^hy)	=	$kakp^hy`a$	‘sparrow’

2.5 SYLLABLE

Phonetically the term syllable is used to refer a sequence of speech sounds having a maximum or peak of inherent sonority between two minima of sonority (Robins: 1968 p-137). Phonologically the syllable is of prime importance as a unit within which the relative distributions or possibilities of sequential occurrence of phonemes and phonological features can be stated.

The Bhotia words are formed monosyllabic, disyllabic and also trisyllabic. They are formed both as open and closed syllable. But the frequency of disyllabic words are more in occurrence compared to others.

1. Monosyllabic words are available with following patterns:

VC	<i>a´m</i>	‘mother’	<i>u h</i>	‘breath’
CV	<i>b`u</i>	‘insect’	<i>ta´</i>	‘horse’
CVC	<i>l`uk</i>	‘sheep’	<i>c^ham</i>	‘niece’
CCV	<i>k^hyi´</i>	‘dog’	<i>k^hy`a</i>	‘blood’
CCVC	<i>gy´um</i>	‘mother-in-law’		

2. Disyllabic words are available with following patterns:

V-CV	<i>a-li´</i>	‘cat’	<i>a-jo</i> ‘grand father’	<i>a-c^ho</i> ‘sister’s husband’
			<i>a-cu´</i>	‘elder brother’
V-CV	<i>a-sa</i>	‘mother’s brother’	<i>a-ra k</i>	‘liquor’
CV-CV	<i>c^hu-ri´</i>	‘flood’	<i>s`o-k`o</i>	‘wing’
			<i>cu-to´</i>	‘beak’
CV-CVC	<i>bu-s`im</i>	‘younger sister’	<i>se´-nak</i>	‘coal’
			<i>du-M`i M</i>	‘heat’
CVC-CV	<i>baM-g`o</i>	‘chest’	<i>Ju k-ma</i>	‘tail’
CCV-CV	<i>k^hyi-gu</i>	‘puppy’	<i>gy`o-ma</i>	‘ant’
			<i>gyu´-ma</i>	‘intestine’
CVC-CVC	<i>sim-c`en</i>	‘animal’		
CCV-CVC	<i>p^hyi-cu M</i>	‘chicken’/‘bird’		
CVC-CCCV	<i>li M-k^hyem</i>	‘homet’		
CCVC-CV	<i>M`y`ok-ro</i>	‘snail’	<i>gyem-pu</i>	‘question’

3. Trisyllabic words are available with the patterns like.

CV-CV-V	<i>co-co-u´</i>	‘vegetables’
CV-CV-C	<i>gA^he´o</i>	‘ashes’
CV-CV-CV	<i>bu-ki-r`i</i>	‘cricket’ (insect)
CV-CV-CVC	<i>da-li-bu k</i>	‘earthworm’
CVC-CV-CV	<i>k^ham-di´-ta</i>	‘health’
CVC-CVC-CV	<i>ka p-kap-l`o</i>	‘sometimes’, ‘often’
CV-CVC-CVC	<i>do-k^hap-l`An</i>	‘magnet’ etc.

CCV-CCV-CVC *dru-ky 'u-k^h'en* 'boatman' (comprising of *dru* 'boat' + *-ky 'u-* 'running' + *-k^h'en* 'doer')

Although rare but words beyond trisyllable are also possible. For example, *c^hu 'by`a-M'ya-ra-po* 'kingfisher' (comprising of *c<sup>h</sup>u '-* 'water' + *-by`a-* 'animal'+ *-M'ya-* 'fish' + *-rapo* 'catching').

3. MORPHOPHONEMICS

The possible phonological variations which take place within the (allomorph of a) morpheme are morphophonemically explainable in terms of

1. Addition of phoneme in a morpheme
2. Alternation of phoneme in a morpheme and
3. Dropping of a phoneme in a morpheme.

Addition of phoneme(s) in a morpheme

While forming the numerals, unit of tens like 'forty' , 'fifty', 'ninety' /p/ is inserted between the morphemes to form these numerals. Generally the numeral /cu/ 'ten' is considered as an unit to constitute the morphemic category of ten plus ten, of 'twenty', 'thirty', 'forty', 'fifty' and like and /cu/ is added with each unit.

For example.

<i>M' i-</i>	+	<i>-cu'</i>	=	'twenty'	<i>s`um-</i>	+	<i>-cu'</i>	=	'thirty'
(two)		(ten)			(three)		(ten)		

However, /p/ is inserted in case of forty, fifty, ninety etc. when this /-cu' / 'ten' is added after /S' i/ 'four', /M`a/ 'five', /g`u/ 'nine' etc. then the structure of the numerical forms become the followings

<i>S' i-</i>	+	<i>-cu'</i>	=	<i>S'ipcu</i>	'forty'
four		ten			
<i>M`a-</i>	+	<i>-cu'</i>	=	<i>Mapcu</i>	'fifty'
five		ten			
<i>g`u-</i>	+	<i>-cu'</i>	=	<i>gupcu</i>	'ninety'
nine		ten			

Similarly /-C`u/ is the plural marking suffix . When /-C`u/ is added with first personal pronominal form /Ma´-/ ‘I’ then /-Ca -/ is inserted which is a clear example of morpho-phonemic change e.g. /Ma´-/ ‘I’ + /-Cu/ ‘pl’. suffix’ /Ma´CaC`u/ ‘we’

/ta´/ ‘horse’+/-m`o/feminine suffix /ta´yem`o/ ‘mare’

3.2. Alternation of phoneme in a morpheme

I. When words are formed with the combination of two morphemes sometimes the phoneme of one of the morphemes get changed e.g. -k > -g when /m`ik/ ‘eye’ is prefixed to /-pu´/ , /-c<sup>h</sup>u´/ and /-pa´/ to form a new set of nouns the /-k/ of /m`ik/ is changed into /-g- /

m`ik- + -pu´ = migpu ‘eye brow’
(eye) (hair)

m`ik- +- c^hu´ = migc^hu ‘tear’
(eye) (water)

m`i- + -pa´ = migpa ‘eye lid’
(eye) (lid)

Similarly, when /usak/ ‘breathing’ is prefixed to some other morpheme to form new noun then also /-k-/ is changed to /-g -/

us`ak- + -nac`a = usagnaca ‘asthma/breathing disease’ etc.

II. When the plural formation suffix /-C`u/ is added after the non- honorific third personal singular pronominal form / k<sup>h</sup>u/ ‘he’ the form becomes quite different form others since / C`u / directly occurs after the nominal/pronominal form in other cases.

raM	‘you’(sg)	>	raMC`u	‘you’(pl.) –honorific
cA	‘you’(sg.)	>	CAC`u	‘you’ (pl.) -ordinary
k ^h oM	‘he’(sg.hon)	>	k ^h oMC`u	‘they’ (pl.) -honorofic

But in case of /k^hu -/ ‘he’(ordinary) the formation of plural is like the following

$k^h\acute{u} > k^h\acute{o}M- + -C\grave{u} = k^h\acute{o}MC\grave{u}$ 'they' (ordinary) where with change of /-u/ of / $k^h\acute{u}$ / 'he' into /-o-/ (along with addition of -M) the plural suffix -C $\grave{u}$ is added. So the form is $k^h\acute{o}M- < k^h\acute{u}$ 'he' (ordinary) + -C $\grave{u}$ = $k^h\acute{o}MC\grave{u}$.

3.3 Dropping of phoneme (sequence of phonemes) in a morpheme

Sometimes when a new word is formed with combination of two different morphemes some phonemic sequence of a morpheme is dropped. e.g.

$namk^ha$ 'sky' + $c^h\acute{u}$ 'water' $>$ $namc^h\acute{u}$ 'rain'

Here /- k^ha / of / $namk^ha$ / 'sky' does not appear.

4. MORPHOLOGY

The morphological aspect deals with the structure of Bhotia words, both the structure of basic and inflected or derived words. According to John Lyons, a word 'may be defined as the union of a particular meaning with a particular grammatical employment' (Lyons: 1969, p-200).

4.1 WORD

A word must contain at least one stem, which may be called as a free form. A stem in Bhotia is a free form as well as capable of taking inflectional or derivational affixes. Therefore, in Bhotia a stem by itself can be a word. For example, form like / $k^h\acute{im}$ / 'house' is a stem as well as a word and form like / $k^h\acute{im}C\grave{u}$ / 'houses' is also a word in Bhotia consisted of a stem / $k^h\acute{im}$ / 'house' and suffix /-C $\grave{u}$ / 's/-es'. Form like / $k^h\acute{im}diC\grave{u}$ / 'these houses' is a phrase consisting of two words / $k^h\acute{im}$ / and / $diC\grave{u}$ /. / $k^h\acute{im}$ / is a stem as well as a word; / $diC\grave{u}$ / is a word consisting of / di / 'this' and plural suffix /-C $\grave{u}$ /. Therefore, in Bhotia morphologically a word may consist of only one stem or more than one.

4.2 WORD CLASSES IN BHOTIA

Word classes as well as stem classes in Bhotia are established on the basis of morphological and/or syntactic grounds. Stem classes in Bhotia can be divided into different groups on the basis of inflectional endings. Forms which show identical inflectional behavior can be called as form class. Accordingly Bhotia words are divided into following form- classes namely 1) Nouns; 2) Pronouns; 3) Adjectives; 4) Indeclinable – a. adverb b. post- positions c) conjunctions; 5) Verbs. Out of the above

word classes nouns, pronouns and verbs are established on the morphological grounds while the remaining classes get realised on the syntactic grounds. Morphological processes in Bhotia are realised by Prefixation, Suffixation, Reduplication and Compounding.

4.2.1 WORD FORMATION

The Bhotia words are formed by prefixation, suffixation, reduplication and Compounding.

Words formed by prefixation

The attributive words in Bhotia are formed by prefixing the base noun morpheme with attributive morpheme.

<i>m`ikudi</i>	‘old man’	<	<i>m`i-</i>	‘man’	<i>-kudi</i>	‘old’
<i>an`akudi</i>	‘old woman’	<	<i>an`a-</i>	‘woman’	<i>-kudi</i>	‘old’
<i>m`it<sup>h</sup>uMt<sup>h</sup>uM</i>	‘dwarf’	<	<i>m`i-</i>	‘man’	<i>-t^huM t^huM</i>	‘short’
<i>b`oCo`c^huMc^huM</i>	‘infant’	<	<i>b`oCo`-</i>	‘child’	<i>-c^huMc^huM</i>	‘small’
<i>amma`y`am</i>	‘step mother’	<	<i>am-</i>	‘mother’	<i>-ma`y`am</i>	‘step’

Sometimes word is formed by prefixing the attributive to the base noun also.

<i>du`s`o</i>	‘front tooth’	<	<i>du-</i>	‘front’	<i>-s`o</i>	‘tooth’
<i>Cibib`oCo`</i>	‘twin’	<	<i>Cibi-</i>	‘pair’	<i>-b`oCo`</i>	‘child’

Words formed by suffixation

Words formed by suffixing the base noun (carrying the theme of the noun) morpheme to the associating noun morpheme .

<i>migpu</i>	‘eye brow’	<	<i>m`ik-</i>	‘eye’	<i>-pu`</i>	‘hair’
<i>migc^hu</i>	‘tear (of eye)’	<	<i>m`ik -</i>	‘eye’	<i>-c<sup>h</sup>u`</i>	‘water’
<i>k^hac^hu</i>	‘saliva’	<	<i>k^ha-</i>	‘mouth’	<i>-c^hu`</i>	‘water’
<i>b`ak<sup>h</sup>im</i>	‘cowsbed’	<	<i>b`a-</i>	‘cow’	<i>-k^him</i>	‘house’
<i>by`ac<sup>h</sup>aM</i>	‘beer’	<	<i>by`a-</i>	‘rice’	<i>-c^haM</i>	‘liquid’
<i>c^hu`w`o</i>	‘pond’	<	<i>c^hu`-</i>	‘water’	<i>-w`o</i>	‘place’

Words formed by reduplication

Reduplication is observed specially in the words carrying negative meanings of shape, size of a noun.

$c^h\grave{u}M\ c^h\grave{u}M$	‘small’ i.e. not big	
$t^h\grave{u}M\ t^h\grave{u}M$	‘short’ i.e. not tall	
$s\grave{a}ps\grave{a}p$	‘thin’ i.e. not thick	etc.

Words formed by compounding

Compounding in Bhotia is observed in the formations like the following :

$mik\ mat^hAp^hA$ ‘blind male’ which is formed by compounding $/m\grave{ik}-/$ ‘eye’ + $/-ma+t^hA-/$ ‘not + see’ + $/-p^hA/$ ‘male’

$gopumep^hA$ ‘bald headed male’ is formed by compounding $go\acute{-}$ ‘head’ ($<goe$) + $-pu\acute{-}$ ‘hair’ + $-me-$ ‘not’ + $-p^hA$ ‘male’

$M'yenmakkyapabum$ ‘spinster’ is formed by compounding $M'y\grave{en}-$ ‘marriage’ + $-mak-$ ‘not’ + $-kyap\grave{a}-$ ‘doing’ + $-b\grave{u}m$ ‘girl’

$k^hadikoyepimi$ ‘stammerer’ is formed by compounding (k^ha- ‘mouth’ $-d\grave{ikoy}\grave{e}-$ ‘with difficult’ + $-pi\acute{-}$ ‘moving’ $-m\grave{i}$ ‘man’)

4. 3. NOUNS

4.3.1. FORMATION OF NOUNS

A noun in Bhotia is defined on the morphological and/or syntactic grounds as described below.

i) Any stem that can take a number marker. If stems are qualified by the modifiers, number marker is added to the modifier and not to the noun.

$\underline{dukuci}\ k$	‘a friend’	$k^himM\grave{a}$	‘five houses’
(friend) (a)		(house) (five)	
$k^him\underline{di}\acute{}$	‘the house’	$k^him\underline{di}\ C\grave{u}$	‘houses’
(house) (the)		(house) (pl.)	

ii) Any stem that can take a case marker or post positions

<i>Ma´l`o</i>	‘to me’	<i>k<sup>h</sup>u´l`o</i>	‘to him’
<i>k^hu´M`i</i>	‘his’	<i>muM`i</i>	‘her’

iii) Any stem that can take an article

<i>byunak<u>di</u></i>	‘the snake’		
snake the			
<i>k^him<u>di</u>´</i>	‘the house’	<i>k^him<u>di</u>´ C`u</i>	‘the houses’
house the		house- plural	
<i>k^hyi´<u>di</u>´</i>	‘the dog’	<i>k^hyi´<u>di</u> C`u</i>	‘the dogs’
dog the		dog- plural	

(iv) Any stem that can be preceded by the genitive or followed by the noun attributes such as adjectives, numerals etc.

<i>Mai´<u>d</u>`ep b`ompó</i>	‘my big book’
<i>Mai´</i>	‘my’
<i><u>d</u>`ep b`omp`o</i>	‘big book’
<i>b`oCo´ c^huMc^huM</i>	‘little child’
<i>b`oCo´</i>	‘children’
<i>c^huM c^huM</i>	‘little’

4.3.2 CLASSIFICATION OF NOUNS

Bhotia has two types of Nouns –1) Basic 2) Derived.

Basic Nouns

The nouns which are not derived from another noun or any other word class are called Basic Nouns.

<i>ali´</i>	‘cat’	<i>k^him</i>	‘house’
<i>k^hyi´</i>	‘dog’	<i>S`im<u>t</u>^hu´</i>	‘fruit’
<i>ta´</i>	‘horse’	<i>mi<u>t</u>^hu´</i>	‘flower’
<i>ra</i>	‘goat’	<i>s`o</i>	‘tooth’

Basic Nouns can be further divided into Mass Nouns and Count Nouns.

Mass Nouns are those, which are always realised in singular

$c^h u'$	'water'	$lu \text{ } \acute{M}$	'air'
$b \text{ } \grave{a}$	'(cooked) rice'	$o \text{ } \acute{m}$	'milk' etc.

Count nouns are those, which can be counted or used in plural

$k^h \text{ } \grave{im}$	'house'	>	$k^h \text{ } \grave{im} C \text{ } \grave{u}$	'houses'
$p^h \text{ } yicu \text{ } \acute{M}$	'bird'	>	$p^h \text{ } yicu \text{ } \acute{M} C \text{ } \grave{u}$	'birds'
$\underline{t} a'$	'horse'	>	$\underline{t} a' C \text{ } \grave{u}$	'horses'
$\underline{d} \text{ } \grave{ep}$	'book'	>	$\underline{d} \text{ } \grave{ep} C \text{ } \grave{u}$	'books'

Derived Nouns

In Bhotia the nouns are formed being derived either from another noun or from the verb or from an adjective.

Nouns derived from the noun

$m \text{ } \grave{ik} - + -c^h u$	=	$migc^h u$	'tear'
(eye) (water)			

$am- + -ma \text{ } \acute{y} \text{ } \grave{a} m$	=	$ama \text{ } \acute{y} \text{ } \grave{a} m$	'step mother'
(mother) (step)			

$du- + -s \text{ } \grave{o}$	=	$dus \text{ } \grave{o}$	'front tooth'
(front) (tooth)			

$m \text{ } \grave{ik}- + -sep \text{ } \grave{e}- + naCa$	=	$migsepenaCa$	'jaundice'
(eye) (yellow) (disease)			

Nouns derived from the Adjectives

$m \text{ } \grave{i} - + - t^h u M t^h u M$	=	$m \text{ } \grave{i} t^h u M t^h u M$	'dwarf'
(man) (short)			

$m \text{ } \grave{i} - + -kudi$	=	$mikudi$	'old man'
----------------------------------	---	----------	-----------

$namcu - + - ma- + - \underline{t}^h uk^h e- + - m \text{ } \grave{i}$	=	$namcumathuk^h emi$	"deaf –mute male"
--	---	---------------------	-------------------

(deaf) (not) (listen) (man)

Nouns derived from the verb

M'ya - + - *S'ik^hen* = *M'yaS'ik^hen* 'fisherman' [(*S'i-* + -*k^hen*)
(fish) (catcher) (catch) (doer)]
dru - + - *kyuk^hen* = *drukyuk^hen* 'boat man' [(*kyu-* + -*k^hen*)
(boat) (driving) (drive) (doer)]

4.3.3 GROUP OF NOUNS

The Bhotia nouns can further broadly be divided by two groups namely 1. Animate Nouns and 2. Inanimate Nouns.

Animate		Inanimate	
<i>b'oCo</i> ´	'child'	<i>dru</i> ´	'boat'
<i>b`um</i>	'girl'	<i>d`ep</i>	'book'
<i>ta</i> ´	'horse'	<i>k^him</i>	'house'
<i>ra</i>	'goat'	<i>yigi</i>	'note'

The Animate nouns are further sub-divided into human and non-human animate nouns.

Human		Non – human	
<i>bu</i> ´	'boy'	<i>k^hy`i</i>	'dog'
<i>b`um</i>	'girl'	<i>b`a</i>	'cow'
<i>apo</i> ´	'father'	<i>ta</i> ´	'horse'
<i>amo</i> ´	'mother'	<i>ra</i>	'goat'
<i>p^ho</i>	'male'	<i>laMbo`ci</i>	'elephant'
<i>m`o</i>	'female'	<i>pe`po</i>	'leech'
<i>m`i</i>	'man'	<i>riba`M</i>	'hare'
<i>bum`i</i>	'woman'		

The Inanimate nouns are like the following

<i>S'u`M</i>	'story'	<i>dAlum</i>	'brinjal'
<i>li`Mbu</i>	'flute'	<i>c^ha</i>	'salt'

<i>c^hu´</i>	‘water’	<i>S´a</i>	‘flesh’
<i>k^him</i>	‘house’	<i>S´i M</i>	‘field’
<i>kiú</i>	‘potato’		

4.3.4 NUMBER

In Bhotia the nouns are inflected for number. There are three numbers realised in Bhotia, namely 1. Singular – denotes one and uses no suffix to indicate singularity, 2. Dual – denoting two, uses the numeral attributive word / *M´yi´* / ‘two’ after the noun or pronoun and 3. Plural – denoting more than two using the suffix /*C`u*/ ‘-s /-es’ to indicate plurality. However, there is no number-verb concord in the Language. For the first person the peculiarity about plural formation is that as per norm the plural form of /*Ma´* / ‘I’ is supposed to be /*Ma´C`u*/ ‘we’. But /*Ma´ca*/ is generally used as the base for first personal plural form with which /-*C`u*/ plural marker is used.

Singular	Dual	Plural
<i>Ma´</i> ‘I’	<i>Ma M´yi´</i> ‘we two’	<i>MaCaC`u</i> ‘we’
<i>k^hu´</i> ‘he’	<i>k^hoM M´yi´</i> ‘they two’	<i>k^hoMC`u</i> ‘they’
<i>bu´</i> ‘son’	<i>bu´C`u M´yi´</i> ‘two sons’	<i>bu´C`u</i> ‘sons’
<i>b`um</i> ‘daughter’	<i>b`umCu M´yi´</i> ‘two daughter’	<i>b`umC`u</i> ‘daughters’
<i>d`ep</i> ‘book’	<i>d`ep M´yi´</i> ‘two books’	<i>depC`u</i> ‘books’
<i>k^him</i> house’	<i>k^him M´yi´</i> ‘two houses’	<i>k^himC`u</i> ‘houses’

When a classifier follows or precedes the nominal form the classifier is only inflected for plural number and not the noun

1. *p^hiktu di´ b`ompó b`e* ‘The basket is big’
(basket) (the) (big) (is)

but *p^hiktu´ di´C`u b`ompó b`e* ‘The baskets are big’
(basket) (these) (big) (are)
2. *p^hyicu´M di´ S´iMdo´M taMl`o d`f* ‘The bird sits on the tree’
(bird) (the) (tree) (on) (sits)

but *p^hyicu´M di´C`u S´iMdo´M taMl`o d`f* ‘The birds sit on the tree’
(bird) (plural-s) (tree) (on) (sit)

3. *b`a di´ sa k<sup>h</sup>yapSi M d`i* ‘The cow is grazing’
 (cow) (the) (grazing) (is)
- but *b`a di´C`u sa k^hyapSi M d`i* ‘The cows are grazing’
 (cow) (these) (grazing) (are)

In all these cases , instead of the nouns, the classifiers of the nouns have been inflected for indicating plurality. But some times colloquially the plural marker is directly used with the nouns too.

- laM di´ sak^hyapSi M d`i* ‘The bull is grazing’
 (bull) (the) (grazing) (is)
- and *laMC`u sak<sup>h</sup>yapS`i M d`i* ‘The bulls are grazing’
 (bulls) (grazing) (are)

When a modifier is used with a noun the plural suffix *–C`u* used with the modifier only and not with the nominal form e.g.

Singular	Plural
<i>d`ep b`ompo´</i> ‘the big book’ (book) (big)	<i>d`ep b`ompóC`u</i> ‘the big books’ (book) (big-s)
<i>ta´ kapo´</i> ‘the white horse’ (horse) (white)	<i>ta´ kapoC`u</i> ‘the white horses’ (horse) (white-s)
<i>dapma Muenpo´</i> ‘the green leaf’ (leaf) (green)	<i>dapma MuenpoC`u</i> ‘the green leaves’ (leaf) (green-s)

In these examples the modifiers */b`ompo´/* ‘big’ . */kapo´/* ‘white’ */Muenpo´/* ‘green’ respectively are the modifiers which have been inflected with plural suffix which ultimately change the singularity of the noun into the plurality. This feature of number changing happens only when the modifier appears in the Noun Phrase.

When the modifier appears as predicate in the sentence, i.e. in the Verb Phrase, The modifier does not get inflected.

Singular	Plural
<i>mit^hu´ di´ mapo´ b`e</i> (flower) (the) (red) (is) ‘The flower is red’	<i>mit<sup>h</sup>u´ di´C`u mapo´ b`e</i> (flower) (these) (red) (are) ‘The flowers are red’

<i>S'iMt^hu'</i>	<i>di'</i>	<i>Muenpo'</i>	<i>b'e</i>	<i>S'iMt^hu'</i>	<i>di' C'u</i>	<i>Muenpo'</i>	<i>b'e</i>
(fruit)	(the)	(green)	(is)	(fruit)	(these)	(green)	(are)
'The fruit is green'				'The fruits are green'			

Here the modifiers /*mapo'* / 'red', /*Muenpo'* / 'green' have not been inflected though the preceding noun carries the meaning of plurality. Instead the noun-classifier has been inflected to indicate the plurality of the nominal form.

In the sentence where the nominal form is followed by the attributive / modifier the plurality is expressed by inflecting the attributive only which is further followed by numeral as shown below.

Singular	<i>di'</i>	<i>k^hy'oM</i>	<i>malepo'</i>	<i>cik'</i>	<i>b'e</i>
	this	village	bad	one	is
	'This village is bad one'				
Dual	<i>p^hAgi'</i>	<i>k^hy'oM</i>	<i>malepo' C'u</i>	<i>M'yi'</i>	<i>b'e</i>
	there	village	bad-s	two	are
	'There are two bad villages'				
Plural	<i>di' C'u</i>	<i>k^hy'oM</i>	<i>malepo' C'u</i>	<i>b'e</i>	
	these	village	bad-s	are	
	'These villages are bad'				

The use of /*ci k'* /, /*M'yi'* /, /*-C'u* / indicate the respective numbers of the noun.

4.3.5 GENDER

In Bhotia the criterion for classifying gender is not based upon the grammar; rather it is based upon the sex of the being. Therefore, the gender system in Bhotia is the natural one.

The genders in Bhotia are of two types. The first one is free words indicating the natural distinction between masculine and feminine. The second one is formed by prefixing or suffixing the female attributive word /*mo*/, indicating female category of both human and non-human. Further /*mo*/ is the third personal pronoun (also indicating 'she') which is extended for distinguishing the gender.

The examples of the first category are like the following :

<i>apo'</i>	'father'	<i>amo'</i>	'mother'
<i>p^ho</i>	'male'	<i>m'o</i>	'female'
<i>bu'</i>	'son'/'boy'	<i>b'um</i>	'daughter'/girl'
<i>acú</i>	'elder brother'	<i>aji</i>	'elder sister' etc.

The examples of the second category are like the following :

<i>m`i</i>	‘man’	<i>mo-m`i</i>	‘woman’
<i>p^hore</i>	‘widower’	<i>mor`em</i>	‘widow’
<i>k^hy`i</i>	‘dog’	<i>k<sup>h</sup>y`im`o</i>	‘bitch’
<i>ta´</i>	‘horse’	<i>tayem`o</i>	‘mare’

Sometimes the gender distinction is not maintained in case of some human nouns

<i>m`i</i>	<i>kudi</i>	‘old man’
<i>ana´</i>	<i>kudi</i>	‘old woman’

but	<i>miju t^huM t^huM</i>	‘short man’/’short woman’
	<i>miju byakra</i>	‘lean man’ /’lean woman’

However, the inanimate nouns do not show any gender distinction.

4.3.6 CASE

Case is a grammatical category which expresses the semantic relation between a noun phrase and the predicate. In Bhotia the case relations are expressed in three ways.

1. By the addition of case- markers
2. By the absence of case- markers
3. By the addition of post- positions

4.6.1 As per the category conditioned by case markers the Cases in Bhotia are the following

1. The Nominative Case
2. The Accusative Case
3. The Dative Case
4. The Ablative Case
5. The Possessive Case
6. The Locative Case
7. The Instrumental Case

The markers of each case are shown below along with applications.

1. The Nominative Case – This Case is unmarked in case of intransitive verb. In case of Transitive verb the marker is /-ki/ or /-gi/

<i>k^hoM</i>	<i>Mai´</i>	<i>apo´</i>	<i>y`iM</i>	‘He is my father’
he (hon)	(my)	(father)	(is)	

<i>mu Mai' ama' y`iM</i>	'She is my mother'
(she) (my) (mother) (is)	
<i>di' Mai' d`ep y`iM</i>	'This is my book'
(this) (my) (book) (is)	
<i>Ma' Mai' SiMta k^horloi naMlo y`e</i>	'I am in my cart'
(I) (my) (cart) (in) (am)	
<i>b`oCo gi k<sup>h</sup>ulo t<sup>h</sup>oMt`o</i>	'The child sees him'
(the child) (him) (sees)	
<i>raMki' Malo t^hoMt`o</i>	'You(hon-sg.) see me'
(you-hon) (me) (see)	

Here /k^hoM/, /mu' /, /di' /, /Ma' / respectively are in nominative forms which are unmarked. But the nominative marker /-gi/ or /-ki/ has been added in case of /boCo' /, /raM' / since the verb is intransitive.

2. The Accusative case – suffix is /-lo/ 'to'

<i>raMki' Malo t^hoMt`o</i>	'You see me'
you-hon me see	
<i>Ma ra Mlo t^hoMt`o</i>	'I see you'
I to you see	
<i>b`oCo gi k<sup>h</sup>ulo t<sup>h</sup>oMt`o</i>	'The child sees him'
the child him sees	
<i>t^hamcah-lo S'aylak maMbo</i>	'Invite them all for meals'
them for meal invite	

Here with /Ma' / 'I', /ra M- / 'you(hon)' /k^hu' / 'he(ordi)' /t^hamcah- / 'all' the suffix /-lo/ has been added.

3. The Dative case suffix is /-lo /

<i>Malo k^him c^huMc^huM M'yi' y`e</i>	'I have two small houses'
(I-dat) (house) (little) (two) (have)	
<i>k^hulo b`oCo' S'u'm y`e</i>	'He has three children'
(he-dat) (child) (three) (has)	
<i>daw cik-lo nin S'u'mcu y`e</i>	'A month has 30 days'
(month-a) (days) (thirty) (has)	
<i>Ma-lo atsi b^hye nCuka</i>	'I want some more'

(I-dat) (some more) (want)

4. The Ablative suffix is /-le/

lopdra-le *oMbo y`iM* 'Come from the school'
(school-from) (come)
S`iM d`o M-le *dapmaC`u*      *phyubo b`e* 'The leaves fall from the tree'
(the tree-from) (leaves) (fall)

5. The Genitive suffix is /-i/ or /-ki/

Mai`bu` 'my son' (*Ma`-+ -i* = 'my')
k`hui`k`im*      'his house'      (*k`hu`-+ -i = 'his')
ra`Mki k`im 'your (hon.) house' (*ra`M-+ -ki-* = 'your')
ra`Mki b`oCo`*      'your (hon.) sons'      (*ra`M-+ -ki- = 'your hon-sg.')

k`hoMi` b`umC`u 'their daughters' (*kho`M-+ -i* = 'their')

6. The Locative suffix is /-na/ , /-namlo/

Ma` k`im-na *gyuS`e y`iM* 'I go to the house'
(I) (to the house) (to go)
t`haM-na*      *d`i 'Sit on the ground'
(ground-on) (sit)

[of course /naMlo/ is used as post position also]

7. The Instrumental suffix is /-gi/ 'by'

Ma`gi*      'by me'      (*Ma`- + -gi)
k`hu`gi 'by him' (*k`hu`- + -gi*)
myugu`gi*      'by pen'      (*myugu`- + -gi)
S`u`Mgi 'by the Govt.' (*S`u`M- + -gi*)

4.3.7 POST – POSITIONS

The establishment of case relationship by the addition of post-positions in Bhotia is the following.

Generally the post positions are used after the genitive forms of the pronominal word. [The genitive form is the Noun / Pronoun +*-i*, *-ki* , *-gi*.]

Mai' Muenla ma lAMCi k 'Don't stand in front of me'
(of me) (in front of) (don't) (stand)

k^hyi' di' Mai' gy'aple oMc'e 'The dog came behind me'
(dog)(the) (of me) (behind) (came)

/Muenla/ 'in front of' , */gy'aple/* 'behind' are realized as post-positions.

But without any change in the preceding pronominal form also post position can occur.

k^hu' Ma' nyampo' dra b'e S'o 'He looks like me'
(he) (me) (like) (looks)

Jipo' C'u dumra naMlo oMbo y'im 'The children came to the garden'
(children) (garden-to) (come+p.t.)

here */nyampo' /* 'like', *naMlo* 'inside' etc. followed the pronominal form directly.

When the post - positions are used with the nominal forms, the nominal forms are generally uninflected.

k^hoM k^him naMlo y'im 'He (hon.) is inside the house'
(he-hon.) (house) (inside) (is)

ra Mki dsa b'oCo' C'u naMle lenbonaM
(your)(seat) (boys) (among) (take) 'Take your seat amongst the boys'

k^hu' S'i'M S'ukti S'oMpoy'e 'He went through the field'
(he) (field) (through) (went)

Here */naMlo/* 'inside', */naMle/* 'amongst', */S'ukti/* 'through' occurred directly after the nominal forms */k^him/*, */b'oCo' C'u/* , */S'i'M/* respectively.

Thus the post-positions in Bhotia are like the following.

gy'aple 'after' / 'behind'

k^hyi' di' Ma'i gy'aple oMc'e 'The dog came behind me'

t^hak M'i 'near'

migi t^hakM'imu S'aM 'Do not go near the fire'

k^hyapti 'around'

k^hoMC`u S`iMk^hor k^hyapti gyu`S`i M d`i ‘They walked around the field’

t^ha Mk^hul`e ‘over’

p^hyicu M di` goi t<sup>h</sup>a Mk<sup>h</sup>ul`e p^hurba S`aM ‘The bird flew over the head’

S`alo / medlo ‘down’

m`i ci k salo d`i ‘One man is sitting down’

nyampo` ‘along with’/’like’

khu Ma` nyampo` h AMbo y`iM ‘He came along with me’

Munlo / Muenla ‘in front of’

Mai` Munlo by`a lAMb`o ‘Why do you stand in front of me?’

h ole / h Aklo ‘under’

Ja di` Maci kaMpai h olepo y`e ‘The earth is under our feet’

k^hu` Mai h Aklo yo k k<sup>h</sup>yapt`o ‘He works under me’

Some more post positions are as follows:

<i>t^ha r`iM</i>	‘far’
<i>bana</i>	‘between’
<i>naMSa</i>	‘in side’
<i>S`urk^ha</i>	‘side’
<i>p^hikol`e</i>	‘from the top of’ etc.

4.4 PRONOUNS

A word which substitutes the noun is a Pronoun and it can take number marker, gender marker and case-marker. The exception is that pronoun can not take an article.

Types of Pronouns - The Bhotia has the following types of pronouns

1. Personal Pronoun
2. Demonstrative Pronoun
3. Interrogative Pronoun
4. Reflexive Pronoun
5. Indefinite Pronoun

Personal Pronouns

In Bhotia the system of Personal Pronoun distinguishes three persons, three numbers and two genders. Gender distinction in pronoun takes place only in the third person. The details of Personal Pronouns is like the following.

Person	Singular Number	Dual Number	Plural Number
1 st	<i>Ma</i> 'I'	<i>MaCa M</i> 'yi 'we two	<i>MaCaC</i> `u 'we'
2 nd Ordinary	<i>cA</i> 'you'	<i>cAM</i> 'yi 'you two'	<i>cAC</i> `u 'you'
2 nd honorific	<i>ra M</i> 'you'	<i>raM M</i> 'yi 'You two'	<i>raMC</i> `u 'you'
3 rd ordinary (m.)	<i>k^ho</i> / <i>k^hu</i> 'he'	<i>k^hoM M</i> 'yi 'they two'	<i>k^hoMC</i> `u 'they'
3 rd honorific	<i>k^ho M</i> 'he'	<i>k^hoM M</i> 'yi 'they two'	<i>k^hoMC</i> `u 'they'
3 rd ordinary (f.)	<i>mo</i> 'she'	<i>moM</i> 'yi 'they two'	<i>moC</i> `u 'they'
honorific (f.)	<i>moraM</i> 'she'	<i>moraMM</i> 'yi 'they two'	<i>moraMC</i> `u 'they'

The different case-suffixes are added after the above pronominal forms in the following way

Person	Number	Accusative/ Dative	Instrumental	Ablative	Genitive
1 st	Singular	<i>Ma-lo</i>	<i>Ma-gi</i>	<i>Ma-le</i>	<i>Ma-i</i>
	Plural	<i>MaCa-lo</i>	<i>MaCa-gi</i>	<i>MaCa-le</i>	<i>MaCa-gi/MaCa-i</i>
2 nd ordinary	Singular	<i>cA-lo</i>	<i>cA-gi</i>	<i>cA-le</i>	<i>cA-ki</i>
	Plural	<i>cAC`u-lo</i>	<i>cAC`u-gi</i>	<i>cAC`u-le</i>	<i>cAC`u-ki</i>
2 nd honorific	Singular	<i>raM-lo</i>	<i>raM-gi</i>	<i>raM-le</i>	<i>raM-ki</i>
	Plural	<i>raMC`u-lo</i>	<i>raMC`u-gi</i>	<i>raMC`u-le</i>	<i>raMC`u-ki</i>
3 rd ord. (male)	Singular	<i>k^ho-lo</i>	<i>k^ho-gi</i>	<i>k^hu-le</i>	<i>k^hu-i</i>
	Plural	<i>k^hoMC`u-lo</i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup>oMC`u-gi</i>	<i>k^hoMC`u-le</i>	<i>k^hoM-ki</i>
3 rd (female)	Singular	<i>mo-lo</i>	<i>mu-gi</i>	<i>mu-le</i>	<i>mu-i</i>
	Plural	<i>muC`u-lo</i>	<i>muC`u-gi</i>	<i>muC`u-le</i>	<i>muC`u-ki</i> <i>/moraM-ki(hon.)</i>
3 rd honorific	Singular	<i>k^hoM-lo</i>	<i>k^hoM-gi</i>	<i>k^hoM-le</i>	<i>k^hoM-ki</i>
(male)	Plural	<i>k^hoMCu-lo</i>	<i>k^hoMCu-gi</i>	<i>k^hoMCu-le</i>	<i>k^hoM-ki</i>
3 rd honorific	Singular	<i>moraM-lo</i>	<i>moraM-gi</i>	<i>moraM-le</i>	<i>moraM-ki</i>

(female) Plural *moraMC`u-lo*   *moraMC`u-gi* *moraMC`u-le* *moraM-ki*

Demonstrative Pronouns

The system of Demonstrative pronoun in Bhotia distinguishes two kinds of spatial distance :

1. Proximate Demonstrative Pronoun which refers to objects that are near to the speaker;
2. Remote Demonstrative pronoun, which refers to objects that are away from the speaker, they may be visible or may not be visible but known. Demonstrative Pronouns are /*dí*/ ‘this’ (proximate Demonstrative Pronoun) and /*odí*/ ‘that’ (remote Demonstrative Pronoun). These two are free forms. And if the number-marker happens to be occurred it is suffixed with the demonstrative Pronominal form in the following way

	Proximate			Remote	
Singular	<i>dí</i>	‘this’	Singular	<i>odí</i> <i>p^hidí</i>	‘that’ ‘that’
Plural	<i>díC`u</i>	‘these’	Plural	<i>odíC`u</i> <i>p^hidíC`u</i>	‘those’ ‘those’

Interrogative Pronouns

The Interrogative Pronoun /*ka*/ ‘who’ in Bhotia is inflected in the same way as the Personal Pronouns

<i>ka`di</i>	‘who’	-	Nominative case
<i>kalo</i>	‘whom’	-	Accusative / dative case
<i>kai`</i>	‘whose’	-	Genitive case
<i>kal`e</i>	‘from whom’	-	‘Ablative case
<i>ka`gi</i>	‘by whom’	-	Instrumental case

Reflexive Pronouns

A suffix /-*rail*/ added after the pronominal form is found to form Reflexive Pronoun e.g.

1 st Person	<i>Ma`-+-rail</i>	=	<i>Marail</i>	‘my self’
	<i>Ma`Ca-+-rail</i>	=	<i>MaCarail</i>	‘ourselves’

2 nd Person	<i>ra M-+-rail</i>	=	<i>raMrail</i>	‘your self’
	<i>ra MCu-+-rail</i>	=	<i>raMCurail</i>	‘yourselves’
3 rd Person	<i>k^hu ‘-+-rail</i>	=	<i>k^hurail</i>	‘himself’
	<i>k^ho M-+-rail</i>	=	<i>k^hoMrail</i>	‘themselves’

Indefinite Pronouns

To refer to some indefinite person or indefinite thing the word /lala/, /lolo / are used which may be called as Indefinitive Pronominal form in Bhotia.

lolo S’apo lolo MeiMkó ‘Somebody are new somebody old’
 somebody new somebody old

(dek^ha)lala b`ompó lala c^huMc^huM ‘Some fish are big , some small’
 fish some big some small

The making of a definite pronoun as indefinite by adding – *yaM* with /ka-/like *kagiyaM*, *kaileyam* ‘none/nobody’ is also a possible formation in Bhotia. For example:

y`ok di` kagi y`aM byaCu S`egi b`e ‘Nobody could do this work’
 work this nobody could do

y`ok di` kaiCaley`aM miC`uS`e y`iM ‘This work will not be done by anybody’
 work this anybody (will not be done)

4.5 ADJECTIVES

An adjective is a word which qualifies a noun. In Bhotia the adjectives follow the nominal forms. and they are divided into two categories – Declineable and Indeclinables.

The Declinable adjectives are those which are declined for number. When the noun along with attributive / qualifier has to indicate the plurality the plural suffix is added generally with the qualifier only instead of noun.

Singular

Plural

<i>b`oC`o c^huMc^huM</i>	‘little child’	<i>b`oCo` c^huMc^huMC`u</i>	‘the little children’
child little			
<i>d`ep b`ompó</i>	‘big book’	<i>d`ep b`ompóC`u</i>	‘the big books’
book big			

where the plural suffix –C`u has been used with the adjectival forms /c<sup>h</sup>uMc<sup>h</sup>uM/ ‘little’, /b`omp`o/ ‘big’ respectively. And the Indeclinable adjectives are as follows.

in Noun Phrase

<i>Jipo</i>	<i>ly`em</i>	‘the good child’
child	good	
<i>ta´</i>	<i>kapo´</i>	‘the white horse’
horse	white	

<i>dapma Muenpo´</i>	‘the green leaf’
leaf	green

in Predicate Phrase

Unlike the other categories of adjectives, in predicative adjectives the plural suffix is added after the noun or classifier of nouns and not with the adjectival forms .

<i>s`uM</i>	<i>di´</i>	<i>ly`em</i>	<i>d`i</i>	‘the story is good’
story	the	good	is	

Here the noun /s`uM/ is in singular number. as discussed when this noun /s`uM/ will change its number then the number suffix is to be used with the /ly`em/ ‘good’ which follows the noun /s`uM/. But when the noun with a following adjective is to indicate plurality then instead of occurring with the adjectival form the plural suffix /-Cu/ is used with the noun itself in case of Predicative adjectives and therefore the above sentence is changed in the following way.

<i>s`uM</i>	<i>di´C`u</i>	<i>ly`em</i>	<i>d`i</i>	‘These stories are good’
story	these	good	are	

When a classifier appears with a noun then the adjective follows the classifier only and the plural suffix is used with the classifier only and therefore in the sentence the classifier /*di´*/ has been inflected and the form has been /s`uM*di´C`u* ly`em *d`i*/ ‘these stories are good’.

The Bhotia adjectives are further classified into following types.

1. Qualitative adjective (i.e. indicating the quality like ‘good’, ‘bad’ etc)
2. Quantitative adjective (i.e. indicating the quantity like ‘this much’, ‘that much’, ‘how many’)

Qualitative adjective – adjectives which attribute a quality to the noun are called qualitative adjectives.

Singular		Plural	
<i>bú lyem</i>	‘the good boy’	<i>bú lyemCu</i>	‘the good boys’
<i>uMpó nakk`u</i>	‘the dark cloud’	<i>uMpó nakkuCu</i>	‘the dark clouds’
<i>k`im bompó</i>	‘the large house’	<i>k`im bompóCu</i>	‘the large houses’

Quantitative adjective – The adjectives, which refer to the quantity of the nouns to which they are attributed are Quantitative adjectives

<i>k`u -l`o</i>	<i>Mul</i>	<i>itsi</i>	<i>gopo y`e</i>	‘He wants some money’
(he)	(money)	(some)	(wants)	
<i>Ma -l`o atsi</i>	<i>byenC`uka</i>			‘I want some more’
(I)	(some)	(want)		
<i>raMki gaC`u byenp`o`odíC`u bakS`e y`iM</i>	‘I shall take as much as you give’			
(you)	(as much as)	(give)	(shall take)	

Predicative adjective – Adjectives in Bhotia are used predicatively but they cannot be considered as verbs. The reason is that the verbal forms take tense – aspect – mood markers but the Predicative adjective cannot take such markers.

<i>ri´</i>	<i>dí´</i>	<i>t`hampó</i>	<i>d`i</i>	‘The hill is high’
hill	the	high	is	
<i>mi´</i>	<i>`od`i</i>	<i>t`huMt`huM</i>	<i>d`i</i>	‘That man is short’
man	that	short	is	
<i>b`um</i>	<i>d`i</i>	<i>lelocen</i>	<i>b`e</i>	‘The girl is lazy’
girl	the	lazy	is	

4.6 NUMERALS

All the numerals belong to Noun adjective class. The numeral system is distinctly decimal. From one to ten the numerals are free words i.e. monomorphemic whereas from eleven onwards the numeral is formed like ten+one = eleven, ten+two =twelve i.e. suffixing the cardinal numerals to the decimal unit. Simultaneously, it has been observed that Bhotia has a system of vigesimal counting i.e. counting on the basis of ‘twenty’ as the unit and multiplication thereof. Accordingly , the numerals in Bhotia are given below.

CARDINAL NUMERALS

<i>ci k</i>	‘one’
-------------	-------

<i>M'yi'</i>	'two'
<i>sum</i>	'three'
<i>S' i</i>	'four'
<i>M'a</i>	'five'
<i>druk</i>	'six'
<i>din</i>	'seven'
<i>gy'e</i>	'eight'
<i>gu</i>	'nine'
<i>cu</i>	'ten'

The formation of higher numerals is decimal unit plus cardinal numeral

<i>cu</i>	<i>ci k</i>	'eleven'
ten	one	
<i>cu</i>	<i>M'yi'</i>	'twelve'
ten	two	
<i>cu</i>	<i>sum</i>	'thirty'
ten	three	
<i>cu</i>	<i>gu</i>	'nineteen'
ten	nine	
<i>M'yi'</i>	<i>cu</i>	'twenty'
two	ten	
<i>Myi'</i>	<i>cu</i>	<i>ci k</i>
two	ten	one
<i>sum</i>	<i>cu</i>	'thirty'
three	ten	
<i>S' i</i>	<i>cu</i>	'forty'
four	ten	
<i>S'ip</i>	<i>cu</i>	'forty'

From 'thirty' onwards the forms of numerals are realized having alternative forms like the following. These forms are formed with /*k^he-*/ which means 'twenty' or /*k^he p^hedaM*/ which means 'twenty minus ten' and this system may be considered as vigesimal system of counting in Bhotia..

<i>sum cu</i>	'thirty'
<i>k^he p^hedaM</i>	<i>M'yi'</i>
<i>S' i cu</i>	'forty'
<i>S'ip cu</i>	'forty'
<i>Map cu</i>	'fifty'
<i>k^he p^hedaM</i>	<i>sum</i>
	'fifty'

<i>k^he M'yi' cu</i>	'sixty'
<i>k^he sum</i>	'sixty'
<i>d̥i n cu</i>	'seventy'
<i>k^he p^hedaM S' i</i>	'seventy'
<i>k^he sum cu camba</i>	'seventy'
<i>k^he S' i</i>	'eighty'
<i>gup cu</i>	'ninety'
<i>k^he S' i daM cu</i>	'ninety'
<i>k^he p^hedaM M`a</i>	'ninety'
<i>k^he M`a</i>	'hundred'
<i>gy`a t̥hamba</i>	'hundred'

The above mentioned numerals like thirty, forty, fifty, etc. can be segmented in the following way

- a) three + ten = 'thirty' ; four + ten = 'forty' ; five + ten = fifty
- | | | |
|--------------------------|---|---|
| <i>sum cu</i>
(sumcu) | <i>S'icu/S'ipcu</i>
(with insertion
of /p/ between
/S' i/ and /cu/) | <i>Mapcu</i>
(with insertion of
/p / between /M`a/
and /cu/) |
|--------------------------|---|---|

b) or by adding the fraction */-k^he/* (which indicates 'twenty') before the cardinals for even numbers which may be vigesimal counting.

<i>k^he M'yi'</i>	=	'forty' (=20 * 2)
<i>k^he sum</i>	=	'sixty' (=20 * 3)
<i>k^he S' i</i>	=	'eighty' (=20 * 4)
<i>k^he M`a</i>	=	'hundred' (=20 * 5)

It has also been observed that in the vigesimal system they have a system of organizing the numbers in terms of odd and even.

c) Sometimes */p^hedaM/* is added after */k^he-/* in case of odd numbers and */p^hedaM/* can be translated by the meaning of 'minus ten'

<i>k^he p^hedaM M'yi'</i>	'thirty'	(=20 * 2 – 10)
<i>k^he p^hedaM S' i</i>	'seventy'	(=20 * 4 – 10)
<i>k^he p^hedaM sum</i>	'fifty'	(=20 * 3 – 10)
<i>k^he p^hedaM M`a</i>	'ninety'	(=20 * 5 – 10)

d) The further peculiarity is observed in the formation of numerals like ‘seventy’ and ‘hundred’.

<i>k^he sum cu camba</i>	‘seventy’
<i>gya t̥^hamba</i>	‘hundred’

Here the components are /*k^he* -/ (allomorph of ‘twenty’) + /-*sum* -/ (three) + /-*cucamba* -/ (allomorph of ‘ten’) for ‘seventy’ and /*gya* -/ (allomorph of ‘eight’)+ /-*t̥^hamba* -/ (allomorph of two) for ‘hundred’.

Thus different allomorphs denoting different numerals are combined to form a particular numeral in Bhotia. and the allomorphs /*k^he* -/ which is used as alternant, /-*p^hedaM*/ which indicates ‘minus ten’ /-*cucamba* -/ indicating ‘ten’ etc. in the formation of numerical system in Bhotia draw much attention in respect of socio – cultural practice of Sikkimese people.

ORDINAL NUMBER

Formation of ordinal numbers are like the following.

Generally /-*po*/ the ordinal marker (adjectival suffix also) is added after the according to requirement

<i>M’yipó</i>	‘second’
<i>sumpó</i>	‘third’
<i>S’ipó</i>	‘fourth’
<i>daMpó</i>	‘first’

[Though /*daMpó* -/ is not covered by paradigm but as a separate form it is available to denote first.]

FRACTIONAL NUMERAL

The formation of other fraction of numerals are peculiar. Like the cardinal numerals different allomorphs are combined as components to make fractional numerals in Bhotia.

<i>p^heka</i>	‘half’
<i>ci k daM p^he</i>	‘one and half’
<i>S’i na sum k`e</i>	‘three – fourth’
<i>S’i k`e</i>	‘quarter’
<i>bana / buna</i>	‘middle’
<i>juklo / p^hiS’o / t̥^hamc`e gy`aple</i>	‘last’ / ‘last of all’

4.7 CLASSIFIER

In Bhotia the classifier /*di*/ used for definitive.

<i>Jipo</i>	<i>di´</i>	<i>riMpo´</i>	<i>d`i</i>	‘the child is tall’
child	the	tall	is	
<i>m`i</i>	<i>di´</i>	<i>raMpo´</i>	<i>d`i</i>	‘the man is tall’
man	the	tall	is	
<i>b`um</i>	<i>di´</i>	<i>lelocen</i>	<i>b`e</i>	‘the girl is lazy’
girl	the	lazy	is	

In case of numerical counting of objects the direct numeral classifies the object instead of */di´/*

<i>dik^ha</i>	<i>ali</i>	<i>cik</i>	<i>d`i</i>	‘Here is a cat’
<i>dik^ha</i>	<i>alicu</i>	<i>M`yi</i>	<i>d`i</i>	‘here are two cats’

In the first sentence the direct */ci k/* ‘a’ classifies the */ali´/*. But where the number of the object is more than ‘one’ then the noun takes the plural suffix */-C`u/* which follows the numeral.

Sometimes the definitive object is found in use without any classifier

<i>b`u</i>	<i>ly`em</i>	‘the good boy’
<i>d`ep</i>	<i>b`ompo´</i>	‘the big book’ etc.

4.8 VERB

Verb can be defined on the basis of certain suffixes with which it occurs. Accordingly a verb is capable of taking tense-aspect-mood markers. That means the verbal formation in Bhotia is indicated according to time and space as all the three tenses are found along with their further divisions (imperfect, perfect etc.) establishing the relationship between tense and time. The verbal form in Bhotia is not inflected in person – gender – number.

Verbs not marked for gender

<i>b`u</i>	<i>l<sup>h</sup>umS`e</i>	<i>y`iM</i>	‘the boy falls’
boy	falls		
<i>b`um</i>	<i>l<sup>h</sup>umS`e</i>	<i>y`iM</i>	‘the girl falls’
girl	falls		

The finite verbal form like */l^humS`e/* + */y`iM/* here occurs for both the gender.

Verbs not marked for Number

<i>k^ho na/dik^ha y`e</i>	‘He is here’
he here is	
<i>m`u n`a /dik^ha y`e</i>	‘She is here’
she here is	
<i>k^hoMC`u na /dik<sup>h</sup>a y`e</i>	‘They are here’
they here are	

The copula verb /y`e/ is same for all numbers.

Verbs not marked for Person

<i>Ma` dik<sup>h</sup>a y`e</i>	‘I am here’
I here am	
<i>ra M dik^ha y`e</i>	‘you (sg) are here’
you(sg) here are	
<i>raMC`u dik<sup>h</sup>a y`e</i>	‘you (pl) are here’
you(pl) here are	
<i>kho dik^ha y`e</i>	‘he is here’
he here is	
<i>di` dik<sup>h</sup>a y`e</i>	‘It is here’
it here is	

The copula verb/y`e/ remains same for all the persons.

4.8.1 THE STRUCTURE OF FINITE VERB IN BHOTIA

The structure of finite verbal formation in Bhotia is realised as follows

1. Verb stem + Tense Marker

Tense marker is added to the verb stem

<i>b`oCo gi</i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup>ulo</i>	<i>t<sup>h</sup>oMt`o</i>	
child	him	see-pr.	‘The child sees him’

If there are other markers like aspect, causative etc. they occur between verb stem and the tense marker as below.

2. Verb stem with the aspect marker has the following structure

Verb stem + aspect Marker + Tense Marker

<i>dri</i> - (<i>dri</i> se) ‘to write’	- <i>S</i> ’ <i>iM</i> (continuous marker)	<i>d</i> ’ <i>i</i> ‘writing’ (present marker)
<i>s</i> ’ <i>a</i> - (<i>sawa</i> ‘to eat’)	- <i>b</i> ’ <i>o</i> (perfect marker)	<i>y</i> ’ <i>iM</i> ‘has/ have eaten’ (present marker)

3. Causative verbal formation has the following structure

Verb stem+Causative Marker + aspect marker +tense Marker

<i>gyuS</i> ’ <i>e</i> - ‘to go’	+	- <i>Jo</i> - ‘to cause’	+	<i>y</i> ’ <i>iM</i> (pr.t.)	‘to make to go’/ ‘to cause to go’
<i>caMk</i> ^{<i>h</i>} <i>e</i> - ‘to ride’	+	- <i>Jo</i> - (to make)	+	- <i>do</i> + (pr.cont.)	<i>y</i> ’ <i>iM</i> ‘to make to ride’ (pr.t.) ‘to cause to ride’

4. Structure of the Negative Verb is as follows

Negative Marker	+	Verb stem	+	Tense Marker
<i>ma</i> / <i>men</i>	+	Verb stem	+	<i>y</i> ’ <i>iM</i>
<i>ma</i> “not”	+	<i>t</i> ^{<i>h</i>} <i>op</i> “see”	+	<i>y</i> ’ <i>iM</i> “not found”
<i>men</i> “not”	+	<i>sa</i> “learn”	+	<i>y</i> ’ <i>iM</i> “not learning”

5. Structure of verb in Interrogative sentences is as follows

Interrogative form	+	verb stem	+	Tense Marker
<i>gana</i> “where”	+	<i>suk</i> - “live”	+	- <i>to</i> “marker” “where do you live”

4.8.2 CLASSIFICATION OF VERBS

1. Verb stems of Bhotia can be classified into two classes, namely,
 - A. Simple
 - B. Compound.

A. A simple verb is composed of a single root

<i>t</i> ^{<i>h</i>} <i>oM</i> (<i>t</i> ^{<i>h</i>} <i>oMS</i> ’ <i>e</i>)	‘see’
<i>raMki</i> <i>Malo</i> <i>t</i> ^{<i>h</i>} <i>oM</i> <i>t</i> ’ <i>o</i>	‘you (sg.) see me’
you(sg.) me see (present)	
<i>kak</i> (<i>kakS</i> ’ <i>e</i>)	‘stop’
<i>MaCa</i> <i>dik</i> ^{<i>h</i>} <i>a</i> <i>kakto</i>	‘we stop here’
we here stop-present	
<i>p</i> ^{<i>h</i>} <i>yu</i> (<i>p</i> ^{<i>h</i>} <i>yuS</i> ’ <i>e</i>)	‘fall’
<i>dapma</i> <i>p</i> ^{<i>h</i>} <i>yuS</i> ’ <i>e</i> <i>y</i> ’ <i>iM</i>	‘leaf falls’

leaf fall – pr. cont.

- B. A compound verb consists of more than one root -/stem and it may include one or more suffixes.

<i>taMk^huM ḍɪ̄ (duwa)</i>	‘to smoke’
<i>gola k^hyuk (k^hyukS’ e)</i>	‘wash’
<i>gyenca tap̣ ō (tapS’ e)</i>	‘put on ornaments’
<i>k^hyiso tap̣ ō (tapS’ e)</i>	‘bite as a dog’
<i>M’obi ḅ ē (beS’ e)</i>	‘wead’ (to remove weads)

[For the above set of Compound verb the combination is noun + verb. Noun is the first element and verb the second]

2. Verb stems can also be divided into three sub classes on the basis of their syntactic function. They are i) Intransitive ii) Transitive iii) Causative.

i) Intransitive Verbs – Intransitive verbs are those verbs which do not take a direct object.

<i>gyu (gyuS’ e)</i>	‘go’	<i>Ma gyuS’ e ȳ iM</i>	‘I go’
		<i>mu gyuS’ e ȳ iM</i>	‘she will go’
<i>caM (caMS’ e)</i>	‘run’	<i>rama mala caM</i>	‘Rama runs quickly’
<i>laM (laMS’ e)</i>	‘stand’	<i>k^hu p^hagi laM ȳ e</i>	‘He stands there’
<i>p^hu (p^huS’ e)</i>	‘fly’	<i>p^hyiCu M̄ ḍiC̄ u p^hu</i>	‘The birds fly’
<i>(sa) k^hyap (k^hyapS’ e)</i>	‘graze’	<i>ḅ ā ḍi sa k^hyapS’ iM ḍɪ̄</i>	‘The cow is grazing’

ii) Transitive verbs- Transitive verbs are those which are used with a direct object

<i>sa (sawa)</i>	‘eat’	<i>Ma k^hyu sato</i>	‘I eat bread’
<i>ṭ^hoM (ṭ^hoMS’ e)</i>	‘see’	<i>mugi Jipalo ṭ^hoM̄to</i>	‘She sees the child’
<i>maJapo (maJapowa)</i>	‘hit’	<i>k^hugi p^hyicuMlo maJapo ḅ ē</i>	‘He hits the bird’

Following are some more examples of Transitive and Intransitive verbs.

Intransitive		Transitive	
<i>byaS’ e</i>	‘to do’	<i>bakS’ e</i>	‘to carry’
<i>JinS’ e</i>	‘to fight’	<i>JoS’ e</i>	‘to make’

<i>nupS'</i> `e	'to sink'	<i>tokS'</i> `e	'to cut'
<i>l^hepS'</i> `e	'to arrive'	<i>koS'</i> `e	'to dig'
<i>gyuS'</i> `e	'to go / to walk'	<i>S'i kS'</i> `e	'to kill'
<i>c^hi 'kyapS'</i> `e	'to swim	<i>dunS'</i> `e	'to hit'
<i>kokS'</i> `e	'to vomit'	<i>kuS'</i> `e	'to throw'
<i>sulS'</i> `e	'to enter'	<i>omS'</i> `e	'to milk'
<i>p^hurS'</i> `e	'to fly'	<i>t<sup>h</sup>uS'</i> `e	'to take'
<i>ḥapS'</i> `e	'to break'	<i>binS'</i> `e	'to give'
<i>daS'</i> `e	'to sit'	<i>t<sup>h</sup>opS'</i> `e	'to get'
<i>S'eS'</i> `e	'to die'	<i>taMS'</i> `e	'to send'
<i>gaS'</i> `e	'to laugh'	<i>lapS'</i> `e	'to say'
<i>t^hoS'</i> `e	'to sleep'/to lie down'	<i>t<sup>h</sup>onS'</i> `e	'to drink'

iii) Causative Verbs - Causative verbs are those which have two agents of which one causes the other to do. Causative verbs are derived from the transitive and intransitive by the addition of Causative suffix /-Jo/ .

non causative		causative	
<i>bya S'</i> `e	'to do'	<i>byaS'</i> `e Jo	'to cause to do'
<i>gyu S'</i> `e	'to go'	<i>gyuS'</i> `e Jo	'to cause to go'

Examples in sentence

Magi ta' di' caMk^henJ`odó y`iM 'I am making the horse run'
 I horse the (making to run)

Magi mulo l^huk^hyapk^hen ci k J`odó y`iM
 I her to sing a song a am making
 'I am making her sing a song'

Magi b`udilo Mam Jocukka y`iM
 I boy the to sweet make to eat
 'I make the boy eat the sweet'

In the above set of sentences the causative marker /-Jo/ has been used with verb stem followed by the tense marker.

4.8.3 FINITE VERB

In Bhotia the finite verb is formed by the verb stem followed by the aspect marker, if any, which ultimately takes the auxiliary tense – marker

maCaC`u      k<sup>h</sup>alo      gyuS`e y`iM ‘We go to sea’
(we) (sea to) (go)

Here /*gyuS`e*/ is the verb stem and /*y`iM*/ is the present tense marker which make the formation of present indefinite finite verbal form. The finite verbal form does not change according to persons.

Ma`    di` ganalo ma t^hop “I found it nowhere”
I it anywhere not found

k^hoMcu di` ganalo ma t^hop “They found it nowhere”
they it anywhere not found

In the both sentences /*t^hop*/ is the finite verbal form, namely past indefinite the distinction of which is very much context based.

TENSE -According to Hockett (1970) tense is defined as a ‘grammatical category showing different locations of an event in time’. John Lyons(1969) defines that the essential characteristic of the category of tense is that it relates the time of action, event or state of affairs referred to in the sentence to the time of utterance’.

Verbs in Bhotia are marked morphologically for three categories of tense – 1. Present 2. Past 3. Future. But structurally the tense markers are overlapped. Only the context indicates the actuality. Tense markers occur at the end of the verb.

ASPECT – Automatically the grammatical category ‘ aspect’ becomes associated with the tense category since ‘ aspect has nothing to do with the location of an event in time but with its temporal distribution or contour’, (Hockett :1970). So, aspect is not relative to the time of utterance. It indicates only habituality, duration, perfectivity etc. Accordingly Bhotia has 3 aspects in each tense.

1. Habitual aspect
2. Durative aspect
3. Perfective aspect

PRESENT TENSE

The present tense marker is /*ye*/, /*to*/, /*-toye*/ which are added after the verb stem and which indicate the indefiniteness as well as habituality. Sometimes /*y`iM*/ is also found in use for the purpose.

mu p^hAgi laM y`e ‘She stands there’
she there stands

Ma t^halo S`amS`e y`e ‘I ride the horse’

I	horse	ride	
Ma	k ^h uw	sat`o	‘I eat the bread’
I	bread	eat	
MaCa	dik ^h a	kakto	‘We stop here’
we	here	stop	

k^hugi atAMrAM p^hyicuM S’eS’`e y`iM
 he always the bird kills
 ‘He always kills the bird’

Ma´ cutS’oh M`a lo laMt`o y`e
 I o’ clock five get up
 ‘I get up at five o’ clock’

Ma´ S’`iM y`ok k^hyapt`o y`e
 I field work do work
 ‘I work in the field’

In the present perfect /be/ , /yiM/ , /ye/ are added after the verb stem (derived from the verb root + -bo or verb root + -S’a).

MaCaki	ambik	ci k	sab`o	b`e	‘We have eaten a mango’
we	mango	a	eaten	have	
k ^h oMCui	k ^h uw	ci k	sab`o	y`iM	‘They have eaten one bread’
they	bread	one	eaten	have	
k ^h uki	yigi	ci k	dritiS’a	y`e	‘He has written a note’
he	note	a	written-has		

The present durative formation is verb root + -S’iM, /-S’im dɪ /, /S’iM ye/, /-to yiM/, /yiM/.

k ^h ui	d`ep	cik	driS’iM	d`i	‘He is writing a book’
he	book	a	writing	is	
ba di	jak ^h yapS’iM	d`i			‘The cow is grazing’
cow the	grazing	is			
Ma´	data	Melto	y`iM		‘Now I am sleeping’
I	now	sleeping	am		
Magi	d`ep	d`i	drokS’iM	y`e	‘I am reading the book’
I	book	the	read-ing		
Magi	nole	driS’iM	y`e		‘I am writing a note’

I note write – ing

PAST TENSE

Past tense generally refers to an event which happened before the time of utterance. Past tense are also marked with /yìM/, /dɪ /, /be/. In case of indefinite they are added after the verb stem derived from *verb root* + -bo.

1. *Ma p^hAgi S'AMb`ò y`ìM* 'I went there'
I there went
2. *MaCa l^ham dɪ´ k^hukɪ ñAMB`ò y`ìM* 'we came by the road'
we road the by came
3. *k^hu S`ìM S`ukɪ S'AMb`ò b`è* 'He went through the field'
he field through went
4. *k^hu k^himle t^honedɪ ñAMB`ò b`è* 'He came out of the house'
he house out of the came

Past Perfect Tense

/dɪ´/ is added with the past perfect verbal stem (verb - + - Ca)

k^hugi dɪ´ Muenle raM byaCa dɪ´ 'He had done this before'
he this before had done

k^hoMC`u MaloMboi Muenle sAMCa dɪ´ 'They had gone before I came'
they I came before had gone

In Past durative tense /dɪ / is added with verb stem (*verb root*- + -S`ìM, -to byaS`o, yìMk^hen, yek^hen)

/dɪ/- *b`oCo´ dɪrokS`ìM byado dɪ´* 'The child was reading'
child read-ing past

/byaS`o/ -      *ra M dɪrokt`ò byaS``ò* 'You were reading'
you read-ing – past

yìM k^hen/ye k^hen

MaCa dɪroktò yìMk^hen 'We were reading'
we read-ing – past

Ma´ dɪrokodo yek^hen 'I was reading'

I read-ing – past

FUTURE TENSE

Generally the future tense is used for an action that has still to take place. Like present and past /yiM/ is used in future tense also. To indicate indefiniteness /yiM/ is added with the verb stem which is derived from *verb root* - + -bo, -S'e.

k^hu' t^horaM gyus'e y`iM 'He will go tomorrow'

he tomorrow will go

k^hoM Malo dribo y`iM 'They will ask me'

they me will ask

Future Perfect

This expresses the action to be completed in near future. The formation of future perfect is like the following. However, it is not a frequent construction.

Ma' k^hoMlo kayboi gaM k^hu Muenle ra M hapCuk b`o hAM

I them reach before he before them might have gone

'He might have gone them before I reach them'

The base verb i.e. /hAM/ has been preceded by the aspect formed by /-Cukbo/.

4.9 MOOD

Mood expresses the speaker's point of view about the occurrence of event. It is the mode or manner which is used to express a statement, command a question or doubt. The modal forms in Bhotia are the following

Indicative Mood

Simple declarative sentences indicate this mood.

Ma' k^huw sat`o 'I eat bread'

I bread eat

k^hoMgi Malo t^hoMt`o 'They see me'

they me see

Imperative Mood

It is used to express a sense of order, command, request

by`a di' S`iMna ta`p 'Sow paddy in the field'

paddy the field in sow	
<i>de^{ti} l^{ap}</i>	‘Do say thus’
thus (do) say	
<i>t^hamcah lo sayla maMb^o</i>	‘Invite them all for meals’
all to for meal invite	
<i>p^hAgi hAM</i>	‘go there’
there go	

Interrogative Mood

Sentences in the interrogative mood expresses a question. And the interrogative particles /*gan*/ /*gana*/ /*gaCo*/ etc. precede the finite verbal form.

<i>raMki b^oCo[´]C^u gana y^e</i>	‘Where are your children?’
your children where are	
<i>raMki gana sukt^o</i>	‘Where do you live?’
you where live	
<i>ra M gan saS[’]e</i>	‘What will you eat?’
you what will eat	
<i>raMlo b^oCo[´] gaCo y^e</i>	‘How many children do you have?’
you to child how many have	
<i>raMki miM gan b^o</i>	‘What is your name?’
your name what is	

Probability Mood

It expresses the probability of the action denoted by the verb. Structure of the verb in probability is as follows. The probability is also distinguished from the context.

<i>k^hoM Ma^lo drib^o yⁱM</i>	‘They may ask me’
they me may ask	
<i>t^ham t^hon^e c^haS[’]e yⁱM</i>	‘It may happen’
it thus may happen	

The other category of this structure is formed with /-*Cuk*/ suffixed with verb root

<i>Ma[´] hACukkam</i>	‘I may come’
I come may	
<i>k^hugi p^hyicu M S[’]eCuk</i>	‘He may kill the bird’
he the bird may kill	

Optative Mood

It may express a desire, permission or request. The optative marker is /S' u/.

k^hoMC`u ɬ<sup>h</sup>amcah hAMS'`i 'Let them all come'
them all come let
gyuS'u cikson di' ciklo baS'`i 'Let some of you go and fetch'
let go some of you and some of you fetch let

Obligatory mood

To express the mood of compulsion, promise etc. the structure of verb is like the following.

ta' di' CogoS'`e y`iM 'That horse is to be sold'
horse that is to be sold
yok k^hyapk^henC`u maMbo' cukgoS'`e b`e 'Many workers are to be employed'
workers many are to be employed

In these sentences a sense of obligation is indicated which is determined by the context and by the marker /-go-(S'`e)/. The other structure of this modal category is indicated by /byati yiMruM/ preceding to the finite verbal form.

k^húgi gaɬe by`aɬi yiMruM d`ep di' drigo
he- anyhow ought to book this write
'He ought to write this book (any how)'

Ma' gaɬe by`aɬi yiMruM hAMS'`e y`iM 'I ought to come'
I anyhow ought to come

gaɬe by`aɬi yiMruM dik<sup>h</sup>a S'`o 'Any how you must come'
anyhow must(or ought to) here come

Infinitive Mood

The infinitive marker is /pai/ which is suffixed to the verb root

Ma' hAMPai d ɸpóy`e 'I like to come'
I come to like

k^hú S'iMt^h`u sapai d ɸpó d`i 'He liked to eat fruit'

he fruit to eat liked

Sometimes without /pai/ also the infinitive is expressed the structure of which is as below.

Ma' hAMS'e y'im
I come to present tense marker 'I want to come'

Conditional Mood

When the condition of a finite verb is dependent on the action of another verb that expression may be called conditional modal category. And the conditional marker is /parcena/ which occurs with the depending verb and not with the main verb

Ma' ly'em t^hon parcena t^horaM hAMS'e y'im
I well am if-then tomorrow will come
'If I am well I will come tomorrow'

k^hu kaktra na y'e parcena Malo t^hart^hriM taM hAM
he difficulty in is if-then to me will wire
'If he is in difficulty he will wire to me'

k^hu Ma' myambo de parcena di' lapti ly'em t^honS'e y'im
he I with were if-then it appeared good would have
'If he were with me it would have been better'

4.10 NON-FINITE VERBAL FORM

The Non-Finite Verbal forms available in Bhotia are as follows

4.10.1 INFINITIVE

The infinitive verbal form consists of the infinitive marker /-pai/ which is suffixed to the base form of the verb.

k^hu' S'imt^hu sapai d tpo d'i 'He liked to eat fruit'
he fruit eat to like – past tense
Ma' hAMPai d tpo y'e 'I like to come'
I come to like – present tense

In both the sentences /-pai/ is added with the base verb /sa/ 'to eat' and /hAM/ 'to come' respectively to express the infinitiveness.

But the formation of infinitive in negative sentences is different where /-pai/ does not appear separately.

mu y`oklo min gyuek<sup>h</sup>en b`e 'She is not going to work'
 she work to not (go – ing) is

MaCa y`oklo min gyu`e 'We are not going to work'
 we work to not are going

Here the verb stem *gyu`e* - (derived from verb /*gyu*/ 'to go') indicates the infinitive.

4.10.2 VERBAL NOUN

Verbal nouns are derived by the addition of /-S'e/ and /-wa/ to the verb roots.

Verbal noun : with /-S'e/

<i>tAk-</i>	'to cut'	>	<i>tAkS`e</i>	'cutting'
<i>Cu-</i>	'to wash	>	<i>C`uS`e</i>	'washing'
<i>p^hi-</i>	'open'	>	<i>p^hiS`e</i>	'opening'
<i>cAM-</i>	'sell'	>	<i>cAMS`e</i>	'selling'
<i>p^huM-</i>	'rub'	>	<i>p^huMS`e</i>	'rubbing'
<i>kA-</i>	'dig'	>	<i>kAS`e</i>	'digging'

Verbal noun : with /-wa/

<i>to-</i>	'to scatter'	>	<i>towa</i>	'scattering'
<i>da-</i>	'to hunt'	>	<i>dawa</i>	'hunting'
<i>k^he-</i>	'to spin'	>	<i>k^hewa</i>	'spinning'
<i>p^haM-</i>	'to shoot'	>	<i>p^haMwa</i>	'shooting'
<i>nyapki M'a-</i>	'to borrow'	>	<i>M'awa</i>	'borrowing'
<i>(ke) gyur-</i>	'to translate'	>	<i>ke gyurwa</i>	'translating'

4.10.3 PARTICIPLES

Generally the participles are the verbal adjectives which qualify noun retaining some properties of a verb. The structure of participle are like the followings in Bhotia.

a) with adding – *yepai* with the verb stem

<i>sala l^hum yepai</i>	<i>S`iMthuC`u</i>	'fallen fruits'
(fall – en)	fruits	= <i>sala l^hum-</i> 'to fall' > <i>sala l^hum yepai</i> "fallen"
<i>par k^hyap yepai</i>	<i>d`epCu</i>	'printed books'
(print – ed)	books	= <i>park^hyap-</i> 'to print' > <i>par khyap yepai</i> "printed"

b) with adding /-i/, /-ki/, /-gi/ with the verb

c^hu di' t^hoMS'e gi men b'e 'This water is not drinkable'
 water this drinkable not is = *thoMSe* 'drinking' > *thoMS'eki* "drinkable"
S'am di' saS'egi sammen b'e 'This is not eatable food'
 food this eatable food not is = *saS'e* 'to eat' > *saS'egi* "eatable"

di' Mai atAMi sam y'im 'This is my usual food'
 this my usual food is = *at`AM* "regular" > *ataMi* "usual"

4.11 CAUSATIVE VERB

Both direct and indirect causatives are realised in Bhotia. The direct causative formation is like the following-

Direct causative

Magi molo l^hu k^hyapk^hen ci k Jod'o y'im 'I am making her sing a song.
 I her song to sing one making

Magi ta' di' cAMk^hen Jod'o y'im 'I am making the horse run'
 I horse the run am making

Indirect causative

Magi dilo Mam Jo cukkay'im 'I make the boy eat the sweet'
 I it to sweet making to feed

Magi numlo lapti b'oCo' lo Mam by'en di' Jo cukka y'im
 I sister-to by the child to sweet etc. make to feed
 'I make the boy feed with sweets by sister'

The particle *-Jo* indicates the causativity of the verb in case of Direct Causative formation and */-Jo cukka/* in case of Indirect Causative formation in Bhotia.

4.12 AUXILIARY VERB

/y'im/, */y'e/*, */d'i/* are identified as auxiliary verbs in Bhotia which occur alternately.

/y'im/

<i>k^hoM Mai´ yap y`iM</i>	‘He is my father’
he (hon) my father is	
<i>k^hu Mai´ b`u y`iM</i>	‘He is my son’
he my son is	
<i>d̥i´ Mai´ d̥ep y`iM</i>	‘This is my book’
this my book is	
<i>mu Mai´ b`um y`iM</i>	‘She is my daughter’
she my daughter is	

/y`e/

<i>Ma-lo b`u ci k y`e</i>	‘I have one son’
I son one have	
<i>Mai b`u k<sup>h</sup>imna y`e</i>	‘My son is in the house’
my son in the house is	
<i>k^hui b`oCo´C`u d̥ik^ha y`e</i>	‘His sons are here’
his sons here are	

/d`i/

<i>k^hui bumC`u d̥ik<sup>h</sup>a d`i</i>	‘His daughters are here’
his daughters here are	
<i>k^hui buC`u k^himna d̥i</i>	‘His sons are in the house’
his sons in the house are	
<i>mui b`oCo´na d̥i</i>	‘Here is her son’
her son here is	
<i>d̥ik^ha aliC`u M`yi d̥i</i>	‘Here are two cats’
here cats two are	
<i>laM d̥ilo raco d̥i</i>	‘The bull has horn’
bull the horn has	

4.13 NEGATIVE VERB

In Bhotia there are more than one negative particles which have different applications conditioned either by existence or by identity. The Negative Particle of Identity does not vary according to the tense or mood. But the Negatives of existence vary according to tense and mood. The following are the Negative particles in Bhotia- /miaM/, / miCu/, and /men/ for negative of identity whereas /men/, /ma/ , /min/ are for negative of existence.

- I. The negation of identity and application

1. /miaM/ miaM mu Mai b`um y`iM ‘No, she is my daughter’
 no she my daughter is
 di` Mai` y`ok miaM ‘This is not my work’
 this my work not

In the first sentence the identity is negated in the mode of answer against some fixed question of identity; In the second sentence this is the pattern of negating the identity in response to question or confusion.

2. /miC`u/    di` t^hone miC`u ‘This is impossible’
 this possible is not

/miCu/ particle is declaring the negation of identity

3. /men/ `odi` men b`e disaM di` ‘Not that one but this’
 that not is but this
 `odi` ly`em men b`e di` Malo naM ‘That is not good give me this’
 that good not is this me give

In both the sentences the particle /men/ is identifying the negative quality of the article.

II. The Negation of existence and application

The forms for negative of existence according to the tense or mood always precede the verbal form, be it a verb stem or inflected verbal form. It has already been mentioned earlier that the finite verbal form does not change according to the persons.(cf. 4.13.)

1. /men/ present negative

- k^hu ganalo men d`i* ‘He is nowhere’
 he anywhere not is
Magi cA S`akm`i men S`a ‘I am not leaving you alone’
 I you alone not am leaving
Ma` Mampo gaMdre men b`e ‘I have nothing with me’
 I with me anything not have

2. /ma/ past negative

- Ma` di` ganalo ma t^hop* ‘I found it nowhere’
 I it anywhere not found

<i>Ma´ gaMdre ma l`ep</i>	‘I said nothing’
I anything not said	
<i>k^hoMC`u di´ ganalo ma t^hop</i>	‘They found it nowhere’
they it anywhere not found	
3./min/	future negative

<i>Ma´ min gyus`e y`iM</i>	‘I shall not go’
I not go shall	
<i>Ma´ gyub`o min</i>	‘I am not going’
I go not	

[In the second sentence though the English version shows the utterance of present continuous but functionally it indicates the action of future only]

Besides negative of identity and negative of existence other Negative formation namely, Imperative Negative and Conditional Negative are also realised in Bhotia with /ma/, /men/, /mi/.

III. The Imperative Negative are like the followings :-

1. /ma/	<i>h^haM ma k^hy`ap</i>	‘Do not tell lies’
	lies not do tell	
	<i>de^hti ma lap</i>	‘Do not say thus’
	thus not do say	
2. /men/	<i>cA di^hk^ha men d`i gok<sup>h</sup>en y`iM</i>	‘You must not remain here’
	you here not must remain	
3. /mi/	<i>mu k^huw mi J`a</i>	‘She should not bake the bread’
	she bread not bake	

IV. The Conditional Negative also is formed with /ma/.

<i>k^hoMcu ma go parcena Malo naM</i>	‘If they do not want give it to me’
they not want if I to give	

Thus different categories of negatives perform the act of negation in different ways in Bhotia.

4.14 COMPOUND VERBS

In the compound verb formation the first element is noun and second element is verb stem /-kyap/, /-da/, /-tor/, /-bya/, /-t^hop/

Where noun is the first element and relevant verb stem forms the second element

- A. The formation of verb with adding /kyap/ with the noun, i.e. noun + verb /kyap(S'e)/

<i>l^hu kyap(S'e)</i>	'to sing'	derived from the noun	<i>l^hu</i>	'song'
<i>gyaMka kyap(S'e)</i>	'to count'	derived from the noun	<i>gyaMka</i>	'counting'
<i>t^ham kyap(S'e)</i>	'to quarrel'	derived from the noun	<i>t^ham</i>	'call (loudly)'
<i>c^huS'i kyap(S'e)</i>	'to bathe'	derived from the noun	<i>c^huS'i</i>	'bath'

- B. The formation of compound verb by adding other verbal particles with the noun.

<i>S'a da(wa)</i>	'to hunt'	derived from the noun	<i>S'a</i>	'meat'
<i>c^hu (caca) tor(S'e)</i>	'to sprinkle'	derived from the noun	<i>c^hu</i>	'water'
<i>c^hampo bya(S'e)</i>	'to love'	derived from the noun	<i>c^hampo</i>	'love'
<i>dim num(S'e)</i>	'to smell'	derived from the noun	<i>dim</i>	'nose'
<i>caka t^hop(S'e)</i>	'to earn'	derived from the noun	<i>caka</i>	'money'

4.15 VOICE

In Bhotia the passive voice is formed by the addition of passive marker /-ki/, /-gi/. Verbs do not undergo any change. In the passive sentences, the object of the active sentences comes in the subject place (without the nominative marker) and the subject of the active sentence occurs in the place of object with the passive marker /-ki/, /-gi/. In other words, in a passive sentence object remains object and subject remains subject even though order of the subject and object is reversed. The structure of passive voice is like the following

<i>Mu l</i>	<i>di'</i>	<i>Magi</i>	<i>lenb'o</i>	<i>y'im</i>	'The money has been taken by me'
money	the	by me	has been	taken	
<i>yigi</i>	<i>ci k</i>	<i>k^hugi</i>	<i>dribob'e</i>		'A note is written by him'
note	a	by him	written is		

The negative formation of the above categories of affirmative sentences expressed in passive voice is like the following :-

<i>S'a</i>	<i>di'</i>	<i>dramjiC'u</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>min sa</i>	<i>k^hen b'e</i>
meat	the	the Brahmins	by	not be	eaten

‘The meat will not be eaten by Brahmins’

In the foregoing discussions the inflected category of word classes in Bhotia have been discussed. There are set of words which are not inflected but show distinctive grammatical category being Indeclinables. Adverbs, Particles are coming under this category.

4.16 ADVERBS

Adverbs are the classes of words which are used to modify the meaning of a verb. They occur before the verb. It may appear in the beginning of a sentence or any place preceding the verb and are indeclinables.

Adverbs are divided into different types as follows – 1. Adverb of Time 2. Adverb of Place 3. Adverb of Manner.

Adverb of Time

<i>dariM</i>	‘today’
<i>t^horaM</i>	‘tomorrow’
<i>p^hiMle</i>	‘before’
<i>gy`apl`e</i>	‘afterwards’
<i>at`AM/at`ArAM</i>	‘always’
<i>p^hiCam</i>	‘evening’
<i>nimp^hi</i>	‘afternoon’
<i>nump^hi</i>	‘midnight’
<i>Maru/droba</i>	‘morning’
<i>d`AM</i>	‘yesterday’

Adverb of Place

<i>dik^ha/nak^ha</i>	‘here’
<i>p^h·Agi/p^hina</i>	‘there’
<i>gy`apl`e</i>	‘after’/’behind’
<i>medlo</i>	‘down’
<i>y`a/yar</i>	‘up’
<i>t^haM`i</i>	‘near’
<i>t^har`iM</i>	‘far’
<i>p^hak^h·a</i>	‘across’
<i>S`a`</i>	‘east’
<i>nub</i>	‘west’
<i>jy`oM</i>	‘north’

<i>l^ho</i>	‘south’
<i>gana</i>	‘where’

Adverb of Manner

<i>saltrak (byati)</i>	‘neatly’
<i>gy`al`op (byati)</i>	‘slowly’
<i>g`atop</i>	‘how’
<i>bomp`o S`Ardi</i>	‘loudly’

4.17 PARTICLE

Particle refers to an invariable item with grammatical function (Lyons 1969:Chapter 1). Bhotia particles may be shown as per the following categories:

1. Interjection or Exclamatory Particle */lá/* ‘oh!’
2. Interrogative Particle */gan/* ‘what’
3. Connective Particle */d`AM/* ‘and’
4. Correlative Particle */gés`i.....parcena/* ‘if....then’
5. Additive Particle */yáM/* ‘also’
6. Negative Particle */mén/ma/* ‘not’
etc.

4.18 REDUPLICATION

In Bhotia some reduplicated words are available as per data. Some of which are like the following

<i>/sap` sap`</i>	‘thin’	
<i>/k`yu k`yu/</i>	‘ugly’	
<i>/c^hùM c^hùM/</i>	‘little’	
<i>/r`e r`e</i>	‘one by one’	etc.

5. SYNTAX

This chapter deals with the rules governing the way words are combined to form sentences in Bhotia language.

5.1 ORDER OF WORDS IN SENTENCES

Bhotia is a subject – object – verb (SOV) language. A sentence in Bhotia consists of a Noun – Phrase (which functions as the subject) and a verb phrase or Predicate Phrase. There can be no sentence without a predicate. Sometimes predicate itself may stand for a sentence.

<i>S'ù</i>	‘come’
<i>lAM</i>	‘rise’
<i>y`a lAM</i>	‘stand up’
<i>d`θ</i>	‘sit down’
<i>p^hAgi sAM</i>	‘go there’
<i>k^himna S'ù</i>	‘come home’
<i>ḍi` cak</i>	‘break it’

In these sentences the subject is always in second personal form which do not appear in the sentence. The sentences are called Imperative Sentences. Predicate phrase in turn may consist of a noun phrase and verb phrase or both.

5.2 TYPES OF PHRASES

A phrase is a group of words giving an incomplete meaning. It does not have a subject or predicate. The phrases are 1. Noun Phrase and 2. Verb Phrase (or predicate phrase)

5.2.1 NOUN PHRASE

A noun phrase may consist of a noun alone or noun followed by attribute (one or more).

<i>AMia</i>	<i>c^huMc^huM</i>	‘little child’
child	little	
<i>d^ˈep</i>	<i>b^ˈompo^ˈ</i>	‘big book’
book	big	
<i>k^hy^ˈoM</i>	<i>ly^ˈem</i>	‘good village’
village	good	

If a numeral is required to be added it is added after the adjective (followed by classifier or the plural marker)

<i>S^ˈuM</i>	<i>ly^ˈem</i>	<i>ci^ˈk</i>	‘one good story’
story	good	one	
<i>S^ˈuM</i>	<i>ly^ˈem</i>	<i>C^ˈu</i>	‘the good stories’
story	good	(-s)	
<i>k^hy^ˈoM</i>	<i>ly^ˈempo^ˈ</i>	<i>M^ˈyi^ˈ</i>	‘two bad village’
village	bad	two	
<i>k^hy^ˈoM</i>	<i>ly^ˈempo^ˈ</i>	<i>C^ˈu</i>	‘the bad villages’
village	bad	(s)	

Moreover, if a plural marker is added to the noun it is added to the whole noun phrase. If a numeral form is already there, the plural marker does not occur.

<i>b^ˈum</i>	<i>sum</i>	‘three girls’
girl	three	
but		
<i>bú</i>	<i>dí^ˈ C^ˈu</i>	‘boys’ / ‘these boys’
boy	these	
<i>k^him</i>	<i>o^ˈdí^ˈ C^ˈu</i>	‘houses’ / ‘those houses’
house	those	

If a noun is modified by a quantifier, the quantifier follows the noun

<i>Mu' l itsi</i>		'some money'
money	some	
<i>y'ok^hyapk^he' n di' atsi</i>		'some servant'
(servant)	the	some

If the numerical attributes and qualifying attributes of a noun are added together then the numerical attribute always appears at the end.

<i>p^hikt_u</i>	<i>b'ompo'</i>	<i>ci k</i>	'a big basket'
basket	big	a	
<i>k^hy'oM</i>	<i>siata</i>	<i>ci k</i>	'a beautiful village'
village	beautiful	one	
<i>k^hy'oM</i>	<i>m'alepo'</i>	<i>M'yi'</i>	'two bad villages'
village	bad -s	two	
<i>k^him mig</i>	<i>c^huMc^huM</i>	<i>M'yi'</i>	'two small rooms'
(room)	(small)	(two)	

Thus, it is found that the order of quantitative modifier is rigid. Further, the case marker occurs at the end of the whole noun – phrase

<i>t^horaM</i>	<i>Ma'</i>	<i>k^hyoMna</i>	<i>gyuS' e y iM</i>	'Tomorrow I shall go to the village'
tomorrow	I	village (to)	shall go	
<i>dapma</i>	<i>S'iMdoM</i>	<i>le</i>	<i>p^hyubo b'e</i>	'The leaf falls from the tree'
the leaf	tree	from	falls	
<i>p^hyicu M</i>	<i>caM</i>	<i>naMlo</i>	<i>d'i</i>	'The bird is inside the nest'
the bird	nest	inside	is	
<i>k^hui</i>	<i>bú</i>	<i>k^himnaMlo</i>	<i>y iM</i>	'His son is in the house'
his	son	inside	is	

Thus, according to the description of ORDER given above the structure of Noun Phrase is as follows:-

± Genitive + noun ± Attributive(s) ± Number ± Case (verb)

5.2.2 ATTRIBUTIVE NOUN PHRASE

The attributive noun phrase consists of a head noun followed by one or more attribute(s). When the head noun precedes the attributes, the following can be an adjective, a numeral, a quantifier or demonstrative or an article. The examples are:

<i>bú</i>	<i>ly'em</i>	'good boy'	<i>bú</i>	<i>ly'emC'u</i>	'the good boys'
boy	good		boy	good-s	

b`um lyem ‘good girl’
girl good

b`um ly`emC`u ‘the good girls’
girl good-s

d`ep bompo ‘big book’
book big

d`ep b`ompo C`u ‘big books’
book big-s

ali` ci k` ‘one cat’
cat one

ali` M`yi` ‘two cats’
cats two

k`hi` ci k` ‘one cat’
cat one

k`hi` sum / k`hi` sumC`u ‘three cats’
cat three/ cat three-s

again

m`i di` ‘this man’
man this

m`i di C`u ‘these men’
man these

m`i `odi` ‘that man’
man that

m`i `odi C`u / m`i p`hi`diC`u ‘those men’
man those / man those

b`a di` ‘the cow’
cow the

b`a di C`u ‘the cows’
cow the - pl.

laM di` ‘the bull’
bull the

laM di C`u ‘the bulls’
bull the - pl

d`ep di` ‘the book’
book the

d`ep di C`u ‘the books’
book the - pl

Attributive noun phrase in which the attribute precedes the head noun is always a genitive phrase.

k`h`im ‘house’

Mai` k`h`im ‘my house’

raMki` k`h`im ‘your house’

k`hui` k`h`im ‘his house’

mui` k`h`im ‘her house’

k`h`oMi` k`h`im ‘their houses’

More than one noun can occur in the attributive noun phrase in genitival relationship .

<i>k^hui´</i>	<i>b`oC´ogi</i>	<i>k^him</i>	‘His son’s house’
his	sons- of	house	
<i>raMki´</i>	<i>bumgi</i>	<i>k^him</i>	‘your daughter’s house’.
your	daughter- of	house	

In the attributive noun phrase attributes can be added to the genitival noun phrase

<i>Mai´</i>	<i>d`ep</i>	<i>Mapu</i>	<i>di´C`u</i>	‘my these five books’
my	book	five	these	
<i>k^hui´</i>	<i>k^him</i>	<i>b`ompo´</i>		‘His large house’
his	house	large		

According to the above description of ORDER the structure of the attributive noun is as follows

± Genitive + Noun ± Adjective ± Quantifier ± Numeral ± plural Marker + case

5.2.3 CO- ORDINATE NOUN PHRASE

A Cordinate noun phrase consists of two or more nouns or noun phrases which are linked by a coordinating connective. The connective may either be a conjunctive i.e. /*daM*/ ‘and’ /*disaM*/ ‘but’ / and /*di*/ ‘and’ or the disjunctive /*par cena*/ ‘if-then’ [related with the conditional context]. And these are added between the two nouns

<i>dik^ha</i>	<i>ali´</i>	<i>ci`k</i>	<i>daM</i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup>yi´</i>	<i>ci`k</i>	<i>d`i</i>	‘Here is a cat and dog’
here	cat	one	and	dog	one	is	
<i>k^himna</i>	<i>S´u</i>	<i>di´</i>	<i>loS´u</i>				‘Go home and come back’
home	to	go	and	come	back		
<i>`odi´</i>	<i>men</i>	<i>b`e</i>	<i>disaM</i>	<i>di´</i>			‘Not that one but this’
that	not	is	but	this			

<i>k^hoMC`u</i>	<i>maMgo</i>	<i>par cena</i>	<i>Malo naM</i>	‘If they do not want give it to me’
they	do not want	if – then	to me give	

5.2.4 PREDICATE PHRASE

A predicate phrase is a combination of a verb (which is its nucleus) and a noun preceded by a negative marker and an attributive like adverb and followed by some other elements. These elements can be tense marker, mood marker, aspect marker and other modifier like ‘may’, ‘must’, ‘ought to’ etc.

<i>by`a</i>	<i>di´</i>	<i>S`iMna</i>	<i>t`ap</i>	‘Sow the paddy in the field’
-------------	------------	---------------	-------------	------------------------------

paddy the field in sow	
<i>m`u p<sup>h</sup>Agi lAM y`e</i>	‘She stands there’
she there stands	
<i>Magi ambik ci`k sab`o y`iM</i>	‘I have eaten a mango’
I mango a have eaten	
<i>k^hu y`ok mi k^hyap</i>	‘He will not work’
he work will not do	
<i>Ma` h`AMS`e y`iM</i>	‘I want to come’
I want to come	
<i>Ma h`AMgoS`e y`iM</i>	‘I should come’
I should come	
<i>b`oCo`d^hroks`iM by`a d`i</i>	‘The child was reading’
child read-ing was	
<i>b`oCo`d^hroko min d`i</i>	‘The child was not reading’
child reading not was	
<i>yigi saltrak by`ati d^hri</i>	‘Write the words neatly’
words neatly write	
<i>gy`alAp by`ati l`ap</i>	‘Speak slowly’
slowly speak	

According to the above discussion the structure of predicate phrase is as follows
 $\pm$ Noun $\pm$ Adverb + Verb $\pm$ Aspect $\pm$ Mood $\pm$ Negative + Tense

5.3 CLAUSE

The predicate phase may consist of a single clause or more than one clause. A clause consists of a group of words that forms part of a sentence and has a subject and predicate of its own. The structure of a clause in Bhotia is as follows

$\pm$ Noun $\pm$ Adverb + Verb $\pm$ Negative $\pm$ Aspect + Tense

Clause belongs to two types – Main clause and Sub-ordinate clause

5.3.1 MAIN CLAUSE

A main clause is one which is independent and can stand by itself

m`u Ana d`i disaM mala t^hon y`e sAMJi
 she there was but soon went away
 ‘She was there but went away soon’

raMC`u Ana d`i ke inruM k^hac^hum dide d`i sAM

you(pl.) there were yet kept quiet
 ‘You were there yet you kept quiet’

In the first sentence /*mu mala t^hon y^e sAM*/ ‘she went soon’ is the main clause and in the second sentence /*raMC`u k<sup>h</sup>aC<sup>h</sup>um dide d`i S’AM*/ ‘you(pl.) kept quiet’ is the main clause and they can occur independently also where as /*Ana di disaM*/ and /*Ana di ke inruM*/ cannot occur independently.

5.3.2 SUBORDINATE CLAUSE

Subordinate clause is one which is not independent and which cannot occur by itself.

Magi t^hoMpai k^hyap k^hu t^haMna Me`l d`u d`i
 I at the time of seeing he on the ground was lying
 ‘He was lying on the ground when I saw him’

Ma` ly`em t^hoM parcena t^horaM hAMS`e y`iM
 I well see (am) if-then tomorrow will come
 ‘If I am well I will come tomorrow’

In the first sentence /*Magi t^hoMpaik^hyap*/ ‘at the time of seeing’ and in the second sentence /*Ma` lyem t<sup>h</sup>oM par cena*/ ‘If I am well’ are the subordinate clauses as marked under bold. They depend on the main clause /*k<sup>h</sup>u` t^haMna Mel d`u d`i*/ ‘He was lying on the ground’ and /*Ma` t<sup>h</sup>oraM hAMS`e y`iM*/ ‘I will come tomorrow’ of the sentences respectively.

5.4 CO-ORDINATION

In Bhotia co-ordination is done by the coordinating conjunctions like /*dAM*/, /*di`/*, /*disa`M*/.

Mai acu`penloC`u dAM aj`inumC`u k^himna y`e
 My elder brothers and elder sisters in the house are
 ‘My elder brothers and sisters are in the house’

MaCa gyue gok^hen y`iM      disa`M MaCa m`a sAM
 we had to go but we not did go
 ‘We had to go but we did not go’

Mai` kaMpa gyekti      di` lekgyelp`o y`iM

my foot is slipped and fell down
 'My foot is slipped and I fell down'

5.5 SENTENCE

A sentence is generally defined as a word or set of words by a pause revealing an intelligible purpose. The sentence is defined by (Robins 1968: p-191) as the largest unit of grammatical analysis and the upper limit of structural statement at the grammatical level. Following these definitions sentences of Bhotia can be classified into different types on two grounds 1. According to their function and 2. According to their structure.

According to function sentences of Bhotia can be classified into 1. Statements 2. Questions 3. Commands etc. conditioned by Mood which have been discussed in verb-Morphology (Sec.4.14). According to structure sentences can be classified as 1. Simple 2. Complex and 3. Compound.

Simple Sentence

A simple sentence is one which has only one subject and one predicate like the following

<i>k^huki</i>	<i>d^hep</i>	<i>di^h</i>	<i>drokko</i>	<i>y^he</i>	'He reads a book'
he	book	the	reads		
<i>Ma^h</i>	<i>dik^ha</i>	<i>h^hAMbo</i>	<i>y^hiM</i>		'I come here'
I	here	come			
<i>k^hu^h</i>	<i>y^hok</i>	<i>m^hi</i>	<i>k^hyap</i>		'He will not work'
he	work	not	will do		
<i>Jipo^h</i>	<i>gi</i>	<i>k^hulo</i>	<i>t^hoMt^ho</i>		'The child sees him'
child	the	him	sees		

[the subject of the transitive verb takes the suffix /-ki/, /-gi/ with the noun as appeared in the first and last sentences]

Complex Sentence

A complex sentence consists of one main clause and one or more subordinate clauses.

<i>taC^hulo</i>	<i>S^hukCi</i>	<i>y^he</i>	<i>parcena</i>	<i>p^hurc^huS^he</i>	<i>y^hiM</i>
horses	wings	had	if	would have	flown
'If horses had wings they would have flown'					
<i>Ma^h</i>	<i>ly^hem</i>	<i>t^hoM</i>	<i>parcena</i>	<i>t^horaM</i>	<i>h^hAMS'e y^hiM</i>
I	well	see (am)	if then	tomorrow	will come
'If I am well I will come tomorrow'					

Compound Sentence

A compound sentence is one which is made up of two or more main clauses.

dek^ha lala b'ompo' lala c^huMc^huM
 fish some big some small
 'Some fish are big and some are small'

k^hu' sala Mel di' drokS'iM d'i
 he was lying down and reading
 'He was lying down and reading'

lala S'apo' lala MeiMko'
 some new some old
 'Some are new and some are old'

6. THE COMPARISON BETWEEN BHOTIA AND TIBETAN

The Bhotias being originally the descendents of Tibetans are inhabiting in the state of Sikkim for quite a longer period along with the Tibetans. This fact gives rise to a postulation that both Bhotia and Tibetan may share the linguistic features among each other or they may be very reserve in their attitude towards specific language. This postulation emerges to give a comparison between Bhotia and Tibetan in phonological morphological, lexical level. Before this comparison it is needful to say a line or two about Tibetan language in general. Tibetan, classified as a Tibeto-Burman language, refers to a group of regional dialects and sub-dialects which in many cases are not mutually intelligible. Moreover, the boundaries between Tibetan and other Himalayan languages of Tibeto-Burman family are sometimes not distinct. In general, the dialects of Central Tibet (including Lhasa), Kham, Amdo and some smaller nearby areas are considered as Tibetan dialects. In the present case the data of Tibetan has been collected from the informant (s) who happen to be descendant of Central Tibetan dialectal area.

The following is the comparison between Bhotia (Sikkim-Bhotia) and Tibetan language spoken in the state of Sikkim (Gangtok).

6.1 PHONOLOGY

The occurrence of the Bhotia (Sikkim – Bhotia) phonemes are the following

Vowels	Initial	Medial	Final
<i>i</i>	-	√	√
<i>e</i>	-	√	√
<i>A</i>	√	√	√
<i>a</i>	√	√	√
<i>o</i>	√	√	√
<i>u</i>	√	√	√

	<i>i</i>	-	-	√
	<i>u</i>	-	√	-
Consonants				
	<i>p</i>	√	√	√
	<i>p^h</i>	√	√	-
	<i>b</i>	√	√	-
	<i>t</i>	√	√	-
	<i>t^h</i>	√	√	-
	<i>d</i>	√	√	√
	<i>t</i>	√	√	-
	<i>t^h</i>	√	√	-
	<i>d</i>	√	√	-
	<i>c</i>	√	√	-
	<i>c^h</i>	√	√	-
	<i>j</i>	√	√	-
	<i>k</i>	√	√	√
	<i>k^h</i>	√	√	-
	<i>g</i>	√	√	√
	<i>C</i>	√	√	-
	<i>J</i>	√	√	-
	<i>s</i>	√	√	-
	<i>S'</i>	√	√	-
	<i>ñ</i>	√	√	√
	<i>m</i>	√	√	√
	<i>n</i>	√	√	√
	<i>M'</i>	√	√	-
	<i>M</i>	√	√	√
	<i>l</i>	√	√	√
	<i>l^h</i>	√	√	-
	<i>r</i>	√	√	√
	<i>w</i>	√	√	√
	<i>y</i>	√	√	√

The Tibetan vowel phonemes are the following:

<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>u</i>
<i>e</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>o</i>
		<i>a</i>

The occurrence of Tibetan vowel phonemes are like the following

Initial	Medial	Final
---------	--------	-------

<i>i</i>	√	√	√
<i>e</i>	√	√	√
<i>A</i>	-	√	-
<i>a</i>	√	√	√
<i>o</i>	√	√	√
<i>u</i>	√	√	√
<i>ɨ</i>	-	√	√

Unlike Bhotia both identical and non-identical vowel clusters are available in Tibetan. In Bhotia only non-identical vowel clusters are available. (cf 2.3.1)

Identical vowel clusters in Tibetan

<i>a</i>	+	<i>a</i>	=	<i>maa</i>	‘butter’ ;	<i>kaa</i>	‘post’/’pillar’
<i>i</i>	+	<i>i</i>	=	<i>cii</i>	‘external’		
<i>u</i>	+	<i>u</i>	=	<i>c^huu</i>	‘vinegar’		

Non-identical vowel clusters

<i>i</i>	+	<i>u</i>	=	<i>liu</i> ´	‘chapter’	<i>diu</i> ´	‘musket ball’
<i>e</i>	+	<i>u</i>	=	<i>peu</i> ´	‘monkey’	<i>keu</i> ´	‘wedge’
<i>e</i>	+	<i>o</i>	=	<i>me</i> ´o	‘mewing of cat’	<i>c^hyeopa</i> ´	‘worship’
<i>a</i>	+	<i>o</i>	=	<i>pa</i> ´o	‘hero’		
<i>o</i>	+	<i>u</i>	=	<i>ouwa</i> ´	‘foam’		

The above clusters are available in Bhotia also. The vowel clusters which are not available in Bhotia but present in Tibetan are like the following:

<i>u</i>	+	<i>i</i>	=	<i>suin</i>	‘seed’	<i>k^hádui</i>	‘when’
<i>u</i>	+	<i>e</i>	=	<i>S’uep`a</i>	‘feed’	<i>g`ac^hue</i>	‘how’
<i>u</i>	+	<i>a</i>	=	<i>k^hua</i>	‘soup’		
<i>a</i>	+	<i>u</i>	=	<i>auC`e</i>	‘don’t mind’	<i>au</i> ´	‘layman’

The Tibetan consonantal phonemes are the following :

	Bilabial		Dental		Alveolar		Palatal		Velar		Glottal	
Stops	<i>p</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>g</i>		
asp.	<i>p^h</i>		<i>t^h</i>		<i>t^h</i>		<i>c^h</i>		<i>k^h</i>			
Affricates							<i>C</i>	<i>J</i>				
Fricatives			<i>s</i>	<i>z</i>			<i>S'</i>		<i>x</i>			<i>h</i>
Nasals		<i>m</i>		<i>n</i>				<i>M'</i>	<i>M</i>			

Laterals		<i>l</i>	
asp.		<i>l^h</i>	
Trill		<i>r</i>	
Approximant	<i>w</i>		<i>y</i>

The occurrence of the consonantal phonemes are the following :-

Phoneme	Initial	Medial	Final
<i>p</i>	√	√	√
<i>p^h</i>	√	√	-
<i>b</i>	√	√	-
<i>t</i>	√	√	-
<i>t^h</i>	√	-	-
<i>d</i>	√	-	-
<i>ṭ</i>	√	√	-
<i>ṭ^h</i>	√	-	-
<i>ḍ</i>	√	-	-
<i>c</i>	√	√	-
<i>c^h</i>	√	√	-
<i>j</i>	√	√	-
<i>k</i>	√	√	√
<i>k^h</i>	√	√	-
<i>g</i>	√	√	√
<i>C</i>	√	√	-
<i>J</i>	√	-	-
<i>s</i>	√	√	-
<i>S'</i>	√	√	-
<i>ɸ</i>	√	√	√
<i>m</i>	√	√	√
<i>n</i>	√	√	√
<i>M'</i>	√	√	-
<i>M</i>	√	√	√
<i>l</i>	√	√	√
<i>l^h</i>	√	-	-
<i>r</i>	√	√	√
<i>w</i>	√	√	-
<i>y</i>	√	√	-

So , (i) the initial occurrence of /i/ , /e/ in Sikkim – Bhotia is absent which is present in Tibetan

(ii) The marginal phoneme [ɸ] occurs in final position in Bhotia which is realized medially in Tibetan.

(iii) The aspirated stops occur in initial and medial positions in Sikkim – Bhotia are found in initial occurrence in Tibetan

(iv) The occurrence of Approximants /w/ in final position is present in Sikkim – Bhotia which is absent in Tibetan.

TONES

Both Bhotia and Tibetan are having three tones namely High (´), Low (`) and Level (unmarked) tones.

6.2 MORPHOLOGY

6.2.1 NOUN

GENDER

BHOTIA

Gender is not grammatical;
Gender is natural

mu´ gyus'e y`iM

‘She will go’

k^hu´ gyus'ey`iM

‘He will go’

(cf. Sec.4.3.5)

TIBETAN

The feature of gender is same as in Bhotia.

m`o dogi r`e “She will go”

k^ho dogi r`e “He will go”

NUMBER

Bhotia

/-C`u/ is the plural marker suffixed after nominal or pronominal forms

k^hoM ‘he (honorific)’

k^hoMC`u ‘they’

d`ep ‘book’

d`epC`u ‘books’

b`um ‘girl’

b`umC`u ‘girls’

Tibetan

/-c^ho/ is the plural marker suffixed after nominal and pronominal forms

k^hon “he”

k^hon-c^ho “They”

t^hep “book”

t^hep-c^ho “books”

p`om`o “girl”

p`om`o-c^ho “girls”

2. Plural marker /-C`u/ remains same irrespective of transitive and intransitive verb

2. When the nominal or pronominals happen to be used as the subject of transitive verb then -c^ho is changed

(cf. Sec. 4.3.4)

to $-c^h u^e$ e.g.

$pu \acute{c}^h ac^h o \quad \underline{d}ir \quad yoMi \quad r^e$

(the children)(here) (come)

“The children come here”

but

$pu \acute{c}^h ac^h u^e \quad k^h eraMla \quad \underline{t}agi \quad \underline{d}^uk$

(the children) (you) (see)

“The children see you”

3. In both the languages when the classifier (or article) precedes or follows the noun with the feature of plurality the plural marker is added with the classifier (or article) only .

$m \grave{i} \quad \underline{d}i \acute{C}^u riMpo \quad \underline{d}^i$

(man) (these)(tall) (are)

‘These men are tall’

$mih \quad \underline{d}enc^h \acute{o}$

(man) (these)

“ These men are tall”

$sogriM \quad \underline{d}^uk$

(tall) (are)

The plural marker $/-C^u/$ and $/-c^h \acute{o}/$ have been added with $/\underline{d}i^/$ ‘this’ and $/\underline{d}^en/$ ‘these’ respectively.

CASE AND POST – POSITION

Cases

Bhotia

(i) Nominative –

Unmarked in case of intransitive verb

$k^h u^ \acute{ } \quad \acute{n}AMS^e \quad y^iM$ ‘He comes’.

- ki / gi in case of transitive verb

$k^h uki \quad Malo \quad \acute{t}^h oM \acute{t}^o$

‘He sees me’

(ii) Accusative

$/-lo/$

$Malo$ ‘to me’

$k^h ulo$ ‘to him’

$bulo$ ‘to the boy’

(iii) Dative

$/-lo/$

$Malo$ ‘it’

$k^h ulo$ ‘he’

Tibetan

Unmarked in case of intransitive

verb $k^h u \quad yoMi \underline{d}^uk$ ‘He comes’.

$/-\acute{e}/$ in case of transitive verb

$k^h u^e \quad Mala \quad \underline{t}agi \quad \underline{d}^uk$

he me sees

‘He sees me’

$/-la/$

$Ma-la$ ‘to me’

$k^h o-la$ ‘him’

$pu \acute{c}^h a-la$ ‘to the boy’

$/-\acute{e}/$

M^e ‘I’

$k^h ue$ ‘he’

(iv) Ablative
 /-le/
S'iMdoM-le 'from the tree'

/-ne/
S'iMdoM-ne 'from the tree'

(v) Genitive
 -í / -kí
Mai' 'my'
raMki 'your'
bomaí 'of the woman'

-e / -kí
mu-e 'her'
M'e 'my'
k^heraM-kí 'your'
keme-kí 'of the woman'

(vi) Locative
 -na
t^haM-na 'on the ground'
k^him-na 'to the house'

-na / -la
lapta na 'to the school'
k^haMpa-la 'to the house'
 [gaMla is used as post – position also.]

(vii) Instrumental
 -gi / 'by'
Ma -gi 'by me'
k^hu-gi 'by him'
myugu-gi 'by pen'
S'uMgi 'by the government'
 (cf. Sec..4.3.6)

-e / -kí 'by'
Mu'e 'by her'
k^hu'e 'by him'
M'e 'by me'

gaM-kí 'by anybody'

Post Positions

gy`apl`e 'behind'
Mu`enl`a 'in front of'
namlo 'inside'
 (cf. Sec..4.3.7)

gy`apto` 'behind'
c^hipo` 'beyond'
p^harla 'between'

These post- positions are generally follow the genitive form of nominal or pronominal forms in both the languages.

PRONOUN

1. Personal Pronoun

Ma` 'I'
cA 'you (ordinary)
ra M 'you' (honorific)
k^hu` 'he' (ordinary)
k^hoM 'he (honorific)

Ma` 'I'
k^he raM 'you' (ordinary)
k^heki 'you' (honorific)
k^ho/k^hu 'he'
k^hoM 'he' (honorific)

mu ´/m`o ‘she’ (ordinary)

m`o/mú ‘she’

2. Demonstrative Pronoun

di ´ ‘this’

*di*ñ ‘this’

`*odi* ´ ‘that’

p^h`*agi* ‘that’

di ´C`u ‘these’

d`enc^hó ‘these’

`*odi* C`u ‘those’

p^h`*anc*^hó ‘those’

3. Interrogative Pronoun

ka ‘who’

s`u ‘who’

gadi ‘what’

ka-re ‘what’

1. Reflexive Pronoun

/-rail/ is suffixed after
the pronoun

/-raM/ is added after the pronouns

Ma ´-rail ‘myself’

Ma ´-raM ‘myself’

k^hu ´-rail ‘him self’

k^ho ´-raM ‘himself’

mu-rail ‘herself’

mo-raM ‘herself’

2. Indefinite Pronouns

lala ‘some’

k^haS`e ‘somebody’

lolo ‘somebody’

t`okCa ‘some’

kaiCale yaM ‘anybody’

kaMyaM ‘any’

kagi yaM ‘no body’

s`ukaM ‘any body’

suyaM ‘no body’

(cf. Sec..4.4)

ADJECTIVES

Adjective follows the attributive noun.

Adjective is declined when the
qualified/attributed noun is in
plural number.

Adjective follows the attributive noun.

Adjectives are declined
according to the number.
e.g. *loma Muenpo* ´ ‘the green
leaf’ > *loma Muenpo* ´c^hó ‘the
green leaves’

e.g. *d`ep b`ompo`* “the big book”
 > *d`ep b`ompo`C`u`* ‘the big books’

ta` kapo` “the white horse” > *ta kapoC`u`*
 ‘the houses’

Jipo` ly`em` ‘the good child’

Jipo` ly`emC`u` ‘the good children’

d`ep b`ompo`C`u` ‘the big books’

ta kapoC`u` ‘the white horses’

(cf. Sec. 4.5)

k`aMpa c`h`enpo`
 ‘the large houses’

k`aMpa c`h`enpo`c`h`o`
 ‘the large houses’

ta` karp`o` ‘the white horse’

ta` karpoc`h`o` ‘the white horses’

But sometimes plural
 marker is suffixed with
 the noun itself e.g.

pu`c`h`a c`h`uMc`h`uM`
 ‘the small child’

pu`c`h`a c`h`o`c`h`uMc`h`uM`
 ‘the small children’

p`om`o` yakpo`
 “the good girl”

p`om`oc`h`o` yakpo`
 “the good girls”

NUMERALS

Numerals follow the noun they modify

k`yoM di` “the village”

k`yoM M`yi` “two villages”

(Basic) Cardinal numerals are from
 “one” to ‘ten’ From ‘Eleven’ onwards the
 numerals are derived by compounding
 the Basic numerals according to the need.

ci`k` ‘one’

M`yi` ‘two’

Numerals follow the nouns

modify

t`h`ep` “book”

t`h`ep`ci`k` “one book”

From “one” to ‘ten’
 the monomorphemic
 cardinal numerals are
 available like Sikkim-

Bhotia and similar to

Bhotia from

<i>cu</i>	‘ten’
<i>cu-ci´k</i>	‘eleven’
<i>M’yi´-cu</i>	‘twenty’

“eleven”onwards the
compounded

numerals are derived
from the basic
numerals along with
some morphophone-
mic change. e.g.

ci k “one”

M’ yi´ “two”

sum “three”

S’i´ “four”

M`a “five”

d`uk “six”

d`in “seven”

gy`e “eight”

g`u(h) “nine”

c`u(h) “ten”

but

cu k-ci “eleven”

cu´-M’ yi´ “twelve”

cu k-sum “thirteen”

cup-S’i “fourteen”

co-M a “fifteen”

c`u-d`uk “sixteen”

cup-d`in “seventeen”

cup-gy`e “eighteen”

cu-gu “nineteen”

M’ yi´-S`u “twenty”

sum-c`u “thirty”

S’ip-c`u “forty” etc.

where in formation
of the numeral by
compounding the
fraction numeral
unit some morpho-
phonemic change is

observed e.g.
 eleven-*cu(k)-cik* ten+one
 fourteen-*cu(p)-si* ten+four

2. The ordinal numerals are formed
 by adding /-po/ with the cardinal numeral
 base

M'yi po "second"

sump'ó "third"

dAM po "first"

The ordinal numerals
 are generally formed
 by adding -*pa* with
 the cardinal numeral

[like Bhotia

"first" is of peculiar
 formation.]

taM-po "first"

M'yipa "second"

sum-pa "third"

S'i-pa "fourth" etc.

In both the languages the fractional numerals are derived by compounding
 different allomorphic units e.g. *p^heka* "half", *c^heka* "half"

CLASSIFIERS

The classifier is generally
 -*di* which occurs after the nominal
 form. *Jipo'riMpo* "tall child"

Jipo'di'riMpo d'i

(child)(the) (tall) (is)

"the child is tall"

b`um di'leloc^hen b'e

(girl) (the) (lazy) (is)

"the girl is lazy"

The norm using classifier
 in Tibetan is similar to

Sikkim- Bhotia .

The Tibetan classifier is /*d`iñ* /

luMpa'd`iñ "of the country"

c^haM d`iñ "the nest"

2. For numerical classification the
 direct numeral appears as the numeral-
 classifier.

ali'ci k "one cat"

ali'M'yi "two cats"

ali'M'yiC`u "two cats"

ali'sum C`u "three cats"

The direct numeral, used after the
 noun or pronoun functions as
 numeral-classifier like Sikkim
 -Bhotia only . e.g.

S'yimi'ci k "one cat"

S'yimi'M'yi "two cats"

S'yimi'sum "three cats"

(cf.Sec.4.7)

6.2.2 VERBS

Verbs do not inflect for person-number-gender in Bhotia and Tibetan.

Tense and Aspect

PRESENT TENSE

Present Indefinite Tense

Verb stem +tense marker /y`e/ t`o/,

/y`iM/ e.g.

/t`o/

raMki Malo t`h oMt`o

(you) (me) (see)

“you see me”

Ma`k`uw S`at`o

(I)(bread) (eat)

“I eat bread”

/y`e/

m`u p`h`Agi lAMy`e

“She stands there”

k`h u na dikh`a y`e

“He is here”

/y`iM/

MaCa ba hlo tibto y`iM

(we) (to the cows) (beat)

“We beat the cow”

k`h u dikh`a h AMS`e y`iM

(he) (here) (comes)

“He comes here”

(cf.Sec.4.8.3)

Present Continuous/ Durative Tense

verb+present tense marker

/d`uk/, /y`ih /, /r`e/

/d`uk/

k`h enc`h u`e k`h oMc`h ola tagi d`uk

(you (pl)) (them) (see)

“You see them”

k`h u dir yoMi d`uk

(he) (here) (comes)

“He comes here”

/y`ih/

M`e k`h oMc`h ola tagi y`ih

(I) (them) (see)

“I see them”

k`h eraM k`h are sagi y`ih

(you) (what) (eat)

“what do you eat”?

/r`e/

k`h o lopta dogi r`e

(he)(to the school)(goes)

“He goes to the school”

m`o dir yoMi r`e

(she) (here) (comes)

“She comes here”

verbstem+durative marker-i

verb stem+durative marker + /d`i/,

/y`iM/, /y`e/

(cf.Sec.4.8.3)

+/y`i<sup>h</sup>/, /d`uk/,

Ma`ci`k +^hepna+ t^hrigi y`i^h

(I) (a) (book)(in) (write-ing)

“I am writing in the note book”

Ma`am ci`k sagi y`i^h

(I)(mango) (a) (eat-ing)

“I am eating a mango”.

/duk/ is added with the stem

(verb+durative marker-i)

k^hu`e c<sup>h</sup>yeuh c<sup>h</sup>egi d`uk

(he) (bird) (kill-ing)

“He is killing the bird”

k^hoMc^hu`e am ci`k sagi d`uk

(they)(mango)(a)(eat-ing)

“They are eating a mango”

Present perfect tense

/b`e/, /y`iM/, /y`e/ is added after the verb

stem (verb+perfect aspect marker=*bo*/

-S`a +present tense marker)

verbstem+perfect marker

-wa`/-soM+/y`in/, /r`e/, /s`oM/

M`e am sewa y`in

(I)(mango) (eat-have)

“I have eaten a mango”

Manc^hu`e am cik sewa y`in

(we) (mango) (a)(eat-have)

“we have eaten a mango”

/r`e/

k^heraMc^hu`e am cik sewa r`e

(you(pl.)(mango)(a)(eat-have)

“You(pl.)have eaten a mango”

k^hu`e / mu`e d`i<sup>h</sup> am ci`k ses`oM

(he)/(she) (it) (mango) (a) (eat-has)

“He/she/it has eaten a mango”

k^hoMc^hu`e am ci`k se s`oM

(they) (mango) (a) (eat-have)

“They have eaten a mango”.

B. Past tense (Past Indefinite)

/y`in/, /s`oM/ is added after the

/y`iM/, /b`e/ is added after the verb stem

verb stem (verb+past indefinite)

(verb+past aspect –bo)

/s`oM/

(cf.Sec.4.8.3)

k^ho ri^h t^hula c^hiM s`oM

(he)(hill) (up) (go-past)

“He went up the hill”

k^ho ri^h ne ma lep s`oM

(he) ((hill)(down) (come-past)

“He came down the hill”

k^h`eraM c<sup>h</sup>iM s`oM

(you) (go-past)

“You went away”

/y`in/

Manc^hó c^himpa y`in

(we) (go- past)

“We went away”

M`e kuma simpa y`in

(I) (robber) (catch-past)

“I caught the robber”

M`e d`i^h gasagaMla c^hepa y`in

(I) (it) (everywhere) (look-past)

Past Durative Tense

/y`e k^hen/, /yiM k^hen/,

/by`ad`o d`i/are added after the

verb stem(verb+durative marker)

(cf.Sec..4.8.3)

“I looked for it everywhere”

/y`i<sup>h</sup>/ or/ par`e/ is used after the verb

stem (verb +durative marker-i)

/y`i<sup>h</sup> pa r`e /

M`e logi y`i^h pa r`e

(I) (read-ing was)

“I was reading”

k^hoM c^hu`e logi y`i^h pa r`e

(they read-ing-past)

“They were reading”

pu`c<sup>h</sup>u`e logi y`i<sup>h</sup> pa ma r`e

(the child)(read-ing –past (neg))

“The child was not reading”

/y`i^h/

Manc^hu`e logi y`i^h

(we) (read-ing past)

“We were reading”

[But the use of past durative with

-y`i^h is very rare]

Past Perfect

/- d`i/ followed by the past perfect

verbal stem (verb-+c^ha)

/y`in/, /d`uk/ are added after the

verb stem (verb+ -perfect

(cf.Sec.4.8.3)

aspect) e.g.

d`iŋ M`e t`haMpone c`hep y`in

(this)(I) (before) (do-had)

“I had done this before”

Ma ´leppe M`yela k`oM c`ho

(I) (come) (before) (they)

c`hiM d`uk

(go- perfect past)

“They had gone before I came”

Future Tense

/r`e/ is added after the verbal

/y`iM / is added after the future verbal stem stem (verb-+-future

(verb-+-*S`e* in case of intransitive verbs aspect marker) e.g.

and verb-+-*bo* in case of transitive verbs) *M`e coco yoMi r`e*

(cf.Sec..4.8.3) (my) (brother) (go-fut.)

“My brother will come”

Manc`ho saMM`i dogi r`e

(we) (tomorrow) (go-fut.)

“We shall go tomorrow”

Future Perfect

/-Cuk/ as a perfect marker of future

/y`in pa/ as a future perfect

tense added with the verb root and

marker added after the verb

which is followed by the future marker

stem followed by */r`e/* e.g.

(cf.Sec..4.8.3)

Má p^hage lebe M'yela k^ho

(I) (them) (reach) (before) (he)

c^hiMc^hawa ´ y`in pa r`e

(gone) (might have)

“He might have gone

before I reach them.”

MOOD

1. Indicative Mood-indicating simple declaration

k^hu MaCi k^him-lo

(he)(our)(house to)

ñAMS`e y`iM

(comes)

“He comes to our house”

Ma ´ S`enmaigi k<sup>h</sup>y`oM na

(I) (other) (village)(in)

y`o k<sup>h</sup>yap t`o y`iM

(work)

“I work in the other village”

k^ho Mac^hu`e k^haMpe

(he) (our) house to

naMna lepy`in

(to) (comes)

“He comes to our house”

Má S`enda t^hoMCibna

(I) (other)(village))in)

lek`a c<sup>h</sup>egi y`iñ

(work)

“I work in the other village”

2. Imperative Mood -expressing sense of order, command,request

Malo suM ci k S`en`aM

(me) (story)(a)(tell)

“Tell me a story”

p^hidi cak

(that) (break)

Mala druM ci k lap

(me)(story)(cik)(tell)

“Tell me a story”

p^hag`i cak ro

(that) (break)

“Break that”

“Break that”

3. Interrogative Mood -expressing intonated expression with

Interrogative particles like /*dradra*/, /*gaḍi*/ in Bhotia and /*kʰandre*/, /*kʰare*/, /*kʰaba*/ etc. in Tibetan.

y`ok `oḍi`gaṭem dradra b`e
(work) (that)(what kind) (is)

“What kind of work is that”

namdu ḍi` gaḍi b`e
(season)(this)(what) (is)

“What season is this”

raMki gana suk t`o
(you) (where) (do live)

“Where do you live?”

lek`a pʰag`i kʰandre r`e
(work)(that) (what kind)(is)

“What kind of work is that”

namḍ`i di y`iñ kʰare r`e
(season) (this) (what) (is)

“What season is this?”

kʰ`eraM kʰaba degi y`iñ
(you) (where) (do live)

“Where do you live?”

4. Probability Mood -indicating the probability of action

kʰugi pʰyicu M S`eC`uk

“He may kill the bird”

kʰoM Malo dribo y`iM
(they) (me) (ask-may)
“They may ask me”

tʰam tʰone cʰaS`e y`iM
(it) (happen-may)
“It may happen”

kʰu`e chyeuh cʰe cʰok

(he) (bird) (kill-may)

“He may kill the bird”

kʰoncʰó driwa kʰlyoM
(they) (ask- may)
“They may ask”

ḍ`iñ ḍinde cʰasoM
(it) (happen-may)
“It may happen”

5. Optative Mood -expressing some desire

The optative marker is
/S`u/ in Bhotia added
with the verb root.
(cf. Sec. 4.9)

The optative marker is
/S`ok/ added after the verb.
kʰoncʰó cʰaMma
(them) (all)

lepru (lepgyu) S'ok
 (come) (let)
 "Let them all come"
k^h eraM k^haS'e c^hiM ne
 (you) (some) (go) (and)
k^h `er S'ok
 (fetch) (let)
 "Let some of you go and fetch"

6. Obligatory Mood -indicating the expression of compulsion

/goS'e/, /byati y`iMrum/
 added before the verb stem.

The optative marker is */-gyuepa/*,
/-ya/ added after the verb root, e.g.

/by`ati y`iMrum/ is preceded by the
 verb stem or finite verbal form .

Ma´ y`oM gyu`epa´r`e
 (I) (come) (ought to)
 "I ought to come"

/goS`e/ is suffixed with the verb root
 followed by the finite form.

k^hu`e t<sup>h</sup>ep ci k t<sup>h</sup>rigyuepa r`e
 (he) (book) (a) (write) (ought to)
 "He ought to write a book"

(cf. Sec. 4.9)

ta´ p^hag`i coMya r`e
 (horse) (that) (sell-to be)
 "That horse is to be sold"

7. Infinitive Mood -expressing the non- finite ness of the verb.

The marker */-pai/* suffixed with
 the main verb root expresses this
 modal category

The marker */-M'i/* suffixed
 with the main verb root
 indicates the infinitive modal
 category. e.g.

Ma´ yoMM'i degi d`uk
 (I) (come to) (like)
 "I like to come" / "I want to come"

(Ma´ yoM M'i degi d`uk)

k^hu`e S'iMtok saM'i
 (he) (fruit) (eat - to)

depa d`uk

(like-past)

"He liked to eat fruit."

8. Conditional Mood

Condition is expressed by

/na/ expresses the modality

/parcena/which occurs between
two clauses
(cf.Sec..4.9)

of condition. e.g.
k^hola kaley y ÿñ na k^hu`e
(he) (difficulty is in) (he)
Mala
(to me) *yegi t^hri y`oM*(will wire).
“If he is in difficulty he will
wire to me”

Manacha me na saMM`i
(I)(diseased)(not)(then) (tomorrow)
lepS`ok(I will come)
“If I am well I will come tomorrow”

CAUSATIVE VERB

Both the Direct Causative and
Indirect causative are available
where /-Jo/ is the marker of
Direct Causative and /-Jo *cukka*/
is the marker of Indirect Causative
some
formation For example.
(cf.Sec..4.11)

The causativity in Tibetan is
indicated by the marker /-ya/
/-ro/suffixed with the verb
root which is followed by
/ *laby ÿñ* /in the form of “making

one to do some thing” e.g.,
M`e mola t^hep treya laby ÿñ
(I)(her)(book)(give-make to)
“I am making her give a book”
M`e mola S`e ci k taMro lab y ÿñ
(I) (her)(song) (sing-make to)
“I am making her sing a song”
M`e pu`la c^hye ri sa ya lab y ÿñ
(I)(the boy to)(sweet) (eat-make to)
“I make the boy eat the sweet”

The above examples may be
categorised to the class of Direct
Causative since there is another
causative “makingsome one to do
something by somebody” which may
be called as Indirect Causative or
Double Causative where the /-gyu/
is suffixed with verb root which is
followed by /*lab y ÿñ*/ e.g.

M`e p`om`ola c^hyeri
(I) (my sister) (sweet)

pu´la sagyu(tregyu) lab y`iñ
 (to the boy) (to feed) (make to)
 “I make feed the boy with sweets by sister”

NEGATIVE VERB

*/miaM/-*Negation of identity
/miCu/ -Negation of identity
*/men/-*present Negative
*/ma/-*Past Negative
*/min/-*Future Negative
/ma/ -Imperative
/men/ -Imperative Negative
 (cf.Sec.. 4.13)

*/ma/(mare)-*negation of identity, e.g.
mare, mo M`e p`om`o r`e
 (no) (she) (my) (sister) (is)
 “No , she is my sister”
p`ag`i mare d`iñ r`e
 “Not that one but this”
*/mi (yoM)/-*Negation of identity , e.g.
d`iñ loksulla mi y`oM
 (it) (possible) (not) is
 “It is impossible”

/men/ -Negative of present tense , e.g.
Ma´ leka c`hegi men
 (I) (work) (do)(not)
 “I do not work”
Ma´ lapta dogi men
 (I) (school) (going)(not)
 “I am not going to school”

*/ma/-*Negation of Past tense, e.g.
M`e k`abai d`iñ la M`yema soM
 (I) (anywhere) (it) (not) (found)
 “I found it nowhere”
Ma´ dogyuepa t`haM yina yaM
 (I) (had to go) (but)
Ma´ ma c`hiM
 (I) (not) (go-past)
 “I had to go but I did not go”

/ma/ -Negation of Future, e.g.
Ma´ leka c`hegi ma r`e
 (I) (work)(do) (not)(will)
 “I will not work”

/ma/ - Negation of Imperative, e.g.

h̄ampa ma S̄'e
 (lies) (do not)(tell)
 “do not tell lies”
k̄`eraM d̄ir ma d̄e rok̄h
 (you)(here)(not)(remain)(must)
 “you must not remain here”

/me/-ConditionalNegative
d̄`i h̄ k̄`onc̄h olá gyue me
 (it)(they) (want) (not)
na Malá t̄re rok̄b
 (then)(to me) (give)
 “If they do not want, give it to me”

/min/ -a rare durative negative, e.g.
k̄`o l̄eká c̄`egi mín d̄uk
 (he)(work)(do)(not)(durative)
 “He does not work.”

VOICE

The passive voice is formed by
 verb-+ -bo/-k̄`en (passive marker)
 followed by /b̄`e/ ,/ȳ`iM/. And the
 object(of the active voice)becomes
 subject and the subject (of the active
 voice) is formed with -ki/-gi suffix

(cf.Sec..4.15)

The passive voice is formed
 by adding /-wa/ with the verb
 root + /re/ and the object
 (of the active voice)takes the
 place of subject and the
 subject(of the active voice) is
 formed with -e suffix e.g.
c̄`ik̄ d̄`i h̄ k̄`ue t̄`riwa ´r̄`e
 (note) (the) (by him) (is written)
 “The note is written by him”
S̄'e p̄`aḡ`i t̄`aMwa ´r̄`e
 (song) (that) (is being sung)
 “That song is being sung”
Myul Me k̄`iwa r̄`e
 (money) (by me) (is being taken)
 “The money has been taken by me “

SYNTAX

A. The structure of Noun Phrase is
 ±Genitive +noun ±Attributive(s)
 ±Number±Case (other than genitive).
 (cf.Sec..5.2.1)

The structure of noun phrase is
 like Bhotia.
 ±Genitive +Noun ±Attribute(s)
 ±Number±Case (other than genitive)
saMM`i k̄`ue k̄`im

(tomorrow)(his)(house)
S'arpac^ho' yoMi r'e
 (new) (go-will)
 "Tomorrow I will go to his new house"

B. The structure of Predicate Phrase is
 is ± Noun ± adverb +verb± Aspect
±Mood±Negative+Tense
 cf. Sec..5.2.4)

The structure of predicate
 phrase in Tibetan is same as
 in Sikkim – Bhotia.

7. CONCLUSION

From the foregone discussions the general observation may be made that Bhotia (Sikkim-Bhotia) and Tibetan are not linguistically very far from each other. Except some phonological and morphological differences the shared features in both the languages are almost all common and the appeared difference is mere areal difference [The differences have been discussed at length in the Sketch contrast in Section no. 6.] Accordingly, both of these languages share the membership of the same family.

Regarding the usage of Bhotia (Sikkim-Bhotia) and Tibetan in different domain the following observations have been made.

7. In case of Bhotia the Government is taking effort to promote the status of the language by
 - (a) introducing the language as a vernacular from 1st standard to XIIth standard in Government School;
 - (b) introducing scheduled programme in Bhotia language in All India Radio on regular basis. (cf. Section no. 1)

In the home domain the use of Bhotia is almost restricted within the elderly people since the younger generation is well-exposed to Nepali, Hindi or English being the medium of instruction in educational institution or language of intergroup communication.

As a language of common interaction Nepali is generally found to function as a link language in Sikkim, sometimes mixed with Hindi, where Bhotia is found to be used among exclusively Bhotia speaking people in rest of the state.

2. Regarding Tibetan it is mostly maintained by the people themselves and institutions as well as monasteries run by them. And Tibetan courses are conducted in different levels by them starting from primary education up to the level equal to post-graduation i.e. 'Acharya' with the help of the teaching materials prepared on the basis of religion where the script is Tibetan only.

3. In the domain of administration and Court the Bhotia and Tibetan are not found in regular use though Bhotia has been recognized by the state Government for official use throughout the state.

Finally, this may be summed up that Bhotia (Sikkim-Bhotia) and Tibetan spoken across the region of Sikkim abounding Tibet are very much alive both in heritage of rich linguistic properties and usage in societal plane.

BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES

- | | | |
|------------------------------------|------|---|
| Andronov, M.S. | 1989 | <i>A Grammar of Modern and Classical Tamil</i> ; New Century Book House (pvt) Ltd. ; Madras (2 nd edition). |
| Avery, john | 1885 | <i>The Tibeto – Burman Group of Languages</i> ; Transactions of the American Philological Association; vol – xvi, Appendix pp xvii and ff. |
| Benedict, Paul K | 1972 | <i>Sino-Tibetan, A Conspectus</i> ; Cambridge University Press. |
| Bloch, Bernard & Trager, George. L | 1972 | <i>Outline of Linguistic Analysis</i> ; Oriental Books reprint corporation; New Delhi. |
| Bloomfield, L | 1963 | <i>Language</i> ; Motilal Banarsi dass, Delhi (Reprint) |
| Bradley, David | 1997 | <i>Tibeto-Burman languages and classification-I</i> : papers in South-East Asian linguistics: Tibeto-Burman languages of the Himalayas (Ed), Pacific linguistics, Canberra. |
| Chang, K | 1964 | <i>A Mannual of Spoken Tibetan (Lhasa dialect)</i> ; University of Michigan Press. |
| Chatterjee, S.K. | 1972 | <i>Origin and Development of Bengali Language</i> ; George Allen & Unwin ltd. London. |
| Forbes, Capt. C.J.F.S. | 1878 | <i>On Tibeto – Burman Languages</i> ; Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society; New Series , Vol-X , Pp 210 and ff. |
| Grierson, G.A. | 1967 | <i>Linguistic Survey of India</i> ; Vol. III, Pt – I; Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi (Reprint) |

- Hannah, H.B. 1991 *A Grammar of the Tibetan Language*; Satguru Publications, Delhi (Reprint)
- Hannah, H.B. 1978 *A Grammar of the Tibetan Language*; Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi (Reprint).
- Hockett, C.F. 1970 *A Course in Modern Linguistics*; Oxford & IBH Publishing Co. New Delhi
- Hodgson, B.H. 1847 *On the Aborigines of the Sub-Himalayas (with Comparative Vocabularies of Tibetan, Serpa, Bhutani, Lepcha, Limbu, Kiranti, Murmi, Mewar, Gurung Mogou and Sunwar)*, In Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. 16, Part – 2 pp 1235-1244; Calcutta.
- Jones, Daniel 1960 *An Outline of English Phonetics*; W.Heffner and Sons Ltd; Cambridge, England.
- Matisoff, J.A. 1991 *The Languages of South-east Asia*; Cambridge University Press.
- Miller, R.A. 1969 *The Tibeto-Burman Languages of South-Asia*.
- Nigam, R.C. 1971 *Language Handbook on Mother Tongues in Census*; Office of the Registrar General India, New Delhi
- Kaloni, K 1982 *Bhotia New Grammar*; Gangtok
- Koros Csoma De Alexander 1834 *A Grammar of the Tibetan Language* (in English); Prepared under the patronage of the Govt. and Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta
- Ladefoged, Peter 1982 *A Course in Phonetics*; HBJ, New York (2nd edition)
- Lyons, John 1969 *Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics*; Cambridge university Press. Cambridge.
- Pike, K.L. 1967 *Tone Languages*; Ann Arbor; The University of Michigan Press 97th edition).
- Risley, H.H. 1894 *The Gazetteer of Sikkim*; B.R. Publishing Corporation, New Delhi. (Reprint.1985).
- Robins, R.H. 1968 *General Linguistics– An Introductory Survey*; Longmans, London.

Roerich, George N.& Lhalungpa, L Phunshok	1972	<i>Text Book of Colloquial Tibetan</i> ; Manjushri Publishing House, New Delhi.
Sandberg, Graham	1895	<i>Manual of the Bhutia language or denjong-ke</i> ; Westminster [2 nd edition; first published in 1888, Calcutta]
Sandberg, Graham	1894	<i>A Handbook of Colloquial Tibetan – A Practical Guide to the Language of Central Tibet</i> ; Calcutta
Sen, Sukumar	1964	<i>Bhashar Itibritta</i> ; Eastern Publishers, Calcutta
Shafer, Robert	1966	<i>Introduction to Sino-Tibetan (Part 1)</i> ; Weisbaden.
Shafer, Robert	1967	<i>Introduction to Sino-Tibetan (Part 2)</i> ; Weisbaden.
Shafer, Robert	1968	<i>Introduction to Sino-Tibetan (Part 3)</i> ; Weisbaden.
Singh, K.S.	1993	<i>People of India : Sikkim</i> ; Vol. XXXIX. Seagull Books, Kolkata.
Singh, K.S.	1997	<i>The Scheduled Tribes</i> . Oxford University Press, New Delhi.
Thonden, Losang	1984	<i>Modern Tibetan Language</i> ; Vol. 1. Dharamsala (2 nd Revised edition), Simla.
Yliniemi, Juha	2005	<i>'Preliminary Phonological Analysis of Denjongka of Sikkim'</i> ; a Master's Thesis under General Linguistics of University of Helsinki.
Wikipedia		<i>Tibetan language</i>
Wikipedia		<i>Tibeto-Burman languages</i> .
Census of India	2001	Language: table C-16, series 1-India.
Census of India	2001	Paper 1 of 2007-Language
Census of India	1991	Series 22, Sikkim, Part XII – A & B
Census of India	1981	Series I, Part IV – B(i)
Census of India	1981	Paper I of 1981, Provisional Population tables.
Census of India	1971	Series I, Part II-C(i)

Census of India	1971	Series 18 A. Part – II – C
Census of India	1961	Vol. I, Part – II – C (ii)
Census of India	1961	Vol. XVI, Part – II – C (i)
Census of India	1951	Paper no. I of 1954, Language Table of India
Census of India	1951	Vol. – VI, Part – II
Census of India	1951	Vol. VI, Part – I-C
Census of India	1931	Vol. – I, Part – II
Census of India	1921	Vol. I, Part – II
Census of India	1911	Vol. I Part – I
Census of India	1911	Vol. I, Part – II
Census of India	1901	Vol – IA, Part – I
Census of India	1901	Vol. IA, Part-II

BHOTIA

TEXT

Ola byám ði byunák lo gaɛ Cepó
(crow-hen) (the) (the snake) (to) (how) (killed)

“How the crow-hen killed the black snake “

1. *gyaMcáp siMgé S'agaCé teMk^halo olaJami M'i*
(village) (tree) (branches) (above) (crow-couple)
CáM c^ha woMðe
(nest) (they had built)

“Among the spreading branches of a tree live a crow and his wife
the crow-hen”

2. *byám ði goMðo c^huMc^huM S'i kité*
(female –crow) (the) (egg) (little) (four) (laid)
p^hamúCu ðilo ɽaɽo lem byaɽe
(the parents) (to them) (looked after properly)

“In the nest were four little eggs which the parents guarded with great care.”

3. *S'iMdóM oðe Cuk^há ðoba cikgé náMlo byunák*
(tree trunk) (that) (below) (hole) (one) (inside) (snake)

cík wòḁe dīpè oḽa Jami M'i kẹ̀pò
 (one) (came) (sat) (the crow family /couple) (greatly)
maJó we bẹ
 (feared)

“In a hollow of that tree-trunk lived a black snake whom the crows
 feared greatly”

4. *atArÁM oḽa byám dī goMḁo kiJarÁM byunák dī*
 (always) (female crow) (the) (eggs) (laid) (black snake) (the)
S'iMdolé ya Jík woMḁe goḁoMCu sawob`e
 (the tree towards) (climbed) (eggs) (ate up)

“Every time the crow-hen laid her eggs the snake crawled up to the nest
 and ate it up.”

5. *oḽa byám dī ṭ^har`e kaplo y`aM byunák dī wóMde Mai*
 (crow-hen) (this) (thistime) (also) (snake) (the) (come) (mine)
goḁoMCu sawacini Maca S'iMdo dīle mala
 (eggs) (eats up) (we) (tree) (from) (quickly)
po`e yúJeMk^ha ganayíMra CáM J# ti
 (change) (another place) (whatever it is) (nest) (to build)
dīgoS`e p<sup>h</sup>o dī lo lappob`e
 (have to stay) (male crow) (the) (to) (said).

“If the black snake eats up my eggs this time also, I refuse to live in
 this tree any longer. We must build our nest somewhere else”- said the

mother bird to her husband.”

6. *p^ho* *dí* *Macà* *dík^har* *yaMrakò* *denJantí* *dí`cà*
(male crow) (the) (we) (here) (longtime) (have lived)

Ma *da* *yudí* *kodí* *ganaìò* *yàM* *mengúS`e*
(I) (now) (this place) (leaving) (else where) (also) (will not go)

lappo b`e
(said)

“We have lived here a long time.I can’t bear to desert my home and go to live elsewhere”, -said the crow.”

7. *k^hóMCu* *gyokyapcí* *yopò* *k`ap* *k^hóMCu* *wolè* *byuki*
(they) (were talking) (while) (they) (beneath) (snake of)

S`ukda*      *kyap p`e *ke* *t^hopo b`e*
(hissing) (to hiss) (sound) (heard)

“While they were talking they heard a hissing sound just below them”.

8. *S`ukda*      *dí*      *gan*      *yìM*      *nam má*      *sepo b`e*
(sound) (the) (what) (is) (means) (they were knowing)

“They knew what the sound meant”.

9. *k^hóMCu* *lo* *rúk* *byak^hen* *kakayáM* *misidì* *raMgi* *CáM* *naMlo*
(them) (help) (helpers) (no one) (own) (nest) (inside)

goMdo *ló* *taìò* *byaJin* *dí* *yopo b`e*
(the eggs) (to) (to lookafter) (they were)

“They sat helplessly in their nest trying to protect their eggs”

10. *dīle byudí S'iMléyar t^hoṭalo JíkwoMḍe*
 (then) (the snake) (upwards the tree) (high) (climbed up)

“The black snake crept higher and closer to the nest”

11. *p^hyáCaMṇa JólwoMḍe S'ukda kyapti oḷaCulo*
 (in the nest) (entered) (hissed) (to the crows)

trukṭi p^hur woMḍe
 (being frightened) (flew away)

“Then with a loud hiss he tried to strike at the birds who flew away in terror”.

12. *goMdoCú re re byáte mikkob`e*
 (the eggs) (one by one) (doing) (swallowed up)

“One by one, the black snake swallowed the eggs”.

13. *oḷa apo amCú semkyoJín raMgi CáMṇa l^hep pò*
 (the crow parents) (were feeling sad) (own) (in the nest) (reached)

dAM CaM t^hamcí toMpo Jóca dī
 (and) (nest) (all) (empty) (made)

“The parents came back sadly to their nest, knowing well that they would find it empty”.

14. *oḷa apo dī dēp lap Maki byu nák Maṗò*
 (the father crow) (like this) (said) (I) (snake) (black)

sukcík^hen dī l`o lákS'e ki t^hap cik tin tin Colgò
 (destroyous) (it) (to) (to destroy) (idea) (one) (fix) (to search)

“The crow said, -“I must find a way to destroy this murderous snake”.

15. *ol`a mo dī sím kyoJen p^hodílo dēp lap*

(the mother crow) (feeling upset) (to the male crow) (like this) (said)

raMgí kʰó M'yampo namlo JíM Copo kʰuí kʰadi

(own) (it) (with) (neighbour) (fight) (can) (its) (sting)

lepte dukJen d`i

(very) (deadly) (is)

“How can you ever fight him? his sting is so deadly”- said his wife
in despair”

16. *Mái MaM dukla ra sentél bya mengò*

(my dear) (friend) (you) (don't worry)

Cai dukù cik ye kʰuMi/yugu taMse lo kʰyiták ye p`e

(I) (friend) (one) (have) (who) (very) (cunning) (is)

dúk byu Mapò dilo mepoJose móbyolo

(poisonous snake) (black) (to it) (can destroy) (to the female crow)

lapS'aḳṭe pʰuṛḍe S'iMdoM S'én ciḳge welo duku wʰamcało

(saying) (flew) (tree) (another) (one) (under) (friend) (to the jackal)

s`o

(went)

“Don't you worry ,my dear, I've got a friend who is cunning enough to destroy.
the most poisonous of snake - said the crow ,and off he flew to another tree
under which lived his dear friend , the jackal.

17. *wʰam di duk byuke aṭArAM g̣oMdoCu g`aṭé*

(jackal) (the) (poisonous) (snake) (always) (eggs) (how)

sawelogút M'yen saḳṭe dép l`ap Mai duku g`aṭé ke

(used to eat) (listened) (said) (my) (friend) (how) (by)
nam macák kò S'enmen lo sim nín dAM tadúk
 (always) (others) (to) (ill thought) (and) (worse)
byak^hen di thana S'ese yiM
 (dear) (the) (end) (they will die)

“When the jackal heard how the snake always ate up the eggs,he said

“My friend ,those who are cruel and greedy always meet with a bad end”.

18. *k^hucaCu' jue meMò Maki M'yen le ráM k^holó*
 (you –dual) (need not have to worry) (I) (have already) (to it)
lákS'eke t^haplam cík se s'e
 (to destroy) (plan) (one) (learnt)

“Have no fear , I've already thought of a plan to destroy him”.

19. *lá g`até bya gó kam Mało soMbó naS'e olaki lapS'e*
 (oh) (how) (can be done) (me) (please tell) (the crow) (said).

“Oh, do tell me what it is - said the crow.”

20. *ona l`e wfiám ki k^hui ke di byúki t^howaM*
 (from there) (the jackal) (its) (sound) (the snake by) (might hear)
noS`iM byu di lo gate segópoCu k^hui námcolo
 (thinking) (snake) (the) (to) (how) (the ways) (its) (in the ear)
k^haS'óp naM lapduk
 (whispered inside)

“Then the jackal fearing he might be overheard , whispered to his friend
 what he should do to destroy the snake”.

21. *ola p^ho di k^huí mobùt Calo p^hursóMdi dAM*
 (male crow) (the) (his) (wife) (to her place) (flew off) (and)

molo t^haplámCu dép lap d`i
 (to her) (the ideas) (said)

“The crow flew back to his wife and told her about the plan”.

22. *yok di lepte M`yénk<sup>h</sup>a citak y`e MaCa t^ham Ciki*
 (work) (the) (very) (risk) (most) (is) (we) (all)

M`yaM tóp dAM regkó gyimdi byagò
 (bravely) (and) (careful) (to be have)

“It is rather risky, said the crow, we’ll have to be very careful”.

23. *ol`a mòdi M`yaMìop bómpoi t^hókle Maki gáMra*
 (the female crow) (bravely) (very) (through) (my) (what)

yín`uM Mai goMdóCu lò soMkyop byasè yìM lap
 (whatever it is) (my) (eggs) (will protect) (to do) (said)

“I will do anything to save my eggs said the mother bird bravely”.

24. *o`di byatè k<sup>h</sup>oMCú gyalpò p<sup>h</sup>udám gi t<sup>h</sup>éMk<sup>h</sup>alo p<sup>h</sup>ursoM d`i*
 (thus) (they) (king) (palace) (the) (in front of) (flew away)

“So off they flew towards the palace of the king of the country”.

25. *p^hudám di k^hoMCú d`s`e S`indóM le t<sup>h</sup>aknelo y`e*
 (palace) (the) (they) (where they stayed) (from that tree) (near) (is)

“The palace was not far from the tree in which they lived”.

26. *k^hoMCu gyalpò p^hudám gi dum`a t^héMk^halo c^huwo bómpo*
 (they) (in the king palace) (garden) (in front of) (pond) (big)

yesa sóM onale k^hoMCu gyálpò l^hacamC`u kuJúk S`elwa t^haM

(had went) (there) (they) (the royal ladies) (body) (to take bath)

“They approached a big pond in the palace garden where they saw the –
Royal Ladies having a bath”.

27. *k^hóMCu c^hu^we naMlò maS'úkòM namJ'a d^aM S'irgi*
((they) (the water) (in) (before entering) (clothes) (and) (golden)
gyénca mutek gi d^uS'álS'en gyencáCu cedámlo
(ornaments) (pearl) (of) (necklace) (ornaments) (on the bank)
p^huh S'ák ko b`e

(to remove off)

“They had laid their golden chains, pearl necklaces and other jewellery on the edge of the pond”.

28. *ol`a am d<sup>i</sup> salo cak<sup>i</sup> mo cóto S'irgi gyenc`a*
(the mother crow) (flowing down) (by her beak) (golden) (ornaments)
bákⁱ galusbùà p^húr dⁱ mo dⁱse S'imdòM y`e saloc`ak
(carrying) (slowly) (flew) (she) (where she lived) (tree) (sat down)

“The mother bird flew down, picked up gold chain in her beak and started flying slowly towards the tree in which she lived”.

29. *odi kaplo p^hudaMgi S'apceCu olagi gyenc`a*
(during this time) (the royal guards) (of the crow) (ornaments)
bakⁱ p^hurgyu S'im yepo t^hoMte gyap dawo b`e
(carrying) (flying) (seeing) (followed)

“ When the palace guards saw the bird flying off with the gold chain, they chased the bird”.

30. *ol`a mo byú nak dⁱse d^oM dⁱ naMlò ke*
(the crow-hen) (black snake) (living) (hole) (the) (inside)

gyàndi kubu b`e

(dropped)

“They saw the bird drop the chain into the hollow of the tree”.

31. *S`ápce cík S`iMdoM teMk^hálo Jikì*

(guard) (one) (tree) (above) (climbed up)

gyenca tónbe dóMlo lako ðAM bak náM

(ornament) (to make out) (in hollow/ hole) (hand) (in the hole)

kyappò ðaM oña byú nak k^hyík ði yepò t^hoM

(put) (and) (there) (the snake) (crawled up) (is) (saw)

“One of the guards climbed up the tree to get the chain and as

he put his hand inside the hole to get the chain, he saw a black

snake curled up there”.

32. *k^hugi rúkCu títak gí byú lo do ták*

(they) (friends) (with stick) (the snake) (strike)

S`ukc`en kyap^hte sepò

(hardly) (beat) (kill)

“With one hard stroke of his club he killed it,”

33. *ola p^ho ðAM mo M`i S`iM oðì téMk^hálo lebte*

(the crow and crow – hen) (tree) (that) (above) (reached)

gato byáte ðípò

(happily) (stayed)

“The crow and crow – hen lived in that tree happily afterwards”

34. *mice d^hodile JóMdi k^hó MCulo*

(not only that) (then onwards) (afterwards) (them)

p^hyicúM *yáM* *kepò* *p^hidúk*
 (baby crow) (also) (many) (increased)

“ Not only that afterwards they had many little baby crows”.

TIBETAN

TEXT

k^háṭ`a m`ò *nagdrul* *Mat^he c^hene* *C`ewa r`è*
 (the crow-hen) (black snake) (how) (killed)

“HOW THE CROW HEN KILLED THE BLACK SNAKE”

1. *je S`iM doMp`ò yelka* *gy`ac<sup>h</sup>emi*                      *naMla*                      *k<sup>h</sup>áṭ`a ṭ^h`aM*
 (banyan tree) (branches) (widespread) (in) (the crow) (and)

k^hoyi *keme` kháṭ`a* *M`yam<sup>h</sup>u`* *de yi^h pa r`è*
 (his) (wife female crow) (together) (lived.)

“Among the spreading branches of a banyan tree lived a crow and his wife
 the crow-hen”

2. *c^haMk^hi n`aM goMa*                      *c<sup>h</sup>uM c<sup>h</sup>uM S`i* *yewa` ṭ<sup>h</sup>`aM* *p^hama c^hu`è*
 (the nest) (in) (egg) (little) (four) (were) (and) (parents)

ṭ^hec^hol`a*                      *caka c<sup>h</sup>empo` c^hen`è*                      *ñ rum yiñ pa r`è
 (these eggs) (with great care) (guarded)

“In the nest were four little eggs which the parents guarded with

great care”.

3. *S'iMdoMp`ò ṭ^heyi k^hóktoM ci k naM nagdrul ci k*
 (tree) (that) (hollow) (in a) (black snake) (a)
ḍeyiñp`e kenk<sup>h</sup>yi k<sup>h</sup>át`a c^ho S'eda k c^hemp`ò S'eki yiñpa r`e
 (lived) (whom) (crows) (greatly) (feared)
 “In a hollow of that tree –trunk lived a black snake whom the crows
 feared greatly”.

4. *k^hát`a m`ò M'intar goMa taMkyaM drul ṭ^he*
 (the female crow) (every time) (eggs) (laid) (snake) (that)
c^haM naM drine` goMa ṭ<sup>h</sup>ec<sup>h</sup>o`
 (the nest) (in) (crawling) (eggs) (them)
sagi yiñp`a r`e
 (ate up)
 “Everytime the crow-hen laid her eggs the sanke crowled up to the nest
 and ate them up”.

5. *ṭ^hale ñ y`aM Meyi` goM`a nagdru`l k^hi sena*
 (this time) (also) (my) (eggs) (black snake) (by) (eaten)
ṭ^heneñaM S'iMdoM ḍiñ naM ḍey`a ra M m`e
 (if) (tree) (this) (in) (no longer stay) (=I refuse to stay)
 “If the black snake eats up my eggs this time also, I refuse to live
 in this tree any longer”.

6. *Manc^hue naraMc^hoyi c^haM S'ac^ha S'enda k ṭ^hí*
 (we) (our) (nest) (place) (somewhere) (else)

suegyu r`e ṭʰu cʰam`e moraMkʰi´

(must build have to build) (mother) (her) (=mother bird)

kʰyok`a l`a kyuwa´ r`e

(the husband) (to) (said)

“We must build our nest somewhere else said the mother bird to her husband.”

7. *Mancʰi e ḍir ṭʰuiriMpo d`ewa r`e*

(we) (here) (for a long time) (lived)

“We have lived here a long time “.

8. *Ma´ Me kʰáMp`a toMwa´ suine S`acʰa S``endakl`a*

(I) (my) (house) (to make empty =desert) (place) (somewhere)

drone ḍe mi ṭʰop kʰáṭé laba (kyuwa´) r`e

(go) (can't bear to live) (the crow) (said)

“I can't bear to desert my home and go to live elsewhere said the crow.”

9. *kʰoncʰue ke ca segi yiñ b`e ṭʰil`a kʰoncʰue kʰoncʰe*

(they) (were talking) (while) (they) (them)

wa´k n`e druk`e ci´k kʰowa r`e

(just below) (hissing sound) (a) (heard)

“While they were talking they heard a hissing sound just below them”

10. *kʰoncʰue ke ṭʰi S`enp`a r`e*

(they) (what the sound) (know)

“They knew what the sound meant”.

11. *k^honc^hue M'iM Cen`e k<sup>h</sup>onc<sup>h</sup>uyi c<sup>h</sup>aM naM goM`a*
 they) (help lessly) (their) (the nest) (in) (eggs)
t^henc^hola ñ ruMy`a t<sup>h</sup>op c<sup>h</sup>ewa´ r`e
 (those) (protect / guard) (were trying)
 “They sat helplessly in their nest trying to protect their eggs”

12. *drug nag / nagdrul t^h`e drin`e c^haM naMla y`ar*
 (black snake) (that) (creeping) (nest) (towards) (up)
t^haM t^hрила lepar`e
 (and) (close) (reached)
 “The black snake crept higher and closer to the nest”.

13. *d`en druike c<sup>h</sup>empo´ ci´k gy`apne k^hue*
 (then) (hiss) (loud) (a) (with) (he)
c^hyac^ho l`a so gyaptu c<sup>h</sup>iM d`i k^hoMsu´
 (birds) (at) (tried to strike) (who)
S`etak S`en`e p<sup>h</sup>urwa´ r`e
 (in terror) (flew away)
 “Then with a loud hiss he tried to strike at the birds who flew away in terror”.

14. *r`e r`e c^h`ene nagdrul t<sup>h</sup>`e goMa t^henc^ho mikp`a r`e*
 (one by one) (black snake) (that) (eggs) (those) (swallowed)
 “One by one ,the black snake swallowed the eggs”.

15. *p^hama k^honc^ho´ semkyor n`e k^hoM c^huyi c^haM naM*
 (the parents crow) (sadly) (their) (nest) (in)
kye`ar t<sup>h</sup>u p<sup>h</sup>apa´(lepa) r`e / kye`ar t<sup>h</sup>u p<sup>h</sup>apa´ r`e
 (back) (came) (again came back)
k^honc^hue c^haM d`iñ toMwa´ yiñpe ña k^howa´
 (they) (nest) (the) (empty was) (knowing well)
yiñ pa´ t^haM
 (find it)
 “The parents came back sadly to their nest, knowing well that they would find it empty”.
16. *k^hát`a lawa´ Me´ k<sup>h</sup>aMdr`e c^hene yaM drul S`enp`o c^hemp`o*
 (the crow) (said) (I) (how) (snake) (murderous)
d`iñl`a torya t^hop ci k c^he gyuep`a r`e
 (to this) (destroy) (way) (a) (find out)
 “The crow said I must find a way to destroy this murderous snake”.
17. *k^hera M k^haM dre c^hen`e k<sup>h</sup>ola gyamdre gyap<sup>h</sup>gi r`e k^hoyi*
 (you) (how) (him) (will you fight) (his)
so gyapya t^he S`eMa c<sup>h</sup>ap`o yiñ r`e k<sup>h</sup>oyi kem`e
 (sting) (is) (so deadly) (is) (his) (wife)
semkyor n`e lapa r`e
 (in despair) (said)
 “How can you ever fight him? His sting is so deadly –said his wife in despair.”

18. *k^hera M semdre mac^he MeyiCepo Mala drokpo´*
 (you) (donot worry) (my dear) (I have) (friend)
ci´k t^hera M naMSiM ci c^hempo t^hukdrul t^hela
 (one) (who is like) (cunning) (poisonous snake)(to that)
torM'y'e ci´k yiñ k^háté lapa r'e k^hoyi p^hurne
 (to destroy) (one) (have) (the crow) (said) (he) (flew off)
S'iMdoM senda t^hu wa la k^hoyi Cepo drok p`o
 (tree) (another) (under) (his) (dear) (friend)
k^hyepCa M de yiñ p`a t<sup>h</sup>i lep`a r'e
 (jackal) (which lived) (he reached there)

“Don’t you worry, my dear, I’ve got a friend who is cunning enough to destroy the most poisonous of snake - said the crow, and off he flew to another tree under which lived his dear friend , the jackal.”

19. *t^hene k^hyepCaM k^hue drul t^he goMa t^henc^ho M' intar*
 (when) (jackal) (the snake) (by) (those eggs) (always)
k^haMdre c^hen`e sewa ñak^howa´ r'e k^hu´ lapa t^haM
 (how) (ate up) (heard) (he) (said) (and)
Me drokpo´ semnak t^haM t^hrepa c^hempo c^hi
 (my) (friend) (cruel) (and) (greedy) (than)
su yina ñaM M'inci k t^hakyopola gyurgi r'e t^ho S'e magyu`e
 (those who are) (one day) (end) (bad) (meet with a) (have no fear,)
Me k^hola torya t^hopce ci k samlot`aM yiñ
 (I have) (him) (to destroy) (plan) (a) (thought of)

“When the jackal heard how the snake always ate up the eggs, he said,

My friend , those who are cruel and greedy always meet with a bad end.

Have no fear, I've already thought of a plan to destroy him”.

20. *l`a d`iñ k`a r`eyina Mala lap r`ok` k`áté l`a pa r`e*

(oh) (it) (what is) (me) (please tell) (the crow) (said)

“Oh ! do tell me what it is - said the crow”.

21. *dene k`yepCaM k`hi k`ue k`oyoM samne S`emdrel c`en`e,*

(then) (the jackal) (he) (might overheard) (fearing)

drul t`ela k`aMdre c`en`e torya de k`oyi drokp`o l`a

(snake) (to that) (how) (destroy) (his) (friend) (to)

sapsyop amjo d`i lawa` r`e

(whispered to the ear)

“Then the jackal , fearing he might be overheard, whispered to

his friend - what he should do to destroy the snake”.

22. *k`át`a de kyear t`u k`oyi kem`e t`u p`urne*

(the crow) (again) (coming back) (his) (wife) (to) (flew)

lep`a t`aM mola t`apce t`e lapa r`e

(told) (and) (to her) (plan) (the) (said)

“The crow flew back to his wife and told her about the plan”.

23. *d`iñ M`yenk`a c`empo` ñ iMkyaM k`áté lap`a r`e*

(this) (very risky) (rather) (the crow) (said)

Manc`ue sapsap c`empo` c`egyepa r`e

(we) (careful) (very) (will have to)

“It is rather risky , said the crow. “We will have to be very careful”.

24. *gandre c^hena faM Ma´ Mar`e goMac<sup>h</sup>o Culkiy`in niMc^hewa´r*
 (to do anything) (I) (my) (eggs) (save) (bravely)

c^hy`a ame lapa r`e

(bird mother) (said)

I'll do anything to save my eggs -said the mother bird bravely."

25. *k^honc^ho luMpa´ d`iñ gyalpu`e p^hodaM c^hokla*
 (they) (of the country) (of the king) (palace) (towards)

p^hurne drowa´ r`e d`o

(flew off)

"So off they flew towards the palace of the king of the country."

26. *p^hodaM t^he k^honc^ho d^uewe S`iMdoM n`e t^hariMp`o*
 (palace) (that) (they) (lived) (tree) (from) (far away)

yiñ pa ma r`e

(was not)

"The palace was not far from the tree in which they lived".

27. *k^honc^ho p^hodaMk^hyi d^umare naM c^hukyeM c^henpo´*
 (they) (of the palace) (garden) (in) (pond) (big)

ci´k d`o lepwa´ r`e t^heyinaM k^honc^hu`e gyalpu`e semoc^ho´

(a) (by) (approached) (in that) (they) (king) (royal ladies)

t^hrugyapki yiñ pa t^hoMwa´ r`e

(having a bath) (saw)

"They approached a big pond in the palace garden where they saw the royal ladies having a bath".

28. *k^hoMc^hue k^hoMraMc^hoyi ser^ht^hak motikk^hi key^hi*
 (they) (their) (golden chain) (of pearl) (of neck)
genC^ha t^haM S'enpa genCa c^ho c^hukyi
 (ornament) (and) (other) (jewelleries) (of the pond)
dramg^haM S'a yi^hwa^h r^he
 (on the edge) (kept / laid)
 “They had laid their golden chains , pearl necklaces and other jewellery
 on the edge of the pond”.

29. *k^hat^ha c^hyam^ho t^he wok^ht^hu^h p^hurn^he m^ho c^hotu^he ser^ht^hak*
 (mother bird) (that) (flying / flew down) (beak) (gold chain)
ci^hk drukne more S'iMdoM naM dew^he c^hoktu^h galu^hi
 (one) (picked up) (her) (where they lived in a tree) (towards) (slowly)
p^hurne drowa^h t^haM
 (flying) (flew away) (and)
 “The mother bird flew down, picked up a gold chain in her beak and
 started flying slowly towards the tree in which she lived”.

30. *t^herkyam p^hodaM suMk^henc^hue c^hya^ht^he ser^ht^ha k M'yam t^hu*
 (when) (guards of palace) (that bird) (gold chain) (with)
p^hurdogi yi^hwa^h t^hoMkyam k^hon c^hu^he k^hoMraMc^hu^he
 (was flying) (saw) (they) (their)
gyukpac^ho k^hurne c^hya t^hela t^hewa^h r^he d^ho
 (clubs) (took / taking) (towards the bird) (chased)
 “When the palace guards saw the bird flying off with the gold

chain, they took up their clubs and chased the bird”.

31. *c^hya t^ḥe ser^ḥak S'iMdoM ci kyi k^hóktoM naMl`a*
 (bird) (the) (gold chain) (tree) (of one) (hollow) (in the)
yu fwa´ k^hoMc^hue t^ḥoMwa´ r`e
 (drop-ing) (they) (saw)

“ They saw the bird drop the chain into the hollow of a tree”

32. *S'uMk^henc^hone ci´kyi ser^ḥak ṭe ṇṭeṇṭ^hu S'iMdoM*
 (of the guards) (one) (gold chain) (to take) (the tree)
ya ṭ^hu sekwa´ r`e
 (up) (climbed)

“ One of the guards climbed up the tree to get the chain”.

33. *k^hue k^horaMk^hi lakp`a to´MnaM ser^ḥak leṇṭ^hu*
 (he) (his) (hand) (in the hole) (gold chain) (to take)
sukyuw`e p^har
 (was putting)

k^hue ṭ^henaM drulnag ci k y`ar ṭ<sup>h</sup>rewa´ ṭ<sup>h</sup>oMwa´ r`e
 (he) (then) (snake) (one) (up) (curled) (saw)

“ As he put his hand inside the hole to get the chain , he saw a black snake curled up there.”

34. *k^hue gyukp`e S'u´k M'yenpo´ ci k S'uine k<sup>h</sup>ue di ḥl`a*
 (he) (with club) (stroke) (hard) (a) (hit) (he) (to that)
sewa´ ṭ^haM ṭ^her nagdrulk^hi sok ṭ^ha c^hep`a r`e d`o
 (killed) (and) (then) (of the snake) (body / life) (ended)

“With one hard stroke of his club he killed it and it was the end of the black snake”.

35. *ṭʰeyiJeso kʰáṭ`a ṭʰaM kʰáṭ`a m`o S`iMdoM ṭʰey`i*
 (after wards) (crow) (and) (crow-hen) (tree) (that of)
naM sem kep`o cʰen`e ḍewa´ ṭʰaM cʰuM cʰuM
 (in) (happily) (from then) (lived) (and) (small)
kʰáṭ`a pʰugu´ maMdu´ cʰuMwa´ r`e
 (crow) (baby) (many) (had)

“The crow and the crow-hen lived in that tree happily and afterwards had many little baby crows”.

-----0-----

SHERPA

S.GANESH BASKARAN

1. INTRODUCTION

The present study gives out the grammatical sketch of Sherpa language spoken in Sikkim state based on the data collected during the field investigation from June 1997 to September 1997.

1.1 FAMILY AFFILIATION

According to Grierson, 1909 Sherpa belongs to the Bhotia group of Tibeto Himalayan branch of Tibeto-Burman language family.

1.2 LOCATION

According to Linguistic Survey of India, the Sherpas are inhabitant of Eastern part of Nepal. In India they are mainly inhabiting the Darjeeling Hills and Sikkim.

1.3 SPEAKERS STRENGTH

The speakers' strength of Sherpa in respect of language / mother tongue and bilingualism/trilingualism as per 2001 Census publication is given below.

Language

SHERPA	TOTAL	M	F	RURAL	M	F	URBAN	M	F
INDIA	18,342	9,635	8,707	16,856	8,781	8,075	1,486	854	632
Sikkim	13,922	7,307	6,615	13,281	6,894	6,387	641	413	228

Mother Tongue

SHERPA	TOTAL	M	F	RURAL	M	F	URBAN	M	F
INDIA	18,342	9,635	8,707	16,856	8,781	8,075	1,486	854	632
Sikkim	13,922	7,307	6,615	13,281	6,894	6,387	641	413	228

1.4. BILINGUALISM

As returned in 2001 Census out of 13922 Sherpa speakers in Sikkim 10900 are the bilinguals and they are bi-linguals in the following languages in descending order.

Sl. No	Language of Bilingualism	Total	Male	Female	Language of Trilingualism among the Bilingualism	Total	Male	Female
1	Nepali	8667	4515	4152	i. Hindi	1416	839	577
					ii.English	425	246	179
					iii.Bhotia	130	82	48
					iv.Tibetan	61	52	9
					v.Lepcha	10	7	3
					vi.Limbu	7	4	3
					vii. Tamang	4	3	1
					viii.Rai	3	2	1
					ix. Bengali	1	1	0
					x. Others @	2	1	1
2	Hindi	933	526	407	i.Nepali	368	217	151
					ii. English	98	49	49
					iii.Bhotia	14	11	3
					iv. Bengali	2	1	1
					v. Tibetan	1	1	0
3	English	849	488	361	i.Nepali	498	290	208
					ii.Hindi	290	170	120
					iii.Bhotia	8	7	1
					iv.Tibetan	6	3	3
					v.Limbu	1	1	0
4	Bhotia	215	106	109	i.Nepali	54	30	24
					ii.Hindi	8	7	1
					iii. English	5	4	1

					iv.Lepcha	2	1	1
					v. Tibetan	1	1	0
5	Tibetan	201	182	19	i.Nepali	9	7	2
					ii.Hindi	6	6	0
6	Lepcha	16	8	8	i.Nepali	4	1	3
7	Limbu	10	6	4	i.Nepali	4	2	2
					ii.Hindi	1	1	0
8	Tamang	1	0	1	i.Nepali	1	0	1
9	Oriya	2	1	1	i. Hindi	1	1	0
					ii. Nepali	1	0	1
10	Total of Others #	6	5	1	i.Hindi	1	1	0
					ii.Nepali	1	0	1
					iii.Tibetan	1	1	0
					iv. Bhotia	2	1	1

Accordingly 78.29% are bilinguals among the Sherpa speakers of Sikkim.

Under the languages of Bilingualism the clubbed Total of Others comprise of Bilingual speakers strength in relevant languages below 100. But in the states of Sikkim the languages like Nepali, Bhotia, Limbu, Lepcha, Sherpa, Tibetan, Tamang and Rai are the most important languages. So, the bilingual strength in respect of these languages, even if it is below 100 speakers, have been taken separately and not clubbed under "Total of Others"

@ Under the head Trilingualism the clubbed Others comprise of trilingual speakers strength in relevant languages below 100. But in the states of Sikkim the languages like Nepali, Bhotia, Limbu, Lepcha, Sherpa, Tibetan, Tamang and Rai are the most important languages. So, the trilingual strength in respect of these languages, even if it is below 100 speakers, have been taken separately and not clubbed under "Others"

1.5 SOCIOLINGUISTIC SETTING

“Sherpa” is returned by the Sherpas in Sikkim. They are known as Solu-Khumbuwan who migrated from Nepal. The term “Sherpa” has been derived from a Tibetan word “Sharva” which denotes the people of the east.

Sherpas are divided into two endogamous groups – Sherpa and Yukpa. These groups are further divided into various exogamous clans, namely Shalakha, Finasha, Chayaba, Lama Sherpa, and Goperma. Some of the divisions have a number of sub-divisions. Marriage is prohibited within the sub-division of the same clan. Land is the main source of income among Sherpas and it is controlled individually. They are primarily dependent on terrace cultivation at present. Their subsidiary sources of income are labour, service and acting as helpers or guides on mountaineering expeditions. They are both landholding and landless people. (Singh: 2001)

Linguistically Sherpa is a form of Bhotia of Eastern section (Nigam: 1971: 226). Sherpa people use the Sambasota script. Nepali and Hindi (Indo-Aryan group of languages) are used by them for intergroup communication.

Sherpas are mostly Buddhist by religion.

Sherpas are generally distributed in south and west district of Sikkim but they are found in north and east districts also.

The Sherpas are skilled in woodcraft and performing folk songs.

The sociolinguistic setting of Sherpa can be explained on the extent of its use as mother tongue and the extent of use as other tongue .

As a mother tongue Sherpa is used in different domains like home, kin and community. The use of mother tongue is necessarily related in three ways. In the order of parent ego children in the home and extra kin situation. In the domain, of locality the mother tongue is also in use. In the parent-ego-children relationship the parents invariably interact in the mother tongue with the children and also with the aged people. Since the children of these days are exposed to other languages through education most often their speech is mixed with Nepali and with English. The use of mother tongue is more between the aged people and among the middle aged whereas among the young and between the young the extent of use of mother tongue is comparatively less. Among the women the use of mother tongue is more in comparison to the men folk.

In the formal domains like Education, Administration, Judiciary and Mass media the role of Sherpa as mother tongue is evident in the oral communication level. In the domain of the Education in the rural areas the verbal interaction between the teacher and student and among the students in and outside the classroom is in Sherpa also. Sherpa is taught as a subject in the upper Primary School level that is VIIIth standard.

In the Administration although all written correspondences are through Nepali and English but Sherpa is also used as the medium of the verbal interaction staffs and the public in the rural and semi urban areas. The state Government imparts training to the officials in Sherpa language for smooth running of Administration and building up of a cordial relation with the Sherpa people.

In the level of Judiciary also Sherpa language is used in informal oral communication in the lower courts.

In the domain of Mass media, Doordarshan and a private television channels telecast folk music in Sherpa language.

The local magazines like Sikkim Herald publishing the poems and stories. The Information and Public Relations office publishes the translated materials and also about the Sherpa culture.

The Government of Sikkim encourages Sherpa people to continue their cultural programme in Sherpa in respective festive occasions. The Sikkim Government patronises preparation of dictionary and glossaries in Sherpa language and extends necessary financial aids to the welfare association of Sherpa for the purpose.

In the assembly also the legislated members are allowed to express their view through Sherpa language and their versions simultaneously be translated into Nepali and also in English to reach the non-Sherpa speakers by the Sherpa translator.

1.6 REVIEW OF LITERATURE

According to Grierson 1909. (Reprint 1967) , page no. 113-118, the Tibetan word / *shar* / means ‘east’ and / *shar-pa* / accordingly means ‘inhabitant of an eastern country they are also found as immigrants outside of Nepal . During the preliminary operations of this survey their dialect was reported to be spoken in Darjeeling and Sikkim. Estimates of the number of speakers were only forwarded from Sikkim .

Further he says , Sherpa is closely connected with Kagate and Donjong –ka that is , Sikkimese Bhotia. However, it has very few characteristics of its own. Grierson also discussed about the pronunciations of the Sherpa language and its Grammatical categories like Noun, Gender , Number, Case, Present tense , Past tense , Future tense , Adjective, Numerals, Pronouns ,Verbs, Imperatives. Verbal Nouns and Participles and Negative particles. The book “Topics in Nepalese Linguistics “ (Edited by Y.P. Yadava and W.W. Glower, Royal Nepal Academy , Kathmandu, Nepal) a paper “on Tonal contrasts in Sherpa” by Stephen A. Walters, Central Department of Linguistics , Tribhuvan University , Nepal discussed about the vowels and vowel quality, Consonants and Consonant quality. The Acoustic waveforms in the syllabic level also been discussed.

2. PHONOLOGY

2.1 PHONEMIC INVENTORY

There are 33 phonemes in Sherpa language of which 28 are consonants and 5 are vowels. The supra segmental phonemes are Tone and Nasalisation.

2.1.1 SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

Vowels

	Front	Back
High	<i>i</i>	<i>u</i>
Mid	<i>e</i>	<i>o</i>
Low	<i>a</i> *	

*** The italicised /a/ actually represents the low front unrounded vowel /a/**

Consonants

	Bilabial vl. vd.	Labio dental vl. vd.	Alveolar vl. vd.	Retroflex vl. vd.	Palatal vl. vd.	Velar vl. vd.	Glottal vl. vd.
Stops	<i>p b</i>		<i>t d</i>	<i>T D</i>	<i>c j</i>	<i>k g</i>	
Aspirants	<i>ph</i>		<i>th</i>	<i>Th</i>	<i>ch</i>	<i>kh</i>	
Affricates					<i>C J</i>		
Fricatives			<i>s z</i>		<i>S'</i>		<i>h</i>
Nasals	<i>m</i>		<i>n</i>			<i>M</i>	
Laterals			<i>l</i>				
Trill			<i>r</i>				
Semi vowel	<i>w</i>				<i>y</i>		

2.1.2 SUPRA SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

There are two types of supra segmental phonemes identified such as Tone and Nasalization.

Tone

Three tones are identified in Sherpa language that is, rising, falling and level. The level tone is unmarked.

<i>chòu</i>	‘pool’
<i>chou</i>	‘sister’s husband’
<i>chóu</i>	‘cock’
<i>kah</i>	‘order’
<i>káh</i>	‘difficult’
<i>kàh</i>	‘alphabetically’
<i>Ma</i>	‘I’
<i>Má</i>	‘five’
<i>Mà</i>	‘drum’

Nasalization

The vowel *i*, *e*, *o* and *u* are nasalized in the final position where as the Vowel / *a* / is nasalized both in the medial and final positions.

<i>maĩ</i>	‘lend’
<i>gãl</i>	‘arrived’
<i>sémcẽ</i>	‘animal’
<i>dã</i>	‘yesterday’
<i>kyorõ</i>	‘you’
<i>ʔâmũ</i>	‘camel’
<i>nibã</i>	‘we’

Contrasting Pairs (Vowels)

/i~e/	<i>mi</i>	‘man’
	<i>me</i>	‘fire’
	<i>gìza</i>	‘property’
	<i>géma</i>	‘intestine’
/e~a/	<i>men</i>	daughter in law’s father’
	<i>nám</i>	‘weather’
	<i>phé</i>	‘flour’

	<i>pa</i>	‘curry’
/a~u/	<i>aMa</i>	‘baby’
	<i>uru</i>	‘ant’
/i~o/	<i>i l</i>	‘net’
	<i>óma</i>	‘milk’
/o~u/	<i>dòkpa</i>	‘landslide’
	<i>phùkpa</i>	‘cave’
	<i>co</i>	‘pond’
	<i>chu</i>	‘water’

Contrasting Pairs (Consonants)

/p ~ b/	<i>pé</i>	‘mouse’
	<i>bú</i>	‘worm’
/t ~ d/	<i>ta</i>	‘hawk’
	<i>dó</i>	‘stone’
/T ~ D /	<i>Tàk</i>	‘blood’
	<i>Dùk</i>	‘thunder’
/k ~ g/	<i>kálak</i>	‘crow’
	<i>gú</i>	‘nine’
/p ~ ph/	<i>pá</i>	‘curry’
	<i>phè</i>	‘flour’
/t ~ th/	<i>ta</i>	‘hawk’
	<i>thá</i>	‘horse’
/T ~ Th/	<i>Tàk</i>	‘blood’
	<i>Thàk</i>	‘navel’
/k ~ kh/	<i>kùp</i>	‘testicle’
	<i>khùp</i>	‘palm’
/c ~ j /	<i>cú</i>	‘water’
	<i>ji</i>	‘four’
/c ~ ch /	<i>cú</i>	‘water’
	<i>chou</i>	‘sister’s husband’

/C ~ J/	<i>Cu sàr</i> <i>JòM</i>	‘stream’ ‘valley’
/s ~ z/	<i>sa</i> <i>za</i>	‘tooth’ ‘sour (taste)’
/s ~ S’/	<i>sa</i> <i>S’a</i>	‘tooth’ ‘flesh’
/k ~ h/	<i>kam dèn</i> <i>ham púm</i>	‘tongs’ ‘female’
/m ~ n/	<i>mém</i> <i>nàm</i>	‘daughter in law’s father’ ‘sky’
/n ~ M/	<i>namá</i> <i>Mimá</i>	‘daughter in law’ ‘sunshine’
/l ~ r/	<i>lo</i> <i>ro</i>	‘cough’ ‘dead body’
/w ~ y/	<i>wònba</i> <i>yènba</i>	‘deaf mute’ ‘left handed’

2.2 PHONEMIC DESCRIPTION AND DISTRIBUTION

All 5 vowels occur in all positions. Where as the consonant phonemes do not occur in all positions .

Vowels

/i/	high front unrounded vowel
<i>iní</i>	‘mother’s brothers’ wife’
<i>cilàm</i>	‘lightening’
<i>mi</i>	‘men’
/e/	mid high front unrounded vowel
<i>céma</i>	‘saliva’
<i>géma</i>	‘intestine’
<i>pé</i>	‘mouse’
/a/	low Front unrounded vowel

<i>aSàM</i>	‘mother’s brother’
<i>nám</i>	‘weather’
<i>pa</i>	‘curry’

/ o / mid high back rounded vowel

<i>óma</i>	‘milk’
<i>sothùk</i>	‘adopted child’
<i>khyó</i>	‘man’

/ u / high back rounded vowel

<i>urũ</i>	father’s brother’s wife’
<i>kuwã</i>	‘dumb’
<i>pú</i>	‘son’

Consonants

/ p / voiceless bilabial stop occurs in all three position

<i>pómak</i>	‘dew’
<i>pàpce</i>	‘fathers brother (elder)’
<i>balóp</i>	‘high tide’

/ b / voiced bilabial stop occurs in all three position

<i>bó</i>	‘fog’
<i>tiMbá</i>	‘heel’
<i>mérab</i>	‘flame’

/ t / voiceless alveolar stop occurs in the initial and the medial position

<i>tóm</i>	‘great bear’
<i>natíni</i>	‘ grand daughter’

/ d / voiced alveolar stop occurs in the initial and the medial positions

<i>do</i>	‘ stone
<i>thàlduk</i>	‘dust’

/ T / voiceless retroflex stop occurs in the initial and the medial positions

<i>Tuk</i>	‘six’
<i>càkTa</i>	‘match stick’

/D/ voiced retroflex stop occurs in the initial and the medial positions

<i>Duk</i>	‘thunder’
<i>jenDa</i>	‘Youngman’

/c/ voiceless palatal stop occurs in the initial and the medial positions

<i>co</i>	‘pond’
<i>cécirma</i>	‘cowife’

/j/ voiced palatal stop occurs in the initial and the medial positions

<i>jènDa</i>	‘young man’
<i>dàlja</i>	‘friend’

/k/ voiceless velar stop occurs in the initial and the medial positions

<i>kúp</i>	‘testicle’
<i>màkpa</i>	‘bride groom’

/g/ voiced velar stop occurs in the initial and the medial positions

<i>gaká</i>	‘grand father’
<i>singé</i>	‘lion’

/ph/ aspirated voiceless bilabial stop occurs only in the initial positions.

<i>phèp</i>	‘come’
-------------	--------

/th/ aspirated voiceless alveolar stop occurs only in the initial positions

<i>tha</i>	‘horse’
------------	---------

/Th/ aspirated voiceless retroflex stop occurs only in the initial positions

<i>Tha</i>	‘bird’
------------	--------

/ch/ aspirated voiceless palatal stop occurs in the initial position.

<i>chou</i>	‘sister’s husband’
-------------	--------------------

/kh/ aspirated voiceless velar stop occurs only in the initial positions

<i>kha</i>	‘snow’
------------	--------

/C/ voiceless palatal affricate occurs only in the initial positions

Cóco 'brother'

/s/ voiceless alveolar fricative occurs in the initial and the medial positions

sa 'soil'
siM 'wood'
mési 'buffalo'

/z/ voiced alveolar fricative occurs in the initial and the medial positions

zìk 'leopard'
khezér 'fever'

/S'/ voiceless palatal fricative occurs in the initial and the medial positions

S'a 'meat'
kàS'a 'deer'

/h/ voiceless glottal fricative occurs only in the initial position

hàmpum 'female'

/m/ bilabial nasal occurs in all three positions.

mérab 'flame'
dìM ma 'ground'
nám 'weather'

/n/ alveolar nasal occurs in the initial and the medial positions

námkha 'sky'
kani 'where'

/M/ velar nasal occurs in all three positions.

Míma 'sun'
MacùM ma 'spinster'
siM 'wood'

/l/ alveolar lateral occurs in all three positions.

<i>lám</i>	‘road’
<i>cilám</i>	‘lightening’
<i>rùl</i>	‘snake’

/r/ alveolar trill occurs in all three positions.

<i>rìbcaM</i>	‘shade’
<i>khyarom</i>	‘ice’
<i>kór</i>	‘jungle cat’

/w/ bilabial semivowel occurs in the medial and final positions

<i>dàwa</i>	‘moon’
<i>iwí</i>	‘daughter in laws’ mother’
<i>rìw</i>	‘young’

/y/ palatal semivowel occurs in the initial and the medial positions

<i>yáku</i>	‘wives’ brother’
<i>piyú</i>	‘calf’

2.3 MAJOR ALLOPHONIC DISTRIBUTIONS

The allophonic distribution of vowels and consonants are shown below.

Vowels

/i/ High front unrounded vowel has two allophones [I] and [i]

[I] lower high front unrounded vowel occurs in between the consonants

[rIbcaM] / rìbcaM / ‘shade’

[i] occurs elsewhere

/e/ mid high front unrounded vowel has two allophones [E] and [e]

[E] mid low front unrounded vowel occurs between consonants.

[bErmaM] / bermaM / ‘cat’

[e] occurs elsewhere

/a/ low front unrounded vowel has two allophones [a] and [a]

[a] low back unrounded vowel occurs in between consonants

[*dakcìr*] / *dakchìr* / 'mud'

[a] Occurs elsewhere.

/ o / mid high back rounded vowel has two allophones [O] and [o]

[O] mid low back rounded vowel occurs between consonants

[*sOTùk*] / *soTùk* / 'adopted child'

[o] Occurs elsewhere.

Consonants

/ n / alveolar nasal has two allophones [M'] and [n]

[M'] voiced palatal nasal consonant occurs before the palatal stop

[*piM'jDa*] / *pinjDa* / 'cage'

[n] Occurs elsewhere

/l/ alveolar lateral consonant has two allophones [L] and [l]

[L] retroflex lateral consonant occurs initially in the monosyllabic words

[*LuM*] / *luM* / 'air'

[l] Occurs elsewhere.

2.4 CLUSTERS

There are five vowel clusters realised in Sherpa language such as /ou/ , /oi/ , /ue/ , /ai /and /au/

<i>chou</i>	'sister's husband'
<i>soisemc`en</i>	'cattle'
<i>saiyúe</i>	'earth quake'
<i>chyau</i>	'cock'

Consonant clusters are of two ways that is initial two consonant clusters and medial two consonant clusters. The medial two consonant clusters are more.

Initial two consonant clusters

<i>gy-</i>	<i>gyútpa</i>	‘decendents’
<i>ny-</i>	<i>ny`ermu</i>	‘husbands sister’
<i>hl-</i>	<i>hlátipa</i>	‘artist’

Medial two consonant cluster

<i>-kc-</i>	<i>n`ak cupi</i>	‘darkness’
<i>-Mm-</i>	<i>dìMma</i>	‘ground’
<i>-Mr-</i>	<i>k`aMri</i>	‘mountain’
<i>-rp-</i>	<i>c`arpa</i>	‘rain’
<i>-br-</i>	<i>dobru`k</i>	‘pebble’
<i>-Mb-</i>	<i>caM bú</i>	‘river’
<i>-rn-</i>	<i>karma</i>	‘star’
<i>-sy-</i>	<i>Mimásyár</i>	‘sunshine’
<i>-rt-</i>	<i>urtú</i>	‘wind’
<i>-gp-</i>	<i>tigpé du</i>	‘childhood’
<i>-lj-</i>	<i>d`alja</i>	‘friend’
<i>-nb-</i>	<i>y`en ba</i>	‘left handed’
<i>-pt-</i>	<i>cup t`ok</i>	‘beak’
<i>-rw-</i>	<i>pet`o rwa</i>	‘trap’
<i>-rm-</i>	<i>ber m`aM</i>	‘cat’
<i>-rc-</i>	<i>t`or chouk</i>	‘cock roach’
<i>-lz-</i>	<i>bal z`aM</i>	‘spider’
<i>-lb-</i>	<i>balba</i>	‘toad’
<i>-nkh-</i>	<i>men kharj</i>	‘hospital’
<i>-kT-</i>	<i>c`ak Ta</i>	‘match stick’
<i>-rm-</i>	<i>derm`aM</i>	‘plate’
<i>-ls-</i>	<i>ril siM</i>	‘rolling pin’
<i>-lj-</i>	<i>sól ja</i>	‘tea’
<i>-md-</i>	<i>kamden</i>	‘tongs’
<i>-Md-</i>	<i>paMd`en</i>	‘apron’
<i>-nj-</i>	<i>onjú</i>	‘blouse’
<i>-rb-</i>	<i>norbú</i>	‘diamond’
<i>-ks-</i>	<i>c`oksi</i>	‘tool’

2.5 SYLLABLE

There are four categories of syllabic words realised in Sherpa language of which two syllabic words are more.

Monosyllabic	(open)	
vc	<i>il</i>	‘net’
cv	<i>cú</i>	‘water’

Monosyllabic (close)		
cvc	<i>n`am</i>	‘ashes’
cvc	<i>tom</i>	‘great bear’
cvc	<i>ph`uk</i>	‘cave’
Disyllabic (open)		
vcv	<i>urú</i>	‘mothers sister’(younger)
cvc-cv	<i>d`am ba</i>	‘clay’
cc vc-cv	<i>gyút pa</i>	‘descendents’
Disyllabic (close)		
cv –cv	<i>pómak</i>	‘dew’
cv-cvc	<i>méràb</i>	‘flame’
cvc-cvc	<i>d`akcir</i>	‘mud’
Trisyllabic (open)		
cv-cv-cv	<i>migáwa</i>	‘old man’
cv-cvc-cv	<i>naJúMma</i>	‘young (female)’
cvc-cvc-cv	<i>nakc`uppi</i>	‘darkness’
cvc-ccvc-cv	<i>marnyóMma</i>	‘infant’
ccvc- cv- cv	<i>nyenJaMa</i>	‘relatives’
Trisyllabic (close)		
cv-cv-cvc	<i>cipót`ok</i>	‘whirl pool’
cvc-cv-cvc	<i>m`emJéten</i>	‘husbands brother’
cv-ccvc-cvc	<i>bugy`eldáM</i>	‘earth worm’
cvc-cv-ccvc	<i>r`aMmigyúr</i>	‘glow worm’
cvv-cvc-cvc	<i>sois`emcen</i>	‘cattle’
ccvc-cv-cvc	<i>gy`enkutúp</i>	‘marriage’
Tetrasyllabic (open)		
cv-cv-cv-cv	<i>panátini</i>	‘great grand daughter’
cv-cv-cvc-cv	<i>paMíph`akpa</i>	‘boar’
cv-cvc-cvc-cv	<i>putóктоMma</i>	‘insect’
cv-cv-cv-cv	<i>chaMác`ali</i>	‘family’
Tetrasyllabic (close)		
cv-cv-cv-cvc	<i>lúniTi t`up</i>	‘elopment’
ccv-cv-ccv-cvc	<i>nyimá syar`up</i>	‘sun shine’

3. MORPHOPHONEMICS

The alternants of morphemes when they occur with various kinds of suffixes phonological variations take place within the morpheme. The morphophonemics is concerned with those phonological variations. In Lepcha, both the deletion and alternation of consonants and vowels are realized

I. When the main verb joins with the auxiliary verb to form the past tense the first consonant /y/ of the auxiliary verb is dropped

$y > \emptyset$

<i>gals yin</i> go aux vb.	>	<i>gals`in</i>	‘went’
<i>s`et yin</i> kill aux vb.	>	<i>set`in</i>	‘killed’
<i>z`it yin</i> eat aux vb.	>	<i>zítin</i>	‘ate’
<i>lep yin</i> come aux. vb.	>	<i>lepin</i>	‘came’

4. MORPHOLOGY

4.1.1 WORD FORMATION

Definition of word in Sherpa language

In Sherpa, a simple word is defined as one, which is a free form and is capable of taking inflectional or derivational affixes. In Sherpa, a stem by itself can be a word. For example, form like / *khi* / 'dog' is a stem as well as a word form like / *khi diwa* / 'dogs' which is also a word in Sherpa consisted of a stem / *khi* / and suffix / *-diwa* / that is / *khi diwa* / 'those are dogs'.

Word Classes In Sherpa

Word classes in Sherpa are established on the basis of morphological and / or syntactic grounds stem classes in Sherpa can be divided into different groups on the basis of the inflectional endings. Forms, which show identical inflectional behaviour, can be called as form class.

Accordingly Sherpa words are divided into the following groups 1) Nouns 2) Pronouns 3) Adjectives 4) Verbs 5) Adverbs 6) Conjunctions 7) Post positions. These word classes are also broadly grouped in to two categories on the basis whether they are declinables and are indeclinables.

4.1.2 NOUN

In Sherpa there are two types of Nouns available that is, basic nouns and derived nouns. The basic nouns are classified into two categories such as mass nouns and countable . The derived nouns are further classified into verbal noun and word compounding.

Basic Nouns

<i>aMa</i>	'child'
<i>pú</i>	'boy'
<i>pó pa</i>	'father'
<i>chyajum</i>	'bird'
<i>chyau</i>	'cock'
<i>s`up</i>	'belly'
<i>luM</i>	'air'
<i>me</i>	'fire'
<i>bal`op</i>	'flood'
<i>khyákrum</i>	'ice'
<i>c`arpa</i>	'rain'

<i>kyówa</i>	‘husband’
<i>p`ermi</i>	‘wife’
<i>khi</i>	‘dog’
<i>pú</i>	‘boy’
<i>chajuMa</i>	‘bird’

Derived Noun

Some nouns are derived from verbs in Sherpa language. The suffix / *kh`en* / is suffixed with the verb root.

<i>hlát-up</i>	‘to make art’	>	<i>hlati kh`en</i>	‘artisan’
<i>loM-gup</i>	‘to beg’	>	<i>loM kh`en</i>	‘begger’
<i>thik up</i>	‘to paint’	>	<i>thik kh`en</i>	‘painter’
Number				

The number is realised in Sherpa into two categories such as singular and plural. The singular is unmarked and the plural is marked by the suffix / - *tiwa* / .

<i>khí</i>	<i>sui</i>		‘dog barks’
<i>khí</i>	<i>tiwa sui</i>		‘dogs bark’
dog + pl	bark		
<i>tiwá kh`aM ba Michok hóye</i>			‘These are two houses’
pl. house	two are		
<i>tíhi kaM ba tiwá</i>			‘His houses’
his	houses + pl		

Gender

Gender in Sherpa is natural. Both male and female genders for human and non-human are realised by separate forms.

<i>pú</i>	‘son’
<i>p`um</i>	‘daughter’
<i>pópa</i>	‘father’
<i>máma</i>	‘mother’
<i>kyówa</i>	‘husband’
<i>p`ermi</i>	‘wife’
<i>laM</i>	‘bull’

<i>c`uM ma</i>	‘cow’
<i>camú</i>	‘hen’
<i>chyau</i>	‘cock’

Case

There are eight cases identified in Sherpa language such as Nominative, Accusative, Instrumental, Locative, Ablative, Genitive, Sociative and Dative case. The Nominative case has no marker and it is realised by the context.

Nominative case

The nominative case is realised by the subject or context.

<i>ráma</i>	<i>Malá</i>	<i>tòMi</i>	‘Rama sees me’
Rama	me	sees	
<i>làksmi</i>	<i>Malá</i>	<i>tòMi</i>	‘Lakshmi sees me’
Lakshmi	me	sees	

In the sentences /*ráma*/ and /*làksmi*/ are in Nominative case.

Accusative case

The accusative case is realised by the suffix /-la/

<i>ti</i>	<i>aMi´</i>	<i>kýola</i>	<i>tòMi</i>	
the	child	you+acc	see	‘The child sees you’
<i>Ma</i>	<i>ko`Mla</i>	<i>tòMi</i>		
I	he+acc	see		‘I see him’

Instrumental case

This case is realised by the suffix /-thóne/

<i>tihú</i>	<i>thóne</i>	<i>doMbuté</i>	<i>chésuM</i>	
knife+by		tree	cut	
‘The tree was cut by the knife’				
<i>dáh</i>	<i>thóne</i>	<i>chajuM</i>	<i>mate</i>	<i>sé suM</i>
arrow +by		the bird		killed
‘Bird was killed by the arrow’				

Dative case

This case is realised by the suffix /-lá/ and in some places it is unmarked

yóre *kaM bálá* *gyúk*
 you home+to go
 'Go home'

ti *aMá* *tiwá* *dùmrálá* *hòMi*
 the child +pl garden + to come
 'The children come to the garden'

tiwá *làpTálá* *giwí*
 they school +to come
 'They come to school'

Locative case

This case is realised by the suffix /-ràM/ and /-la/

Ma *Me* *khàM ba* *ràM* *hoye*
 I my house + in am is
 'I am in my house'

Ma *yúl l`a* *dékyu*
 I village+in live
 'I live in the village'

Ma *siMla* *laká* *Kiwi*
 I field+in work does
 'I work in the field'

Ablative case

This case is realised by the suffix /-nèsu/ or /-ne/

damaktiwa *doM bu ne* *lumbu yin*
 leaves tree from fall is

doMbú-nèsu *chazùm* *lùm hiwí*
 tree + from bird fall +pr.t.
 'The bird falls from the tree'

kho *thom* *khaM ne* *hoMin* *hoy*
 he city +from come is

‘He is coming from the city’

Sociative case

This case is realised by the suffix / -tàm múlá /

<i>khyo</i>	<i>Matàm múlá</i>	<i>hòM</i>	<i>thùpki</i>
you	I + with	come	could
‘You could come with me’			

<i>Ma</i>	<i>DenzòMla</i>	<i>dawá tàm múlá</i>	<i>gályin</i>
I	sikkim + to	Mr.Dawa with	went
‘I went to sikkim with Mr. Dawa’			

Genitive case

This case is realised by two markers / -e/ and / -ki /

<i>Me</i>	<i>téptiwa</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>hoy</i>	‘My books are here’
my	book + pl	here	are	

<i>khoMki</i>	<i>kàMba</i>	<i>tiwá</i>	‘His houses’
he + case	house	plural.	

Post Position

The post position is realised by different forms which occurs after the noun a few of them are like /teMla, S’yapla, chála, gyaple and khá ne /

<i>bermàM</i>	<i>tèMla</i>	<i>khí</i>	<i>layin</i>	<i>hoy</i>
cat	at	dog	look	aux.vb.
‘The dog looks at the cat’				

<i>khoM</i>	<i>dòMbui</i>	<i>S’yápla</i>	<i>nelok</i>	<i>nok</i>
he	tree	under	sleep	aux. vb.
‘He sleeps under the tree’				

<i>khoM –ki</i>	<i>kàMpa</i>	<i>basTánD</i>	<i>chála</i>	<i>woy</i>
he + gen.case	house	bustand	near	is

‘His house is near busstand’

<i>sita</i>	<i>gyèple</i>	<i>ramá</i>	<i>phèpsom</i>
sita	after	Rama	come +p.t.
‘Sita came after Rama’			

<i>chacùm tíwa</i>	<i>dòM bui</i>	<i>kháne</i>	<i>phùrkui</i>
bird + pl	tree	upon	fly
‘Birds fly upon the tree’			

4.1.3 PRONOUN

There are four types of pronouns realised in sherpa language such as Personal pronoun, Demonstrative pronoun, Interrogative pronoun, and Reflexive pronoun

Personal pronoun

The personal pronoun system in Sherpa language distinguishes for three persons , two numbers and three persons.

Person	Singular	Plural
Ist.person	<i>Ma</i> ‘I’	<i>Míba</i> ‘we’
2 nd . person	<i>khyó</i> ‘you’	<i>khíre</i> you(pl)
3 rd .person	<i>khoë/khoM</i> ‘he’ <i>moe/moraM</i> ‘she’ <i>di</i> ‘it’	<i>tíwa</i> ‘they’

<i>Ma</i>	<i>khyóruMla</i>	<i>tòMi</i>	
I	you + acc. case	see	‘I see you’

<i>Mí ba</i>	<i>khyóruMla</i>	<i>tòMi</i>	
we	you +acc.case	see	‘we see you’

<i>khyó</i>	<i>tíwala</i>	<i>tòMi</i>	
you	they +acc.case	see	‘you see them’

<i>khíre</i>	<i>tiwala</i>	<i>tòMi</i>	
you(pl)	them +acc.	see	‘you(pl)seethem’

<i>khoë</i>	<i>Malá</i>	<i>tòMi</i>	
he	I + acc.case	see	‘he sees me’

<i>kho</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>ho`Mi</i>	
he	here	comes	‘he comes here’
<i>moe</i>	<i>Malá</i>	<i>to`Mi</i>	
she	I +acc.case	see	‘she sees me’
<i>moi</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>ho`Mi</i>	
she	here	come	‘she comes here’
<i>di</i>	<i>chik</i>	<i>yin</i>	
this	dog	is	‘This is a dog’
<i>di</i>	<i>Me+ lakha+ min</i>		
it	my- work+not		‘It is not my work’
<i>tíwa</i>	<i>lapTála giwí/ ho`Miwi</i>		
they	school+case	come	‘They come to school’
<i>tíwa</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>ho`Mi</i>	
they	here	come	‘They come here’

Demonstrative pronoun

The demonstrative pronouns either of proximate or remote types are realised in two numbers that is singular and plural which are shown below

<i>di</i>	‘this / it’			
<i>ti</i>	‘that’			
<i>díwa</i>	‘these’			
<i>tí wa</i>	‘those’			
<i>di</i>	<i>khí</i>	<i>chik yin</i>		‘This is a dog’
this	dog	a is		
<i>ti</i>	<i>khí</i>	<i>chik yin</i>		‘That is a dog’
that	dog	a is		
<i>díwa</i>	<i>ka`M ba</i>	<i>Mi yin</i>		‘These are two houses’
these	houses	two are		
<i>tíwa</i>	<i>cu`M ma</i>	<i>Mi yin</i>		‘Those are two cows’

those cow two are

Interrogative pronouns

The question is realised by two ways that is , by using separate morphemes and also by the intonation which always realised with either auxiliary or with the main verb

kyóre miM kaM yin 'What is your name?'
you name what is

kyó roM kaM sé ye 'What will you eat?'
you+(respect) what eat

khyó roM yul kane laka kiwi
you village which work do
'In which village do you work?'

khò su yin 'who is he?'
he who is

Indefinite pronouns

Indefinite pronouns are realised by a separate morphemes. Like /*suyinaM* / 'some one' / *lala* / 'few' and /*cekzik*/ 'a little'

khiwi naMne suyinaM gálne cunólek cú
among you some one go fetch water
'Let some of you go and fetch water'

lála sàm ba lála Minba nok
few new few old are
'Few are new and few are old'

Ma injí Cèk zik S'é kyu
I english very little know
'I know English very little'

Ma nàmlaM samá che Ji kya S'ewi
I always rice little only a eat
'I eat rice always a little only'

Me aMe óma cèkzik tuMui

My child milk little drink

‘My child drinks very little milk’

tiMsáM mak míla còk péja tiwa baMi S’yuksum

nowadays military+in boys lot joined

‘Lot of boys joined in the military nowadays’

te khi tiwá sùm woy

There dog +pl. three are

‘There are three dogs’

de bermám Mi woy

here cat two are

‘Here are two cats’

Reflexive pronoun

The reflexive pronoun is realised by the marker / -raM / which occurs with the personal pronouns.

ti khi koróM raM lum gál

It dog itself felldown

‘The dog itself felldown’

Mire raM zowu yin

we ourself made aux. vb.

‘We made ourselves’

khore khála khoMkíraM Cú cándi lukup záin

he + the person himself hotwater poured

‘He himself poured water on him’

ti pezá tiwá khòpráraM lénmu lápgàlsuM

children themselves cinema gone

‘Children themselves gone to the cinema’

4.1.4 ADJECTIVES

Adjectives follow the noun in Sherpa language.

koM pu zaMpu cik yin

he boy good one is
 'He is a good boy'

Ma ri`nbu hoy
 I tall am
 'I am tall'

ti muk pa nak pu
 the cloud dark
 'The dark cloud'

Me khàMba Tikpe hoy
 my house small is
 'My house is small'

4.1.5 NUMERAL

There are two types of numerals used in Sherpa language . These are cardinals and ordinals. The cardinal numerals are the primary numerals and the ordinals are the secondary numerals. The Sherpa has decimal numeral system.

Cardinals

<i>ci`k</i>	'one'
<i>Mi</i>	'two'
<i>sù`m</i>	'three'
<i>sí</i>	'four'
<i>Ma´</i>	'five'
<i>Tu`k</i>	'six'
<i>duin</i>	'seven'
<i>ghè`t</i>	'eight'
<i>gú</i>	'nine'
<i>cú</i>	'ten'

The cardinal numerals from eleven to nineteen are formed by adding the base numeral / *cu* / 'ten' with the respective numerals like.

<i>cú + ci`k</i>	= <i>cú`cik</i>	'eleven'
<i>ten + one</i>		
<i>cú + Mi</i>	= <i>cú`Mi</i>	'twelve'

ten + two

The numbers for twenty, thirty, forty, fifty, sixty, seventy, eighty, and ninety are formed by multiplication of the numeral /cu/ ten, which is suffixed with the numeral adjective.

Mi + cu' = Mi'cu 'twenty'

two + ten

su'm + cu' = sumcu 'thirty'

three + ten

The number one hundred is adopted from the Indo-Aryan language /eksou/ 'Hundred'.

Ordinals

To form the ordinal number /-pa/ is suffixed with the respective cardinal number but for the ordinal number 'first' is different. That is, the cardinal number is dropped and a new form is adopted. To denote the ordinal first a separate form /taM/ is available in Sherpa.

taM pao 'first'

Mi'pa 'second'

su'm pa 'third'

Fractions

There are two fractional numbers realised.

cha'sek 'quarter'

pheS'a 'half'

4.2 VERB - MORPHOLOGY

The verb-morphology deals about the different functions of the verbs.

4.2.1.1 FINITE VERB

It is a complete verb and shows the complete action done which are realised through the use of tense, person, gender, and number markers.

<i>khòM</i>	<i>Malá</i>	<i>tòMi</i>	'He sees me'
he	I+acc.case	see	
<i>Ma</i>	<i>Dil</i>	<i>sòM</i>	'I fell down'
I	fall + p.t.		
<i>Ma</i>	<i>tegalin</i>		'I go there'
I	there go + pr.t.		
<i>Mi'ba</i>	<i>kaM bi'</i>	<i>lèpin</i>	'We came on foot'
we	foot + by	come +p.t.	

Tense

Verbs in Sherpa are marked morphologically for tense. The Sherpa verb shows two way opposition for tense . That is past and Non past. The future tense is taken care by the Non past .

Past Tense

The past tense is realised by the suffix / -soM / and /- yin /

<i>khòM</i>	<i>siMchóla</i>	<i>gálsòM</i>	
he	field+to	go + p.t.	
'He went to the field'			
<i>khòM</i>	<i>teri'si'na</i>	<i>ti'Mla</i>	<i>lèyin</i>
I	of all	last	came.
'I came last of all'			
<i>Ma</i>	<i>khaM</i>	<i>mása</i>	
I	said	nothing	
'I said nothing'			
<i>khòM</i>	<i>láne</i>	<i>phép soM</i>	
he	hill	came	
'He came from the hill'			
<i>Ma</i>	<i>thúla</i>	<i>dilsoM</i>	
I	down	fell	
'I fell down'			

khoe cajúm sèt soM
 he bird killed
 'He killed the bird'

Ma kur mèn jimiya
 I robber catch + p.t.
 'I caught the robber'

Non Past (Present , Future Tense)

The present tense is realised by the suffix / - gi / which occurs with the main verb.

khòM de hòMi 'He comes here'
 he here come +pr.t.

mu te Doyin 'She goes there'
 she there go + pr.t.

cacùm tí'wa phu'rgi 'Birds fly'
 bird + pl. fly + pr.t.

In some cases the base verb itself represents the present tense.

khí sui 'The dog barks'
 dog barks

khí tiwá sui 'Dogs bark'
 dog +pl bark

ti mùkpa nàkpu nok 'The cloud is dark'
 the cloud dark is

In some cases the auxiliary verbs are used to denote the present time.

Ma nyèl yin 'I sleep'
 I sleep pr.t.

di khi nyèl yin 'The dog is sleeping'
 this dog sleep is

de bermàM ci`k nok 'Here is a cat'
 here cat one is

khoM te láne woy 'He stands there'
 he there stand + aux vb

mu te láne woy 'She stands there'
 she there stand aux vb

Future Tense

The future tense is realised by the suffixes /-yin/ and /-gi/ which is used for the present tense.

Ma salá mi hòMi
 I tomorrow not come +shall
 'I shall not come tomorrow'

khoM Do yin
 he go p.t.
 'He will go'

Aspect

Aspect is a grammatical category of verb which has nothing to do with the location of an event in time but with its temporal distribution. In Sherpa the present progressive aspect only realised. Which is exemplified below. Present continuous Tense The present continuous tense is realised by the suffix /-kin/. Which occurs with the main verb.

Ma ró kin woy
 I read +ing am
 'I am reading'

ti khi sui kin woy
 the dog bark +ing is
 'The dog is barking'

Ma ró kin mèt
 I read +ing not
 'I am not reading'

Mood

Mood expresses the speaker's point of view about the occurrence of the event. It is the mode or manner which is used to express a statement, command, question or doubt. In Sherpa there are six moods identified such as, Indicative, Imperative, Interrogative, Conditional, Probability and Optative mood.

Indicative Mood

This mood is realised by the statement type sentences.

<i>di</i>	<i>khí</i>	<i>chik</i>	<i>yin</i>	'This is a dog'
this	dog	a	is	

<i>de</i>	<i>khí</i>	<i>chik</i>	<i>woy</i>	'Here is a dog'
here	dog	a	is	

Imperative Mood

The Imperative mood is realised by rising tone of the verb.

<i>yárlaM</i>	'Stand up'
<i>di cók</i>	'Break it'
<i>phar gyúk</i>	'Go there'

Interrogative Mood

The Interrogative mood is realised by questioning. It is realised by separate words.

<i>koyróM</i>	<i>nam</i>	<i>láMui</i>	'When do you get up?'
you	when	get up	

Conditional Mood

The conditional mood is realised by the suffix / -sin /

<i>Ma</i>	<i>depu chuM</i>	<i>sin</i>	<i>Ma sala</i>	<i>hoMu</i>
I	well to	if	I tomorrow	come +will
'If I am well I will come tomorrow'				

<i>Matí</i>	<i>tèMla hotúp</i>	<i>yínsin ti</i>	<i>lakhá</i>	<i>JúksoM</i>
I	supervise	if the	work	damaged
'If I supervise the work it will be damaged'				

Probability Mood

The probability is expressed by a separate marker / -túp, ki /

Ma hoM túpki
I come may
'I may come'

gyá kàrki gyèl túp ki
Indian win may
'May Indian win'

Optative Mood

The optative mood expresses the desire. The modality is realised by the suffix / -Dop /.

horàM yukúp ten la doi Dop
We walk us go let
'Let us go for a walk'

horàM di lakhá yan kie Dop
we this work also do let
'Let us do this work also'

4.2.1.2 NON FINITE VERB

Infinitive

The verb is not conditioned by person and number of its subject. The non-finite verb is realised by the suffix / -ne / in Sherpa language.

ti pumla thèpéchik binsíne Ma thíla lápín
the girl +case book +one give +to I him ask
'I ask him to make her give a book'

láka chik Cal raM do goba
job a find should go to
'One should go to find a job'

Ma Dogòine yin yaM magàl
 I go +had +to vb. but not did
 'I had to go but did not'

Verbal Noun

A verb which function as noun called verbal noun. In Sherpa the suffix / *lokha* / is realised as a verbal noun marker

khoM kří keT ki chemó lokha hóye
 he cricket +acc.case play + vbl.noun. like
 'He is fond of playing cricket'

kri keT Cehèpgha jyok
 cricket playing stop
 'Stop playing cricket'

Ma cikce rokùpla kha hóye
 I peom read + ing like
 'I like reading poetry'

Ma nepáli-ket lapúla kha hóye
 I Nepali language speak like
 'I like speaking Nepali language'

Participle

In Sherpa language to denote the participle the verb takes the suffix / *-ne* /

Ma khòM la gútokne kai gosum
 I he +case waiting became tired
 'I became tired of waiting him'

horú bombúkinge ti pezá thoksoM
 voice hearing the boys woke up
 'Hearing the loud voice the boys woke up'

gó chèmpor dùMne khoM naMla Cuk soM
 gate knock doing he his admission lost
 'Knocking the gate he lost his admission'

4.2.1.3 CAUSATIVE VERB

To realise the causativeness of the verb there are two forms identified such as /cí tin / and /Cúe /

<i>Méki</i>	<i>móla</i>	<i>tèp</i>	<i>tercítin</i>	<i>woy</i>
I	her	book	give + make	aux + vb
'I make her give a book'				

<i>Ma</i>	<i>khòMla</i>	<i>lúcikliM</i>	<i>cítin</i>	<i>woy</i>
I	him	sing +one+sing	made	aux+ vb.
'I made him sing a song'				

<i>Ma tí</i>	<i>aMála</i>	<i>hóma</i>	<i>thu`Múp</i>	<i>Cúewi</i>
I +the	child+case	water	drink +ing	made
'I make the child to drink water'				

<i>Ma</i>	<i>khòMla</i>	<i>arák</i>	<i>thuM úp</i>	<i>Cúe yin</i>
I	him	liquor	drink	make p.t.
'I made her drink liquor'				

4.2.1.4 AUXILIARY VERB

There are three auxiliary verbs realised . such as /woy /, /yin /, and /nòk / for can and should /thùp/ is used in Sherpa language

<i>ti</i>	<i>chik</i>	<i>yim</i>		
this	dog	is		'This is a dog'

<i>ti</i>	<i>khàM ba</i>	<i>yin</i>		
this	house	is		'This is house'

<i>de</i>	<i>bermáM</i>	<i>cik</i>	<i>nok</i>	
here	cat	one	is	'Here is a cat'

<i>Ma</i>	<i>di</i>	<i>lakha</i>	<i>kithupki</i>	
I	the	work	can do	'I can do this work'

<i>Ma</i>	<i>di</i>	<i>dép lòk</i>	<i>thùpki</i>	
I	this	book-read	can do	'I can read this book'

4.2.1.5 NEGATIVE VERB

The negation is realised by the suffixes /ma/, /mi/ and /mo / which occurs with the main verb

Ma sala do mo gosuM
 I on tomorrow go not will not
 'I will not go on tomorrow'

Ma ka`Msi ma kya
 I anything say nothing
 'I said nothing'

tu`gu ma sísa
 this not say
 'Donot say thus'

diwa cík lemú min
 these words good not
 'These are not good words'

te min de ti yinupja
 these not this but these materials
 'Not this one but these'

khoe tilákha kirúp min tho
 he the work should not do
 'He should not do this work'

4.2.1.6 COMPOUND VERB

Either two verbs or noun + verb jointly making a single sense / meaning can be called as compound verb.

jíwa kiwí 'afraid'
 fear doing
seh nók 'asked'
 query done

lom sók 'came'
 come back

4.2.1.7 PASSIVE FORMATION

The passive voice is realised by the suffix / -kih / which occurs with the pronoun.

ti palep Mékih sobu yin
the bread me+by eaten. was
‘The bread was eaten by me’

ti láka Mékih kyabu yin
the work me+by done aux vb(was)
‘The work was done by me’

palep ti Mé kih sóbu min
bread the me+by eaten not
‘The bread was not eaten by me’

4.2.1.8 TRANSITIVITY

The verb which is used with a direct object called transitive verb that is transitive verb which requires an object to complete its meaning and the effect of the action denoted by the verb falls on the subject

khoe cajúm sèkyu ‘He kill the bird’
he bird kill

Mira`M sìM táne lèpin ‘We came by cart’
we cart +in came

Intransitive Verb

A verb which requires no object to express the feeling that is; a verb which does not take direct object.

<i>Mèlokup</i>	‘sleep’
<i>nabu</i>	‘sick’
<i>S’yabu</i>	‘swim’
<i>lapú</i>	‘speak’
<i>yigi´</i>	‘lay’
<i>phirup</i>	‘jump’

<i>hoMúp</i>	‘come’
<i>gùktu</i>	‘wait’
<i>Dop</i>	‘go’
<i>dètup</i>	‘live’

khí sui
dog barks
‘Dog barks’

<i>ca cùm</i>	<i>dòMbu</i>	<i>kháne</i>	<i>phùr kyui</i>
bird	tree	upon	fly
‘Bird fly upon the tree’			

Ma yúlla dèt kyui
I village+in live
‘I live in village’

<i>khoM</i>	<i>dòM bui</i>	<i>Syá pla</i>	<i>nyal</i>	<i>nok</i>
he	tree	under	sleep	aux. vb.
‘He sleeps under the tree’				

4.2.2 ADVERB

Adverb is classified in three types that is Adverb of Place, Adverb of Time, and Adverb of Manner.

Adverb of Place

The Adverb of Place is realised either before or after the noun.

<i>ti</i>	<i>bermám</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>nok</i>
the	cat	here	is
‘Here is the cat’			

<i>thaM</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>det</i>
ground	on	sit
‘Sit on the ground’		

<i>dòMbu ti</i>	<i>lámki</i>	<i>chyok</i>	<i>teM la</i>	<i>hoye</i>
tree	the	road of	side that on	is
‘The tree is on that side of the road’				

Adverb of Time

The Adverb of Time is realised either before or after the noun or pronoun.

salá Ma yúlia Dóyin
tomorrow I village go +will
'Tomorrow I will go to village'

harìn Me yókpuh lakhá kyáwu mèt
today my servant+verb work did not
'Today my servant did not work'

chuCo jihi tiMla phep
o clock 4 of after on come
'Come after 4 o clock'

dãM Ma róbu met
yesterday I read not
'Yesterday I didnot read'

Meram daM lepyin
we yesterday came
'We came yesterday'

Adverb of Manner

The Adverb of Manner is realised before the main verb

koley kyane lap
slow ly speak
'Speak slowly'

keh S'yukgyane málap
sound loudly not + speak
'Do not speak loudly'

Cektiwa CanMmukyáne tih
words neatly write
'Write the words neatly'

4.2.3 PARTICLE

There are four particles identified in Sherpa language. These are Connective, Compulsive and Conditional.

Connective Particle

A particle which function as a connective is called connective particle. The morphemes 'and', 'but' and 'or' are function as Connectives in Sherpa language.

khiraM mira Mi yaMa sum jomne
you number of man two or three together

mo daMraM teh hotupti yaM mo nabu nok
she yesterday there have been but she felt stick

'She would have been there yesterday but she felt sick'

gyúk tàM loM sòk
go and come back
'go and come back'

Conditional Particle

The particles 'if' and otherwise' are realised as conditional particles.

tiweh Mala di térup samba met sin
they me it give + do want not if
'If they do not want give it to me'

nor ti lok misìn khyórki ta duMui
money the return otherwise you beat ing
'Return the money otherwise you will get beating'

Compulsive particle

The forms /goi/ 'had' and /phép raM/ 'must' are realised as Compulsive Particles

Ma Dogói ne yin
I go + had + to vb.
'I had to go'

Mirã Dogói ne yin
 we go+ had + to vb
 ‘we had to go’

khyoraM phèpraM goki
 you must go
 ‘You must go’

The form / *gó khi* / function as a compulsive particle.

horàM MámoraM nyèl gó khi
 we early sleep should
 ‘We should sleep early’

Ma yíkhi chik ThiraM gó khi
 I letter one write should
 ‘I should write a letter’

4.2.4 ECHO FORMATION

A compound whose second member repeats the first with an initial consonant or syllable altered with the general meaning and the like. In Sherpa the phoneme /-s/ begins as a second component and this gives out the meaning of ‘etc.’

khàMpa - saMpa ‘house’ etc
cu - su ‘water’ etc
rikí - siki ‘potato’ etc
déb - sep ‘book’ etc

5. SYNTAX

5.1 WORD ORDER

The word order of Sherpa language is Subject+ Object + Verb (S O V)

<i>khoe</i>	<i>chajyum</i>	<i>setsum</i>
He +verb	bird	killed
Subject	object	verb

‘He killed the bird’

<i>Má ti</i>	<i>khaMbala</i>	<i>díwi</i>
I	house +to	go
subject	object	verb

‘I go to the house’

<i>MíraM</i>	<i>siMáne</i>	<i>lèp yin</i>
we	cart + by	come
subject	object +case	verb.

‘We came by cart’

5.2 DESCRIPTION OF TYPES OF SENTENCES

There are five types of sentences identified in Sherpa language such as Imperative , Interrogative, Negative, Causative and Co-ordinative Sentences.

Imperative sentence

The Imperativeness is realised by the intonation of the verb.

<i>yárlaM</i>	‘stand up’
<i>di chyok</i>	‘Break it’
<i>phar gyúk</i>	‘Go there’

Interrogative sentence

The Interrogativeness is realised by questioning . It is realised by separate morphemes .

<i>koyróM</i>	<i>nam</i>	<i>láMih</i>	‘When do you get up?’	
you	when	get up		
<i>moe</i>	<i>kyóre</i>	<i>num</i>	<i>yin</i>	‘Is she your sister’
she	yours	sister	is	

Negative sentence

The negation is realised by the suffixes /ma/, /mi/, /mo/ and /min/ which occurs with the main verb

Ma sála modòu
I tomorrow not go
'I will not go tomorrow'

Ma kàMsi ma kya
I anything say nothing
'I said nothing'

tu'gu ma sísa
this not say
'Donot say thus'

khoe di tandáke thòpsuM
He +verb it nowhere found
'He found it nowhere'

diwa cíkitiwa lemú min
these words good not
'These are not good words'

di min dewáke yin
this not but these is
'Not this one but these'

khoe di laka kih thupuraM min
he this work do able +should not
'He should not do this work'

Causative sentence

To realise the causativeness of the verb there are two forms identified such as /citìn/ and /Cúe/

Ma mola thep chik ter jiyachu
I she to book a give made
'I make her give a book'

Ma khòMla lúciklìM jiyachu
I him sing +one+sing made aux+ vb.
'I made him sing a song'

Ma tí a Mála hóma thu`M jiyachu
 I +the child+case water drink +ing made
 ‘I make the child to drink water’

Ma khòMla arák thuM jiychu
 I him liquor drink make +p.t.
 ‘I made her drink liquor’

Coordinative Sentence

A conjunctive particle which co-ordinates to make a complete sentence called coordinate sentence.

khoe khachekyabuti khorki hok thoMók
 he smiled he +verb as soon as saw
 ‘as soon as he saw he smiled’

khyorkie na laM na chuMma sim
 you + verb neither bull nor cow catch
 ‘You catch neither bull nor cow’

5.2 DESCRIPTION OF PATTERNS OF SENTENCES

There are three patterns of sentences realised in Sherpa language such as Simple, Complex and Compound.

Simple sentence

Simple sentence is one clause sentence and that is the principal clause. There is no subordinate clause in the simple sentence.

di khí yin ‘This is a dog’
 this dog is

kyóre khaM sirup hoye ‘What did you say?’
 you what say+did is

jinó ma júsa ‘Donot tell a lie’
 lie not tell

teru gyúk ‘Go there’
 there go

sále det 'Sit down'
down sit

yár laM 'Stand up'
up stand

Compound sentence

Two main clause jointly produce a simple sentence called compound sentence.

Míba láMne tam lap yin
we stood and speak +p.t.
'We stood and spoke'

Ma dogó yinyaM na magal
I had to go +p.t. but I not go
'I had to go but I did not go'

CuCau yol síma kho oMoi
office over after he come+will
'He will come after the office is over'

dewa loMnaM minsi khyóre du thàkse hi
money return otherwise you-nom. will get beating
'Return the money otherwise you will get beating'

Complex sentence

The combination of one main clause and one or more subordinate clauses jointly produce a single sentence called complex sentence.

kyoròM tuiCau láraM phèpsiM Mir ã lehwi
you in time come-if we examine
'if you come in time we will examine the machine'

mor ã d ã tér ã woy yam mo naine dèt suM
yesterday she there aux.vb. but she sick felt
'she would have been there yesterday but she felt sick'

Ma kirmú JoM sin sála Ma hóMi
I well come if tomorrow I come will
'If I am well tomorrow I will come'

BIBLIOGRAPHY & REFERENCES

- | | | |
|---------------------------|------|---|
| Acharya K.P. | 1983 | <i>Lotha Grammar</i> , C.I.I.L. Grammar Series No.10 |
| Benedict, Paul K. | 1972 | <i>Sino-Tibetan: A Conspectus</i> . J.A.Matisoff(Ed.) |
| B.Bernard and G.L. Trager | 1972 | <i>Out line of Linguistic Analysis</i> , New Delhi Oriental Books, Reprint Corporation. |
| Giridhar. P.P. | 1980 | <i>Angami Grammar</i> , Mysore, CIIL Grammar Series No.1 |
| Grierson, George Abraham. | 1967 | <i>Linguistic Survey of India. Vol. III Part –I Tibeto-Burman Family, Himalayan Dialects, North Assam Groups</i> , Delhi, Motilal Banarasidas. |
| Jones, Daniel, | 1960 | <i>An Outline of English Phonetics</i> , Cambridge, England w. Hefner and Sons Ltd. |
| Mahapatra, B.P. & et.al | 1989 | <i>The Written Languages of the World: A Survey of the Degree and Modes of Use</i> . Government of India, New Delhi and Laval University Press, Canada. |
| Stephen A.Watters. | 1999 | <i>‘Tonal contrasts in Sherpa’ in Topics in Napalese Linguistics</i> , Royal Nepal Academy, Kathmandu. |
| Y.P.Yadav and W.W.Glower | 1999 | <i>Topics in Nepalese Linguistics</i> , Royal Nepal Academy, Kathmandu |
| Census of India | 1981 | <i>Population by language/mother tongue, C-7 Tables, Part IV B(i)</i> , Government of India, Delhi. |
| Census of India | 1961 | <i>Language Tables, Vol.I part II-C(ii)</i> , Governemnt of India, Delhi. |
| Census of India | 1991 | <i>Language Tables, Vol.I part II-C(ii)</i> , Governemnt of India, Delhi. |
| Census of India | 1991 | <i>Bilingualism and Trilingualism, Table C-8 Part IV B (i) (b)</i> , Governemnt of India, Delhi. |

SHERPA TEXT

kalak hamúkih rul nàkpu set chú
crow hen snake black killed how
How the crow-hen killed the black snake.

yalka tibe khyàpne hotúp chyaMchùp S'iMdòM chíki kittú kalàk hamúk
branches spreading pr.t banyan tree a+of among crow hen

toM habúk chik detúp nok chaMkí naMla karjyú tikpe jyíchok
and crow (husbnd) a lived pr.t nest+of in egg small four.

hotúp tíla khowe niMrúhi gone suMkhyóp kitnòk
were which they are great are with guarded to do

In the nest were four little eggs which guarded with great care.

ti SíMdóM ki khoktòM naMla rul nàkpu chik detúp tela kalàk
that tree of trunk in the snake black a lived whom crow

nyikar céme jíwa kírùp nok
both greatly fear + ed pr. t

In a hollow of that tree-trunk lived a black snake whom the crows feared greatly.

kalàk hamúki tuh tàkpàr moi Karjyú tiwa choh tàMsinàM rul nàkpu tihí
crow hen+pr time every her egg s many laid snake black his

kyála kolékin chàMla lèpne tiwa téri sap nòk.
up slowly nest come them all ate pr.t

Every time the crow-hen laid her eggs the snake crawled up to the nest and ate them up..

“ti rul nàkpe dítu lahaM nye Karjyútiwa sósìM Ma di
the snake black+verb this+time also my eggs eats I his

dòMbu ne jyèn thakrìMbu dasár dho goh
tree from any longer place refuse.

“If the black snake eats up my eggs this timealso, I will refuse to live in this tree any longer.

orkìh khènme kyáne raMki chaM khèn yinyàm sachya yènla
we must our nest somewhere place next

joràm gohkyu “ sine kalak hamúkh raMki habúkla sasuM.
build+must like crow hen her husband said

We must build our nest somewhere else,” said the mother bird to her husband.

orùm déru tuh rìMbu ne detùp yin
we here time long for lived is

“We have lived here a long time”,

Ma nye khàmBa ne théni jyen Dasá dèt dop kètcha met” sine
I my home to desert elsewhere place live go bear not like

hábuk tihisasùM.
husband said.

I can’t bear to desert my home and go to live elsewhere,” said the crow.

tiwá pelàp kít yin hotùp kàpla, hiss síyin S’yuk dah chik khówa i Cèk
they talk + ing were while hiss +ing loud sound a them just

hòkne tiwéh kohsùM.
below they heard.

While they were talking, they heard a hissing sound just below them.

S’yùk dáhi tondàk khówe hakósuM
loud sound+of meant they knew

They know what the sound it meant.

khówa rokmépar raMki chàMki karjyútiwa sùMúp chyókla dètnok
they helplessly their nest+of eggs protect trying+to sat

They sat helplessly in their nest trying to protect their eggs.

ti rul nàkpu kyála jyúne tama chaMki Cá la lep
the snake black higher crept and nest+of near closer came.

The black snake crept higher and closer to the nest.

hiss sirúp S'yúkda chiki gone ti rùlki kalàtìwála phètup chamnòk.
 hiss loud a with the snake+of birds strike tried

Then with a loud hiss he tried to strike at the birds.

ti kalàktìwála jiwe phùrne gal.
 the birds terror flew away

Who flew away in terror.

ti rul nàkpe reh-reh kin ti karjyútéwa téri
 the snake black+vr one by one with the eggs all

khímu taMsùM.
 swallow+ed.

One by one ,the black snake swallowed the eggs.

ti phamátewé raMki ChàM toMba jobúaMyinúp hakóyĩ
 the parents their nest empty to+find+it knowing

tiwá semkyóni loM lep.
 they sadly back come

The parents came back sadly to their nest knowing well that they would find it empty.

di rul Mènpa mépa tòMgup thap chik nye
 this snake murderous destroy to way a I

kíhraM gokyu” sine kalàki sasùM.
 to+find+ must like crow+of said

The crow said,”I must find a way to destroy this murderous snake.

“khyoraM Cùkyã khótaM múla tàkpar thàpse kih thùpki
 you how him+ with ever fight do can+ verb

khoi sadéplu chéme metléwa hóye”, sine khoi moròMki sem kyóne
 his sting so deadly is like his wife despair

sikyàsuM.
 said.

“How can you ever fight him? His sting is so deadly,”said his wife in despair.

nye chedènyíMtok , semdùk kih mógo, chenòk tukdrùl la yaM
my dear worry do don't most poison+ ous

Mètpa toMup chúthap chèmet hotùp daljá chik nye thópu hóye ,”
destroy who cunning enough have friend a I+verb got is

sine kaláki sasàM tama kho phùrni khóre chéden dàlja jakàl
like crow+of said and he flew his dear friend jackal

ti dékup dóMbu jyénki S'yápla phùrni galsùM.
the lived tree another under flew off.

“Don’t you worry, my dear, I’ve got a friend who is cunning enough to sdestroy the most poisonous of snakes,”said the crow,and off he flew to another tree under which lived his dear friend,the jackal.

jakál kíh chùkyǎ tákpar rulki karjyútiwa sóbu tho sínma, khoe
jackal how always snake eggs ate heard when he

sikyásuM nye dàlja jíwa kirúp manàM, nyènpa taM dotnám kirùptiwála
said my friend fear have don't cruel and greedy those+who

takpar nyenpái thámai múla S'yòrkyu.
always bad end with meet

When the jackal heard how the snake always ate up the eggs,he said,”My friend, those who are cruel and greedy always meet with a bad end.

nye tila mètpa tóMúp chàrji chik gotàMporàM samsínup hye.
I've him destroy to plan a already thought have(pr)

Have no fear,I’ve already thought of a plan to destroy him.

“oye, Mála suMtàM ti khaM yin,” sine kalàki lap.
oh me tell it what is like crow said

“Oh,do tell me what it is,” said the crow.

tama ti jakal konsínuptám chènúbula jib lah nok.
then the jackal overheard might fear +ed

Then the jackal, fearing he might be overheard,whispered to his friend what he should to destroy the snake.

tiyínsa jakalk i khoi daljála rul nàkpu ti métpa tòM úp chuti
 so jackal his friend+to snake black the destroy to idea his
 khohe khaM kíh góba ti satàmla sikyàsúM.
 do what should the whisper+said (whispered)

The crow flew back to his wife and told her about the plan.

kálak ti khoi permi chála phurne lep tama móla chyàrji kòrla
 crow the his wife to flew come and her plan about
 sasúM di chék kokpúlàka yinsinahaM, sine kalàki sasúM.
 said it rather risky is like crow+do said

It is rather risky,” said the crow.

“oraM chémél cháyambukyàni kih gókyu
 we very carefully be will+should
 “We’ll have to be very carefull”.

“Me karjyú suMúp tonla Ma khaM yìnyaM kih, ” sine ti c hey
 my egg save to I anything do like the bird

hamúki nyiM bompúgone sasúM.
 mother bravely

“I’ll do anything to save my eggs,” said the mother bird bravely.

tihíkisa tíba ti lùMbai gyàlbui phódaM thàka phùrni gal.
 so they the country king+of place towards flew off

So off they flew towards the palace of the king of the country.

ti phódaM di tíwa détui dòmBu ne thári métup n ok
 the palace they lived tree from far not was

The palace was not far from the tree in which they lived

ti phòdaM naMla choh chenpó chik tiwèh thoMup tila gyàlbui
 the palace in the pond big a they approached where royal

naMki hampùmtiwé jubúthuyin.
 royal ladies bath

They approached a big pond in the palace garden where they saw the royal ladies having a bath.

tiwe ràMki serki thìkri, yumútik dìkra taM hótuṗ chik tiwèh thoM
were a the saw the their golden chain necklaces and

jyen gyènjatiwa ti chohi dàmla pinjyàM nok.
other jewellery the pond+of edge laid had

They had laid their golden chains: pearl necklaces and other jewellery on the edge of the pond.

ti kalak hamúki hòkla phur gálne mohí chúptókih serki thìkri chik
the crow mother down flew her beak+for golden chain a

thúni khùr tama mo détuṗ tihi dòMbu thaká kolèkin phurùṗ S'yùsuM
picked and she lived that tree towards slowly flying started

The mother bird flew down, pick up a gold chain in her beak and started flying towards the tree in which she lived.

ti chyaṗjùmki serki thìkri thúh ni phurùṗ ti phodàMki gosùMtiwe
the bird+do golden chain with the flying the palace guards

thoM siMma tiwe pùMchok láhne chàyjumlá S'arsuM.
saw when they clubs took birds+the chased

When the palace guards saw the bird flying off with the gold chain, they took up their clubs and chased the bird.

ti chàyjùmki thìkri ti dòMbu chiki khòktuM naMla lumtàMup tiweh
the bird +do chain the tree a hollow into drop the

thoMsuM.
saw

They saw the bird drop the chain into the hollow of a tree.

gósuM chik ki thìkri ti thopói tèntu dòMbui khála jèksuM.
guard a do chain the get to tree+the up climbed

One of the guards climbed in the tree to get the chain.

thìkri ti thenúp tona ti khòktuM naMla khoi làkpa gyáp dosiM, rul nàkpu
chain the get to the hole inside his hand put as snake black

chik khála tihl hótup.
a up curled+pr

As he put his hand inside the hope to get the chain, he saw a black snake curled up there.

khóe thòMsuM táma khóe ràMki puM taMmúla S'yúk chik gyápnòk tama
he saw and he his club with hard a stroke and

khoe rul ti set suM. tama ti rul nànpui tháma ti tinok chyMsuM
he(pl) snake the killed. and the snake black+of and the that do

with one hard stroke of his club he killed it and that was the end of the black snake.

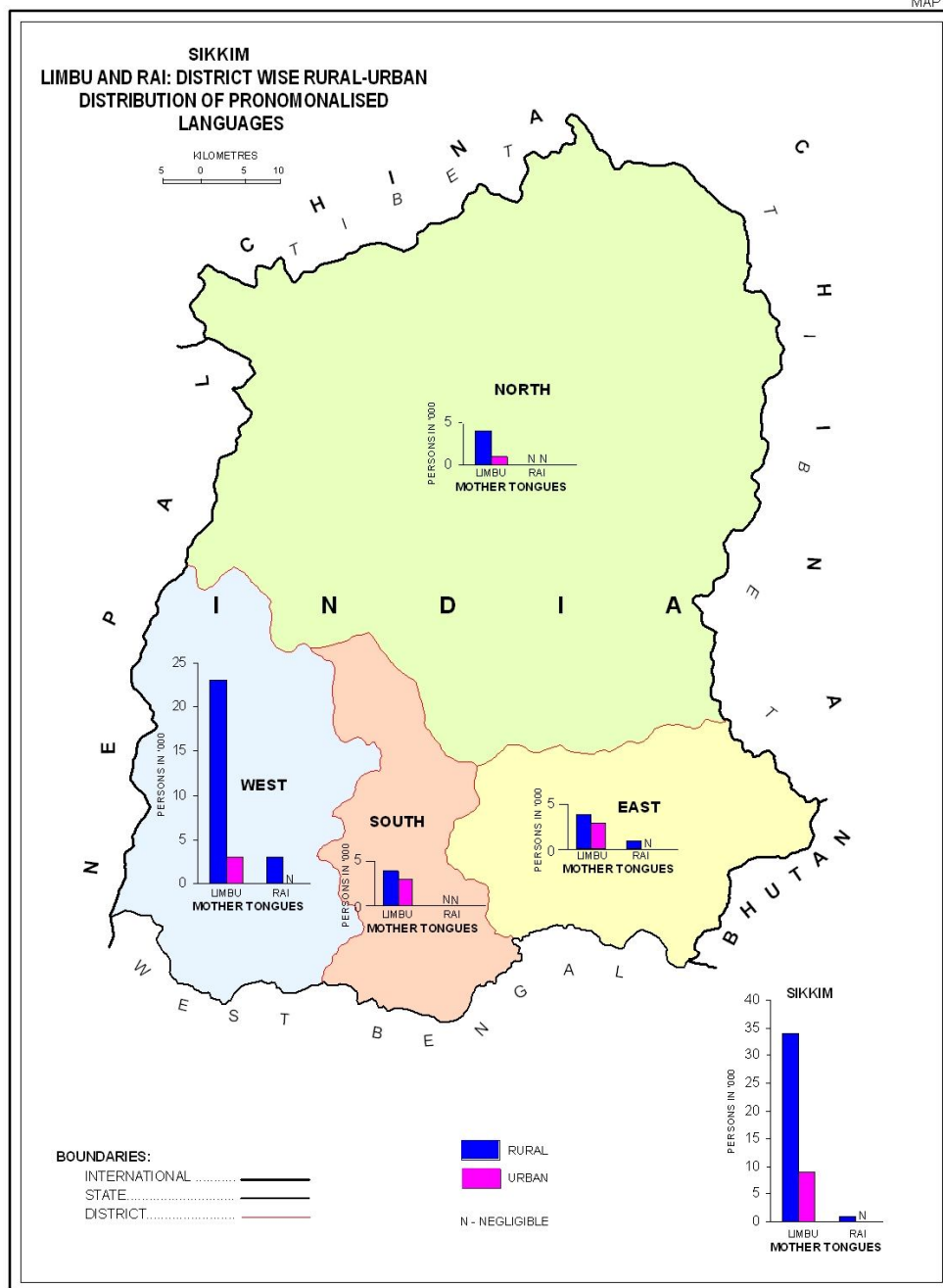
tama tenéfar ti kalàk habúk taM hamúk kirmu kyáne doMbu tilá
and afterwards the crow and crow hen happy+ ly tree that

détsuM tama khówai chàpruk tiwa baMi chùMsuMo.
lived an they have babycrow +s many to born

The crow and the crow hen lived in that tree happily afterwards and had many little baby crow.

-----X-----

PRONOMINALISED HIMALAYAN LANGUAGES
LIMBU - RAI



Based upon Survey of India map with the permission of the Surveyor General of India.

© Government of India, copyright 2008.

LIMBU

P.PERUMALSAMY

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 FAMILY AFFILIATION

Grierson (1909) while classifying Tibeto Burman languages points out that a long series of dialects spoken in the central and lower Himalayas will be classed together under one group called Himalayan languages. The early experiences of Hodgson helped him to come to this conclusion. Grierson further divides the Himalayan languages into two groups namely simple or non-pronominalized and complex or pronominalized. Limbu, the language under description, is a member of eastern sub group of Himalayan languages; it is having complex pronominalizing features. It is one of the members of Tibeto Burman sub family.

1.2 LOCATION

Limbu speakers are mainly concentrated in the West district of Sikkim state. They are also found in considerable number in the states such as Assam, West Bengal etc. In West Bengal, their presence is mainly felt in Darjeeling district.

1.3 SPEAKERS STRENGTH

Language-Mother Tongue

The speakers' strength of Limbu in respect of language / mother tongue and bilingualism/trilingualism as per 2001 Census publication is given below.

Language

LIMBU	TOTAL	M	F	RURAL	M	F	URBAN	M	F
INDIA	37,265	19,599	17,666	36,303	19,021	17,282	962	578	384
Sikkim	34,292	18,025	16,267	33,693	17,703	15,990	599	322	277

Mother Tongue

LIMBU	TOTAL	M	F	RURAL	M	F	URBAN	M	F
INDIA	28,127	14,714	13,413	27,358	14,243	13,115	769	471	298
Sikkim	25,412	13,282	12,130	24,969	13,045	11,924	443	237	206

1.4 BILINGUALISM

As returned in 2001 Census, out of 34,292 Limbu speakers in Sikkim 24,863 are the bilinguals in the following languages in descending order.

Sl.No	Language of Bilingualism	Total	Male	Female	Language of Trilingualism among the Bilingualism	Total	Male	Female
1	Nepali	21675	11413	10262	i.Hindi	2285	1447	838
					ii.English	1166	717	449
					iii.Bhotia	65	47	18
					iv.Lepcha	64	35	29
					v.Rai	8	2	6
					vi.Sherpa	6	2	4
					vii.Tamang	4	4	0
					viii.Tibetan	2	1	1
					ix.OTHERS@	18	9	9
2	English	2104	1314	790	i.Hindi	948	591	357
					ii.Nepali	820	513	307
					iii.Bhotia	4	3	1
					iv.Tibetan	3	3	0
					v.OTHERS@	6	5	1
3	Hindi	992	605	387	i.Nepali	388	240	148
					ii.English	257	154	103
					iii.Lepcha	3	1	2
					iv.OTHERS@	5	2	3
4	Lepcha	34	17	17	i.Nepali	30	14	16
5	Bhotia	21	16	5	i.Nepali	9	8	1
					ii.Tibetan	1	0	1
					iii.OTHERS@	1	0	1
6	Sherpa	7	4	3	i.Nepali	6	3	3
7	Tamang	5	2	3	i.Nepali	5	2	3
8	Tibetan	2	0	2	0	0	0	0
9	Total of Others#	23	19	4	English	1	1	0

Accordingly 72.50% are bilinguals among the Limbu speakers of Sikkim.

Under the languages of Bilingualism the clubbed Total of Others comprise of Bilingual speakers strength in relevant languages below 100. But in the state of Sikkim the languages like Nepali, Bhutia, Limbu, Lepcha, Sherpa, Tibetan, Tamang and Rai are the most important languages. So, the bilingual strength in respect of these languages, even if it is below 100 speakers, have been taken separately and not clubbed under "Total of Others"

@ Under the head Trilingualism the clubbed Others comprise of trilingual speakers strength in relevant languages below 100. But in the state of Sikkim the languages like Nepali, Bhutia, Limbu, Lepcha, Sherpa, Tibetan, Tamang and Rai are the most important languages. So, the trilingual strength in respect of these languages, even if it is below 100 speakers, have been taken separately and not clubbed under "Others"

1.5 SOCIOLINGUISTIC SETTING

The Limbus call themselves as Yakthumba, which means differently as yak herders, fort defenders, hardworking persons etc. The Limbus are called as 'Lum' by Lepchas. Bhutias call them as 'Tsong'. The original homeland of Limbus was supposed to be in the Tsang province of Tibet from where they had migrated to eastern Nepal prior to their advent to Sikkim.

Limbus are divided into a number of exogamous patrilineal groups, such as Nambang, Thagim, and Libang etc. These groups are totemic or territorial. Community endogamy and group exogamy are the marriage rules.

Land is the main resource for a Limbu livelihood. Land is owned at individual level. Though traditionally pastoralism and animal husbandry were their occupation presently they are engaged in terrace cultivation as well.

Regarding religion the Limbus follow their own traditional belief. They do not have any deity or image of the God. Rather they worship the supreme spirit called 'Yumasam'. Along with this religious tradition they celebrate *Makara Sankranti*, *Durga Puja*, *Diwali* etc. of Hindu religion.

In Sikkim the Limbus are mainly concentrated in the west district. Scantly they found in the south, east and north districts.

The Limbus have a rich oral tradition. The folk songs are sung by both men and women.

[The source of the information furnished in this section is mainly from Singh, K.S., *Sikkim*, Vol.XXXIX, 1993 (Calcutta) and *The Scheduled Tribes*, 2001 (Oxford) Under People of India Series, Anthropological Survey of India]

Limbu as a language is used in different domains of the society as mentioned below :

Limbu Language in Home Domain

In the home domain, it is the main language for communication with family members. It is also used to communicate with relatives.

Limbu in intra and inter communication levels

In the intra communication level, it is used in between the community members outside their home domain. In the inter communication network, they interact in Nepali language with other community members. Similarly in market and other common places, they use Nepali language. In school, English is the medium of instruction. In offices and other common places Nepali is found in use since it is the superposed variety in the state of Sikkim.

Limbu Language in Education

The last king of Sikkim, Shri Palden Thondup Namgyal of Namgyal dynasty granted permission to introduce Limbu language as one of the languages to be taught in schools in 1968. But the preparation of primers was not completed till 1979. (Subba, 1999)

By the end of 1979, text books upto Fifth standard were prepared with the active involvement of Shri B.B.Subba and Shri Chandra Mangyung who were appointed as text book writers by the Sikkim Government. In the year 1980, text books up to Eighth standard were prepared.

In 1981, the language bill, granting Limbu language a status on par with Nepali, Bhutia and Lepcha languages, was passed on the Sikkim Assembly and subsequently approved by the Governor.

By 1981, Limbu was taught up to class X. In 1984, Central Board of Secondary Education granted permission to teach Limbu language up to class XI and XII.

Limbu Language in Official and Literary Use

Lot of activities have been taking place for the development of Limbu language by Government and Non-governmental organisations. It has its own orthography called ***Sirijangga***, which is the indigenous name of Limbu script.

In All India Radio, Limbu language programmes were introduced in 1985 with the time allotment of 15 minutes. The programme was mostly folk songs. In 1994-95, the time slot was increased to 30 minutes and the programmes were folk songs, talks and news etc.

The Sikkim Government is publishing a weekly newspaper called 'Sikkim Herald' in all the recognised languages of Sikkim. Based on this, for the benefit of Limbu speakers, the newspaper is being published in Limbu script as well along with other language scripts. A yearly magazine 'Emeyt nasung (Luck)' is being published by a non-governmental organization called Limbu Literary Publication Association.

Efforts of preparing dictionaries have also been noticed in this language. In 2003, Nepal's 'Nepal Rajkiya Praja-Pratishtan' has brought out a trilingual dictionary (Limbu-

Nepali-English). The Sikkim Government has also brought out one dictionary containing 6000 words approximately entitled 'Yakthung-Pene-Mikphula' (Limbu-Nepali-English) in 1980.

Novels, folk songs and short stories are also written in the Limbu language with the Limbu script. Among the writers, mentioned may be made of Mr.P.S.Subba and Mr.B.B.Subba and so on.

1.6 REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Grierson (1909) in his Linguistic Survey of India report placed Limbu language in pronominalized eastern sub group of Himalayan languages based on the features commonly shared with other languages of the same group such as Dhimal, Thami, Yakha, Khambu, Bahing, Rai and Vayu. Grierson presented the skeleton grammar of Limbu language besides the history and the speakers strength. The pronominal prefixes and suffixes added with the verb have been discussed elaborately. However, the phonological and syntactical features are least discussed.

Recently scholars have tried to describe the Limbu language in the light of modern linguistic principles (George Van Driem, 1987; Chowdhury Krishna, 1967). Studies on descriptive and sociolinguistic traits of Limbu language have been reported by various scholars (George Van Driem, Boyd Michaelovsky and Jeff Webster, 1999).

2.PHONOLOGY

2.1 PHONEMIC INVENTORY

Limbu comprises of 28 phonemes out of which 5 are vowels and twenty-three are consonants.

2.1.1 SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

Vowels

	Front	Back
High	<i>i</i>	<i>u</i>
Mid	<i>e</i>	<i>o</i>
Low		<i>a</i>

Consonants

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
	vl. vd.	vl. vd.	vl. vd.	vl. vd.	vl. vd.
Unaspirated	<i>p b</i>	<i>t d</i>	<i>c j</i>	<i>k g</i>	
Plosive					
Aspirated	<i>p^h</i>	<i>t^h</i>	<i>c^h</i>	<i>k^h</i>	
Nasal	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>		<i>M</i>	
Trill		<i>r</i>			
Fricative		<i>s z</i>	<i>S'</i>		<i>h</i>
Lateral		<i>l</i>			
Approximant	<i>w</i>		<i>y</i>		

2.2 PHONEMIC DESCRIPTION AND DISTRIBUTION

Vowels

/ i / The high front unrounded vowel *i* occurs in initial, medial and final positions.

Initial

/ <i>imrikpa</i> /	‘glow worm’
/ <i>igla</i> /	‘music’

Medial

/ <i>hikke</i> /	‘wind’
/ <i>wagikna</i> /	‘bat’

Final

/ <i>neyendi</i> /	‘gum’
/ <i>wati</i> /	‘jewel’

/ e / The mid high front unrounded vowel *e* occurs in initial, medial and final positions.

Initial

/ <i>ecci</i> /	‘eight’
/ <i>eplabe</i> /	‘fan’

Medial

/ <i>yakpek</i> /	‘cliff’
/ <i>yema</i> /	‘daughter’

Final

/ <i>me</i> /	‘tail’
/ <i>soMbe</i> /	‘chest’

/ a / The low back unrounded vowel *a* occurs in initial, medial and final positions.

Initial

/ <i>asek</i> /	‘python’
/ <i>ambe</i> /	‘mango’

Medial

/ <i>sawan</i> /	‘birth’
/ <i>lap</i> /	‘wing’

Final	/ S'a /	‘son’
	/ twaba /	‘fore head’

/ o / The mid back rounded vowel o occurs in initial, medial and final positions.

Initial	/ oMegwa /	‘baby’
	/ ondigeK /	‘lizard’
Medial	/ kewok ^h /	‘grab’
	/ soma /	‘itch’
Final	/ hukc ^h o /	‘finger’
	/ nebo /	‘nose’

/ u / The high back rounded vowel u occurs in initial, medial and final positions.

Initial	/ up ^h ut /	‘fist’
	/ uhella /	‘red’
Medial	/ kesuppa /	‘sour’
	/ sumsi /	‘three’
Final	/ taMk ^h u /	‘tobacco’
	/ c ^h uktu /	‘blanket’

Consonants

/ p / The voiceless bilabial stop p occurs in initial, medial and final positions.

Initial	/ pisuwa /	‘cave’
	/ pereMwa /	‘childhood’
Medial	/ lupli /	‘earthquake’

Final	<i>/ nupa /</i>	‘son in law’s father’
	<i>/ wat^hup /</i>	‘flood’
	<i>/ lap /</i>	‘wing’

/ t / The voiceless alveolar stop *t* occurs in initial, medial and final positions.

Initial	<i>/ tok /</i>	‘body’
	<i>/ toksa /</i>	‘beast’
Medial	<i>/ wati /</i>	‘jewel’
	<i>/ loto /</i>	‘bread’
Final	<i>/ lap^het /</i>	‘leech’
	<i>/ semat /</i>	‘urine’

/ c / The voiceless palatal stop *c* occurs in initial, medial and final positions.

Initial	<i>/ copta /</i>	‘habit’
	<i>/ cipma /</i>	‘hatred’
Medial	<i>/ nakca /</i>	‘pen’
	<i>/ asikcikpa /</i>	‘stingy’

/ k / The voiceless velar stop *k* occurs in initial, medial and final positions.

Initial	<i>/ ket^hukpa /</i>	‘patient’
	<i>/ ku /</i>	‘honey’
Medial	<i>/ c^huktu /</i>	‘blanket’
	<i>/ kekwa /</i>	‘doll’
Final	<i>/ ondigek /</i>	‘house lizard’
	<i>/ tok /</i>	‘meal’

/ m / The bilabial nasal *m* occurs in initial, medial and final positions.

Initial

Medial	<i>/ maMsewa /</i>	‘worship’
	<i>/ meprama /</i>	‘flute’
Final	<i>/ samyaM /</i>	‘gold’
	<i>/ napma /</i>	‘siege’
	<i>/ k^hma /</i>	‘case’
	<i>/ najam /</i>	‘respect’
	<i>/ t^hum /</i>	‘district’

/ n / The alveolar nasal *n* occurs in initial, medial and final positions.

Initial	<i>/ namji /</i>	‘shade’
	<i>/ nipma /</i>	‘read’
	<i>/ niMmi /</i>	‘enemy’
Medial	<i>/ yenam /</i>	‘weather’
	<i>/ pona /</i>	‘garland’
	<i>/ harandi /</i>	‘turmeric’
Final	<i>/ canen /</i>	‘fast :not taking food’
	<i>/ lap^hun /</i>	‘new moonlight’

/ M / The velar nasal *M* occurs in initial, medial and final positions.

Initial	<i>/ Masi /</i>	‘six’
	<i>/ Ma /</i>	‘fish’
Medial	<i>/ yeMa /</i>	‘sand’
	<i>/ niMe /</i>	‘oil’
	<i>/ maMyokna /</i>	‘altar’
Final	<i>/ yaM /</i>	‘money’
	<i>/ puM /</i>	‘flower’

/ s / The voiceless alveolar fricative *s* occurs in initial and medial positions.

Initial	<i>/ siMbuM /</i>	‘trunk’
	<i>/ sata /</i>	‘butter’
	<i>/ sumbok /</i>	‘navel’
Medial	<i>/ telase /</i>	‘banana’

/ *asek* / ‘python’

/ *l* / The alveolar lateral *l* occurs in initial and medial positions

Initial	/ <i>la</i> /	‘moon’
	/ <i>lekwa</i> /	‘mud’
	/ <i>luM</i> /	‘stone’
Medial	/ <i>pala</i> /	‘spear’
	/ <i>tolisiM</i> /	‘date palm’
	/ <i>citlaM</i> /	‘pillar’

/ *w* / The bilabial approximant *w* occurs in initial and medial positions. However in the final position it is noted very scantily.

Initial	/ <i>wat^hin</i> /	‘egg’
	/ <i>wad^han</i> /	‘stream’
	/ <i>wahaM</i> /	‘river’
Medial	/ <i>senjoMwa</i> /	‘liquor’
	/ <i>tap^henwaba</i> /	‘wicked’
	/ <i>towa</i> /	‘hammer’
	/ <i>owak</i> /	‘well water’
Final	/ <i>naMlow</i> /	‘winnowing basket’

/ *y* / The palatal approximant *y* occurs in initial and medial positions

Initial	/ <i>yema</i> /	‘daughter’
	/ <i>yenam</i> /	‘weather’
	/ <i>yum</i> /	‘salt’
Medial	/ <i>seyandi</i> /	‘finger nail’
	/ <i>muyomba</i> /	‘beard’
	/ <i>muyi</i> /	‘blessing’

/ *r* / The alveolar trill *r* occurs in medial and final positions

Medial

<i>/ mura /</i>	‘mouth’
<i>/ pari /</i>	‘comb’
<i>/ c^hori /</i>	‘stick’

Final	<i>/ tor /</i>	‘caste’
-------	----------------	---------

/ b / The voiced bilabial stop *b* occurs in initial, medial and final positions

Initial	<i>/ bampyo /</i>	‘brinjal’
Medial	<i>/ suba /</i>	‘rat’
	<i>/ k^heba /</i>	‘tiger’
	<i>/ miraba /</i>	‘lamp’
Final	<i>/ lub /</i>	‘to bury a thing’
	<i>/ kejab /</i>	‘player’

/ d / The voiced alveolar stop *d* occurs in initial and medial positions

Initial	<i>/ dukma /</i>	‘pain’
	<i>/ damji /</i>	‘dust’
Medial	<i>/ kumdiM /</i>	‘punish’
	<i>/ anden /</i>	‘already’

/ j / The voiceless palatal stop *j* occurs in initial and medial positions.

Initial	<i>/ jasyo kesoMba /</i>	‘grocer’
	<i>/ jaMhim /</i>	‘building’
Medial	<i>/ wojak /</i>	‘chicken’
	<i>/ namji /</i>	‘shade’

/ g / The voiced velar stop *g* occurs in initial, medial and final positions

Initial	<i>/ giMna /</i>	‘bell’
	<i>/ gopma /</i>	‘hunt’

Medial	<i>/goroMwatikma /</i>	‘roar’
	<i>/ k^hegoba /</i>	‘heat’
Final	<i>/ wagop^h /</i>	‘island’
	<i>/ c^hog /</i>	‘do’
	<i>/ seg /</i>	‘pinch’

/ p^h / The aspirated voiceless bilabial stop *p^h* occurs in initial, medial and final positions.

Initial	<i>/ p^heda /</i>	‘bull’
	<i>/ p^hu /</i>	‘step brother’
Medial	<i>/ lap^het /</i>	‘leech’
	<i>/ up^hut /</i>	‘fist’
Final	<i>/ wagop^h /</i>	‘island’

/ t^h / The aspirated voiceless alveolar stop *t^h* occurs in initial, medial and final positions.

Initial	<i>/ t^hen /</i>	‘ground’
	<i>/ t^hapme /</i>	‘spoon’
Medial	<i>/ pat^hima /</i>	‘owl’
	<i>/ nat^hya /</i>	‘nose ring’
Final	<i>/ yakpit^h /</i>	‘deep’
	<i>/ poMbut^h /</i>	‘ass’

/ c^h / The aspirated voiceless palatal stop *c^h* occurs in initial and medial positions.

Initial	<i>/ c^hayik /</i>	‘tea’
	<i>/ c^hori /</i>	‘stick’
	<i>/ c^hese pokwa /</i>	‘fruit’

Medial

/kamc^ha / 'handkerchief'

/kec^hinma / 'elopement'

/k^h/ The aspirated voiceless velar stop k^h occurs in initial , medial and final positions.

Initial

/k^hapmi / 'cloud'

/k^happu / 'ashes'

/k^hegoba / 'heat'

Medial

/pok^hwa / 'blister'

/wak^hok kyama / 'whirl wind'

/mek^him / 'marriage'

Final

/kewok^h/ 'crab'

/S'/ The voiceless palatal fricative S' occurs in initial and medial positions.

Initial

/S'a / 'son'

/S'igip / 'bug'

Medial

/kiS'iM / 'cotton'

/keS'iba / 'death'

/z/ The voiced alveolar fricative z occurs in the medial position only.

/kezaba / 'difficult'

/keza / 'pea'

/tazeM / 'talk'

/azat / 'some'

/kuza yuMhim / 'godown'

/nazam / 'greeting'

/h/ The voiceless glottal fricative h occurs in the initial and the medial position.

Initial

/huk c^h o/ 'finger'

/ho Mriba/ 'window'

/hamma/ 'burn'

	<i>/hapma/</i>	‘wash’
Medial	<i>/k^h on ha/</i>	‘these’

Phonemic Contrasts

Vowels	<i>/i/</i> ~	<i>/e/</i>
	<i>li</i>	‘arrow’
	<i>le</i>	‘penis’
	<i>mi</i>	‘fire’
	<i>me</i>	‘tail’
	<i>pima</i>	‘give’
	<i>pema</i>	‘vomit’
	<i>/i/</i> ~	<i>/a/</i>
	<i>ti</i>	‘arrow’
	<i>ta</i>	‘wheat’
	<i>siM</i>	‘wood’
	<i>saM</i>	‘ray’
	<i>sima</i>	‘to die’
	<i>sama</i>	‘to taste’
	<i>/i/</i> ~	<i>/o/</i>
	<i>tik</i>	‘one’
	<i>tok</i>	‘body’
	<i>/i/</i> ~	<i>/u/</i>
	<i>sima</i>	‘to die’
	<i>suma</i>	‘to touch’
	<i>/e/</i> ~	<i>/a/</i>
	<i>le</i>	‘penis’
	<i>la</i>	‘moon’
	<i>me</i>	‘tail’
	<i>ma</i>	‘mother’

<i>lema</i>	‘to know’
<i>lama</i>	‘to take’

<i>leMma</i>	‘slip’
<i>laMma</i>	‘dance’

<i>/a/</i> ~	<i>/o/</i>
--------------	------------

<i>hama</i>	‘bite’
<i>homa</i>	‘stab’

<i>/a/</i> ~	<i>/u/</i>
--------------	------------

<i>laM</i>	‘leg’
<i>luM</i>	‘stone’

<i>pa</i>	‘father’
<i>pu</i>	‘bird’

<i>/o/</i> ~	<i>/u/</i>
--------------	------------

<i>soba</i>	‘monkey’
<i>suba</i>	‘mouse’

Consonants

<i>/m/</i> ~	<i>/M/</i>
--------------	------------

<i>lam</i>	‘path’
<i>laM</i>	‘leg’

<i>nam</i>	‘sun’
<i>naM</i>	‘snow’

<i>yum</i>	‘salt’
<i>yuM</i>	‘net’

<i>/p/</i> ~	<i>/p^h/</i>
--------------	------------------------

<i>pu</i>	‘bird’
<i>p^hu</i>	‘wife’s sister’s husband’

<i>/s/</i> ~	<i>/S’/</i>
--------------	-------------

<i>sya</i>		‘uncooked rice’
<i>S’a</i>		‘son’
<i>/b/</i>	~	<i>/m/</i>
<i>hoba</i>		‘mangoose’
<i>homa</i>		‘bark’
<i>soba</i>		‘monkey’
<i>soma</i>		‘scab’
<i>/w/</i>	~	<i>/y/</i>
<i>kwa</i>		‘meternal uncle’
<i>kya</i>		‘dog’
<i>/k/</i>	~	<i>/g/</i>
<i>ikma</i>		‘tighten’
<i>igma</i>		‘scour’
<i>kopma</i>		‘trim’
<i>gopma</i>		‘hunt’
<i>/p/</i>	~	<i>/b/</i>
<i>kebma</i>		‘push in to’
<i>k^hepma</i>		‘remove’
<i>/k/</i>	~	<i>/k^h/</i>
<i>kepma</i>		‘paint (face or body)’
<i>k^hepma</i>		‘remove’

2.3 MAJOR ALLOPHONIC DISTRIBUTION

Vowels

The following vowels are having their allophones.

[ɨ] High central unrounded vowel occurs after bilabial nasal and fricative

[hɨkwa:] / hikwa / ‘dew’

[kEsEmik]	/ kesemik /	‘star’
[wɒhit]	/wahit/	‘rain’

/i/ >

[i] High front unrounded vowel occurs elsewhere

[la:sik]	/ lasik /	‘full moon night’
[sEri]	/ seri /	‘thunder’

[E] Mid low front unrounded vowel occurs between two consonants

[kambEk]	/kambek /	‘earth’
[g ^h apmE]	/ gapme /	‘fog’
[t ^h En]	/ t ^h en /	‘ground’

/e/ >

[e] Mid high front unrounded vowel occurs elsewhere

[eccī]	/ ecci /	‘eight’
[embic ^h c ^h aS’ɒ]	/ embic ^h c ^h aS’a /	‘boy’

[a] Low front unrounded vowel occurs in between consonants

[kam]	/ kam /	‘clay’
[damji]	/ damji /	‘dust’

/a/ >

[ɒ] Low back rounded vowel occurs after bilabials and semivowels

[wɒp ^h ElEM]	/ wap ^h eleM /	‘high tide’
[kEsEmbɒ]	/ kesemba /	‘cold’
[kEgobɒ]	/ kegoba /	‘heat’

[a] low back unrounded vowel occurs elsewhere

[kaisOdok]	/ kaisodok /	‘relatives’
[apma]	/ apma /	‘shoot : an animal’
[aptik]	/ aptik /	‘blame’

[O] Mid low back rounded vowel occurs after semivowel w and fricatives

[wOd ^h ɒn]	/ wodan /	‘water fall’
[wOjak]	/ wojak /	‘chicken’
[sOkwa ku]	/ sokwa ku /	‘honey bee’

/ o / >

[o] Mid high back rounded vowel occurs elsewhere

[oaji]	/ oaji /	‘porcupine’
[poMbut ^h]	/ poMbut ^h /	‘ass’

[ɯ] High back unrounded vowel occurs before and after bilabial voiceless consonants and alveolar fricatives

[kappɯ]	/ kappu /	‘ashes’
[pɪsɯa]	/ pisua /	‘cave’
[pɯt ^h uMwɒ]	/ put ^h uMwa /	‘foam’

/ u / >

[u] High back rounded vowel occurs elsewhere

[kumaklo]	/ kumaklo /	‘black’
[ukma]	/ ukma /	‘scrape’
[hukmunEt]	/ hukmunet /	‘practice’
[tumba]	/ tumba /	‘meet’

Consonants

[f] Voiceless labiodental fricative occurs before geminated laterals and in word final position

[wɒgOf]	/ wagoph /	‘island’
[wɒfElleM]	/ wap ^h elleM /	‘wave’

/p^h/ >

[p^h] Aspirated voiceless bilabial stop occurs elsewhere

[p^haMjaM] / p^haMjaM / ‘mountain’

[M'] The palatal nasal occurs before voiced palatal plosive

[hɪM'ja] / hinja / ‘child’

/n/ >

[n] The alveolar nasal occurs elsewhere

[mEnc^hɪn] / menc^hin / ‘bride’

2.4 CLUSTERS

Both vowel and consonant clusters are realized in Limbu.

Vowel Clusters

Vowel clusters are found in the entire word initial, medial and final positions, but the medial occurrences are more in number. Among the vowel clusters, *ei* and *ai* are found to occur more than of *oi*, *ua*, *ui* and *au*.

<i>ei</i>	<i>eimma</i>	‘sink’
	<i>peigma</i>	‘dispense’
	<i>heima</i>	‘sow’
	<i>heiksimba</i>	‘curve’
<i>ai</i>	<i>ainan</i>	‘mirror’
	<i>aina</i>	‘glass’
	<i>seraila</i>	‘flesh’
	<i>laijo</i>	‘sin’
<i>oi</i>	<i>soit</i>	‘picture’
	<i>c^hoi c^h okma</i>	‘draw a picture’
<i>ua</i>	<i>c^hua</i>	‘water’
	<i>woS’a kua</i>	‘chicken soup’
<i>ui, au ,oa</i>		
	<i>kaira</i>	‘prostitute’
	<i>pauc^he</i>	‘fig’
	<i>oayi</i>	‘porcupine’

Consonant Clusters

Two consonant clusters are found in initial and medial positions.

Initial

<i>krum</i>	‘middle’	<i>kwa</i>	‘mother’s brother’
<i>tyat</i>	‘saliva’	<i>pyappa</i>	‘grasshopper’
<i>sya</i>	‘uncooked rice’	<i>tyema</i>	‘come and get’

Medial

In the medial position, the consonant clusters are found abundantly. These are classified as-

a.	c + w	Consonant + Bilabial Semivowel
b.	c + y	Consonant + Palatal Semivowel
c.	M + c	Nasal + Consonant
d.	c + c	Geminated Consonant
e.	c + c	Consonant + Consonant

c + w

<i>hikwa</i>	‘dew’
<i>kak^hwa</i>	‘phlegm’
<i>togwa</i>	‘vein’
<i>pereMwa</i>	‘child hood’
<i>nerwa</i>	‘heart’

c + y

<i>kapyā</i>	‘pot’
<i>hetya</i>	‘saucer’
<i>nat^hya</i>	‘nose ring’
<i>makyu</i>	‘bear’
<i>samyāM</i>	‘gold’
<i>sawanyem</i>	‘birthday’
<i>luMyok</i>	‘mosquito’
<i>kurya</i>	‘metal cup’

M + c

<i>t^haMben</i>	‘bachelor’
<i>laMtiMba</i>	‘heel’
<i>maMdukma</i>	‘chicken pox’
<i>p^haMjaM</i>	‘mountain’
<i>yeMkaden</i>	‘desert’

c + c (Geminated)

<i>k^happu</i>	‘ashes’
<i>katti</i>	‘sword’
<i>ecci</i>	‘eight’
<i>embic^hc^ha</i>	‘boy’
<i>mokki</i>	‘blood’
<i>uhella</i>	‘red’
<i>c^hulla</i>	‘socks’

c + c (Others)

<i>p+c</i>	<i>hepcu</i>	‘plough’
<i>p+m</i>	<i>k^hapmli</i>	‘cloud’
<i>p+s</i>	<i>hepsiMma</i>	‘embrace’
<i>p^h+r</i>	<i>mep^hra</i>	‘flute’
<i>t+l</i>	<i>kitli</i>	‘kettle’
<i>k+p</i>	<i>yakpek</i>	‘cliff’
<i>k+t</i>	<i>yukten</i>	‘courtyard’
<i>k+m</i>	<i>oMekma</i>	‘husband’s sister’
<i>k+n</i>	<i>toknuma</i>	‘pickle’
<i>k+k</i>	<i>krikkrikpa</i>	‘cricket’
<i>k+s</i>	<i>toksa</i>	‘beast’
<i>k+S’</i>	<i>makS’eM</i>	‘coal’
<i>k+w</i>	<i>hikwa</i>	‘dew’
<i>k+l</i>	<i>mandaklup</i>	‘cattle’
<i>k+t^h</i>	<i>yekt^hukpa</i>	‘hunch back’
<i>k+c^h</i>	<i>nakc^ha</i>	‘fountain’
<i>g+y</i>	<i>togyep</i>	‘skeleton’
<i>m+p</i>	<i>tampuM</i>	‘forest’
<i>m+b</i>	<i>kambek</i>	‘earth’
<i>p+m</i>	<i>namdapma</i>	‘dawn’
<i>m+j</i>	<i>damji</i>	‘dust’
<i>m+n</i>	<i>nomna tok</i>	‘fluffed rice’
<i>m+r</i>	<i>imrikpa</i>	‘glow worm’
<i>m+s</i>	<i>yamsi</i>	‘body louse’
<i>m+l</i>	<i>umlep</i>	‘biscuit’
<i>n+d</i>	<i>mendak</i>	‘goat’
<i>n+j</i>	<i>hinja</i>	‘child’
<i>n+m</i>	<i>kec^hinma</i>	‘elopement’
<i>n+s</i>	<i>mensuma</i>	‘female’

Three Consonant Clusters

Three consonant clusters are found in the medial position only

<i>hombrik uwa</i>	‘sweat’
<i>mundro</i>	‘ear ring’
<i>lemswaba</i>	‘lazy’

2.5 SYLLABLE

The words of Limbu language made up of monosyllables, disyllables, trisyllables and tetra syllables.

Monosyllabic : V, CV, CVC etc.

<i>/ mi /</i>	‘fire’
<i>/ la /</i>	‘moon’
<i>/ u /</i>	‘fence’
<i>/ tok /</i>	‘meal’
<i>/ on /</i>	‘horse’

Disyllabic : CV-CV, CV-CVC etc.

CV-CV	<i>/ se -ri /</i>	‘thunder’
CV-CVC	<i>/ wa -hit /</i>	‘rain’
	<i>/ wa -p^hu /</i>	‘pool’

Trisyllabic : CVC-CV-CVC, CCV-CVC-CVC etc.

CVC-CV-CVC	<i>/ tem-p^he-tuM /</i>	‘malaria’
CCV-CVC-CVC	<i>/ c^hwa-kap-log /</i>	‘water wheel’

Tetra syllabic: CVC-CVC-CV-CVC, CVC-CVCV-CVC-CVC etc.

CVC-CVC-CV-CVC	<i>/ taM-S’aM-ke-bok^h /</i>	‘scorpion’
----------------	--	------------

Poly syllabic :

CVC-CV-CV-CVC-CVC	<i>/ maM-se-wa-yak-paM /</i>	‘worship room’
-------------------	------------------------------	----------------

Phonotactics

1. Words beginning with vowel sounds are less in comparison to the consonants.
2. Words beginning with *p, t, c, k, s, l, h, m, n, M* are very common.
3. Vowels are found to be present very commonly in the word final position.

4. Among the consonants, voiceless phonemes are present in the word final position than the voiced ones.
5. Length and aspiration are observed in mutual association in Limbu like the following.

- a. Aspiration mostly observed in the initial syllable

<i>k^happu</i>	‘ashes’
<i>k^hegoba</i>	‘heat’
<i>p^haMjaM</i>	‘mountain’
<i>c^hese pok wa</i>	‘fruit’

However, in the word - medial and word - final positions also occurrence of aspiration is found.

<i>pic^hc^ha</i>	‘beef’
<i>kak^hwa</i>	‘phlegm’
<i>kewok^h</i>	‘crab’

- b. Whenever bilabial plosive or nasal phoneme precedes or follows, the preceding or following consonant generally gets aspirated. However, other than this environment also, one can find presence of aspirated phonemes.

<i>k^happu</i>	‘ashes’
<i>k^ham</i>	‘clay’
<i>c^hum</i>	‘friend’
<i>t^humba</i>	‘father’s elder brother’
<i>tamp^huM</i>	‘jungle’
<i>pat^hima</i>	‘owl’

- c. Whenever the lengthening is occurred in the vowel, the preceding or following consonant generally does not have the aspiration sound.

[<i>lu:pli</i>]	/ <i>lupli</i> /	‘earth quake’
[<i>ko:pma:</i>]	/ <i>kopma</i> /	‘hill’
[<i>wa:bak</i>]	/ <i>wabak</i> /	‘lake’
[<i>sE:ri</i>]	/ <i>seri</i> /	‘thunder’

However, there are some exceptions also

[<i>wɔ:dha:n</i>]	/ <i>wa:d^han</i> /	‘water fall’
[<i>wɔ:t^hup</i>]	/ <i>wat^hup</i> /	‘flood’

- d. Falling and rising tones are observed in the following examples. However, apart from the cited examples and few more, there is no substantial evidence to consider it as a supra segmental phoneme.

[<i>tók</i>]	‘body’
[<i>t`ok</i>]	‘meal’
[<i>kùà</i>]	‘soup’
[<i>kúa</i>]	‘mother’s brother’
[<i>núba</i>]	‘good’
[<i>nùba</i>]	‘niece’

- e. Nasalisation of vowels is observed in some lexical items. However, it is considered only in phonetic level.

[<i>limũ</i>]	‘climbed’
[<i>Myã</i>]	‘mother’s brother’s wife’
[<i>niMyãma</i>]	‘happiness’

- f. Lengthening of vowels is observed in the study. However, it is considered only in phonetic level.

[<i>pu:hap</i>]	‘nest’
[<i>ho:ba</i>]	‘mongoose’
[<i>umse:]</i>	‘areca nut’
[<i>me:]</i>	‘tail’

- g. The occurrence of voiced aspirates in the initial and medial positions is rare. The voiced aspirates do not occur in the final position. In Limbu language, voiced aspirates are not phonemic.

[<i>g^hapmE t^homba</i>]	‘fog’
[<i>d^huMsɨmma</i>]	‘kneel down’
[<i>wɔ d^ham</i>]	‘steam’

3. MORPHOPHONEMICS

1. When the plural affix *me-* is prefixed to the verb base to indicate plurality, the initial voiceless consonant of the verb base gets changed into voiced one.

- a. *embic^hc^hayin* *keMe* ‘boy falls’
 embic^hc^ha S’aha *megeMe* ‘boys fall’
- b. *kon yanu pe* ‘I go to field’
 konha yanu mebe ‘We go to field’

2. The verb *tye* ‘come’ becomes a negative one, as *mediyenen* ‘did not come’. Here also, when part of the negative feature [*me* - ~ -*nen*] *me-* is added before the verb base, the voiceless consonant becomes voiced one in the process. Thus, the word initial voiceless consonant gets changed into voiced one when the prefix *me-* is added before the verb base.

3. With the change in number, the lateral consonant –*l* is interchanged with trill consonant –*r*

- a. *kene nanboo lokte* ‘You ran in the competition.’
 You (sg) ran
- b. *kene nanboo kerokte* ‘You (pl) ran in the competition’
 you (pl.) ran

4. The auxiliary verb *aM* when it follows a vowel of the preceding noun does not get changed whereas the preceding word ends with a consonant then the consonant gets geminated.

kune *aM* *yanu* *peklapat* ‘He will be going to field’
 he aux. field to go fut.con.
konyinnaM *yanu* *peklapat* ‘It will be going to the field’
 it aux. go fut.con.

Here one should note that the inflection takes place in the following way:

kon ‘it’, *konin* ‘it (definite) and *kon in naM* ‘it be’

4. MORPHOLOGY

4.1 NOUN MORPHOLOGY

4.1.1 WORD FORMATION

The word formation in Limbu is mostly by inflection i.e. *stem* + *affix*. The stem may be nominal one or verbal. Examples:

<i>him</i>	‘house’
<i>-ha</i>	‘plural marker’
<i>himha</i>	‘houses’
<i>tye</i>	‘come’
<i>tama</i>	‘to come’
<i>tama c^hukka</i>	‘may come’

Reduplication

The word is also being formed by partial repetition of the syllables in some of the words in Limbu. The following words are examples :

<i>me meduma</i>	‘widow’
<i>t^h akket t^h akpa</i>	‘weaver’
<i>sigeM geMba</i>	‘thin’

4.1.2 NOUN

Classification of nouns

There are two types of nouns: Basic and Derived

Basic Nouns

Basic nouns are nouns, which are not derived from another noun.

<i>makyu</i>	‘bear’
<i>wamat</i>	‘hen’
<i>p^heda</i>	‘sheep’
<i>k^heba</i>	‘tiger’
<i>siMpekwa</i>	‘leaf’
<i>puM</i>	‘flower’
<i>sorim</i>	‘lemon’

Basic nouns are further divided into mass nouns and count nouns. Mass nouns are always singular and count nouns are nouns that can be counted as singular or plural.

Mass Nouns

<i>surit</i>	‘air’
<i>c^hua</i>	‘water’
<i>wahit</i>	‘rain’

Count Nouns

<i>p^heda</i>	‘sheep’
<i>siMpekwa</i>	‘leaf’

The nouns can be further classified into human nouns and non-human nouns.

Human Nouns

Human nouns are further classified into two, viz, masculine and feminine. The masculine nouns generally ending with the suffix *-pa* / *-ba* whereas feminine nouns end with the suffix *-ma*

<i>nupa</i>	‘daughter-in-law’s father’
<i>k^huMba</i>	‘wife’s brother’
<i>wenc^haba</i>	‘young man’
<i>t^hopa</i>	‘father’s father’
<i>lama</i>	‘co wife’
<i>yema</i>	‘daughter’
<i>nupma</i>	‘daughter-in-law’s mother’

Non – human nouns

The non human nouns are nouns that indicate animals, birds, things and so on

<i>poMbut</i>	‘camel’
<i>kya</i>	‘dog’
<i>pit</i>	‘cow’
<i>Mwa</i>	‘cock’
<i>pat^hima</i>	‘owl’
<i>nu</i>	‘milk’
<i>sya</i>	‘uncooked rice’
<i>li</i>	‘bow’
<i>t^hak peja</i>	‘knife’

Young ones

The young ones of human, animal and bird are having the following lexicon to indicate the younger one

human	<i>oMegwa</i>
animal	<i>tokS’a</i>
bird	<i>puS’a</i>

Derived Nouns

The nouns *pa* ‘father’ and *ma* ‘mother’ join with other words or adjectives to form a derived noun.

<i>yec^haba</i>	‘orphan : male’
<i>yec^hama</i>	‘orphan : female’
<i>nupa</i>	‘son in law’s father’
<i>nupma</i>	‘daughter in law’s mother’

Here it may be noted that stems take suffix *-ba* for vowel ending nouns and *-a* for consonant ending masculine nouns and *-ma* for feminine nouns. Similarly *-mana* for masculine and *-mensuma* for feminine are used as suffixes, to form the derived nouns.

<i>kemba mana</i>	‘tall man’
man	
<i>kemba mensuma</i>	‘tall woman’
woman	

Number

There are two types of plural formation in Limbu

- Plural formation of personal pronoun and
- Plural formation of nouns

Personal Pronoun

The three tier number systems in Limbu are singular, dual and plural. Example:

Singular

<i>Ma</i>	<i>yanu</i>	<i>peiki</i>	‘I go to the field’
I	field to	go	

Dual

<i>ansi</i>	<i>necci</i>	<i>yanu</i>	<i>picci</i>	‘I two go to the field’
I	two	field to	go	

Plural

.	<i>ani</i>	<i>yanu</i>	<i>pegi</i>	‘We go to the field’
	we	field to	go	

Plural Formation of Nouns

The suffix *-ha*, a plural marker, is used for both human and non-human nouns.

Human Nouns

<i>S'a</i>	'son'	<i>S'aha</i>	'sons'
<i>embic^hc^ha</i>	'boy'	<i>embic^hc^haha</i>	'boys'
<i>mensuma</i>	'girl'	<i>mensumaha</i>	'girls'

Non Human nouns

<i>kya</i>	'dog'	<i>kyaha</i>	'dogs'
<i>him</i>	'house'	<i>himha</i>	'houses'

Gender

Gender is a natural one. Gender formation are of two types: a) Different lexicons are used to denote masculine and feminine genders b)- *pa* /- *ba*, -*ma* suffixes are added to the adjectives or noun stems to form new noun of masculine and feminine genders.

List Gender

Masculine		Feminine	
<i>pa</i>	'father'	<i>ma</i>	'mother'
<i>mona</i>	'man'	<i>wenc^hama</i>	'woman'
<i>S'a</i>	'son'	<i>yema</i>	'daughter'
<i>t^haMben</i>	'bride groom'	<i>menc^hin</i>	'bride'
<i>yemba</i>	'husband'	<i>met</i>	'wife'

Sometimes by infixing the feminine affix – *m* -, the feminine nouns are derived

Masculine	Feminine
<i>yec^haba</i>	<i>yec^hama</i> 'orphan'
<i>nupa</i>	<i>nupma</i> 'in-law'

In addition to above gender formation, the suffixes like - *mensuma* /-*ma* are used directly to masculine nouns to form the feminine counter parts.

Masculine	Feminine	
<i>somwet</i>	<i>somwetma</i>	‘buffalo’
<i>pic^hc^ha</i>	<i>pic^hc^hama</i>	‘calf’
<i>kembamana</i>	<i>kembamensuma</i>	‘tall’
<i>Mat^hakpa</i>	<i>Mat^hakma</i>	‘dumb’

Case

Instrumental

-ille /- *le* is used as a marker to indicate instrumental case

<i>kune</i> he	<i>tandille</i> axe-by	<i>siMbum</i> tree	<i>taMu</i> cut	‘He cut the tree by axe’
<i>kune</i> he	<i>uwatogille</i> flood by	<i>uku</i> to	<i>t^heru</i> pull	‘He washed out by flood’
<i>kune</i> he	<i>luMle</i> stone by	<i>lept^hu</i> hit		‘He was hit by a stone’
<i>kutokattille</i> his stick with	<i>tikleMsip</i> once	<i>sarike kak^hu</i> hard beat	<i>aM</i> killed	

‘With one hard stroke of his club he killed’

Accusative

-yin~ -in (*-yin* used with bases ending in vowels; *-in* used with bases ending in consonant)

<i>kune</i> he	<i>peguwayin</i> deer acc.	<i>temse</i> catch	<i>lokte</i> ran	<i>kora</i> but	<i>peguwayin</i> deer	<i>kec^hin</i> escaped
-------------------	-------------------------------	-----------------------	---------------------	--------------------	--------------------------	-------------------------------------

‘He ran to catch the deer but deer escaped’

<i>kyaille</i> dog	<i>miyonin</i> cat acc.	<i>aru</i> barks	‘The dog barks at the cat’
-----------------------	----------------------------	---------------------	----------------------------

Locative

-mu~ -mo is used to indicate the locative case

<i>kune</i> his	<i>kuS'aha</i> sons	<i>himmu</i> house in	<i>mewa</i> are	'His sons are in the house'
<i>keS'aha</i> your sons	<i>himmu</i> house in	<i>mewa</i> are		'Your sons are in the house'
<i>a eisamen</i> my daughter	<i>yanmu</i> field in	<i>yak</i> is		'My daughter is in the field'
<i>nisamhimmo</i> school in side	<i>p^here</i> come			'Come inside the school'

Possessive

The possessiveness is expressed by the use of adjunct or attributive to the following nominal base.

<i>ahimille</i> my house	<i>c^hanin</i> colour	<i>kugela</i> red	<i>yuM</i> is	'The colour of my house is red'
<i>akyaille</i> my dog	<i>c^hanin</i> colour	<i>kumak^hla</i> black	<i>uwa</i> is	'The colour of my dog is black'

More Examples:

<i>kuni him</i> their house	'Their house'
<i>kuni himha</i> houses	'Their houses'
<i>kuyaM</i> his field	'His field'
<i>kumik^ha</i> her + eyes	'Her eyes'
<i>kut^hoMa</i> her + basket	'Her basket'
<i>mensumaille t^hoMayin</i> women`s basket	'The basket of the women'

Ablative

-*nu* is used as a marker to indicate ablative case.

<i>kune</i> he	<i>konk^huyin</i> this honey	<i>k^hopma</i> hill	<i>samtaMnu</i> top from	<i>yuruba</i> brought	'He brought this honey from the hill top'
-------------------	---	----------------------------------	-----------------------------	--------------------------	---

Ma siMbuMhepmunu maMa uwa 'I am far from the tree'
 I tree from far am

Ma paMp^heunu tandik nuMka 'I shall come from the village tomorrow'
 I village from tomorrow come shall

Vocative

yeho-, *oho-* affixes are used to express pain or disgust while *haw-*, *eho-* are used to express surprise and exclamations.

haw ! rama konna pere 'O! Rama come here'
 o Rama here come

eho, ak^heno namt^hin o be 'Waw! What a beautiful rain bow'
 ah rainbow

yeho, hapmo tuk 'ah, pain here!'
 ah here pain

oho, target miss 'O! Target missed'
 target missed

Post Positions

The postpositions precede the verb in Limbu.

sappanin sapt^hen pusaMne 'The book is below the table'
 book table below is

sappanin sapt^hen samdaM ne 'The book is on the table'
 book table on is

siMbuMin k^henlam mille kubesaM yuM
 tree that road side is
 'The tree is on that side of road'

siMbuMin konlam mille kube saM yuM
 tree this road side is
 'The tree is on this side of road'

waduyin pelaM S'igaM yuM 'The parrot is in the cage'
 parrot cage in is

4.1.3 PRONOUN

Personal Pronouns

As discussed already, the three-tier number system is operating in the personal pronouns of Limbu. The pronouns are inflected to person and number i.e. the pronominal terminations vary according to the person and number.

Singular

<i>Ma</i>	<i>yanu</i>	<i>peiki</i>	'I go to the field'
I	field to go		
<i>kene</i>	<i>yanu</i>	<i>pige</i>	'You(sg.) go to the field'
you (sg.)			
<i>kune</i>	<i>yanu</i>	<i>pek</i>	'He/ She goes to the field'
he/she			

Dual

<i>ansi</i>	<i>necci</i>	<i>yanu</i>	<i>picci</i>	'I two go to the field'
I two				
<i>kensi</i>	<i>necci</i>	<i>yanu</i>	<i>pise</i>	'You two go to the field'
you two				
<i>kunsi</i>	<i>necci</i>	<i>yanu</i>	<i>pesi</i>	'He/ She two go to the field'
he / she two				

Plural

<i>ani</i>	<i>yanu</i>	<i>pegi</i>	'We go to the field'
we			
<i>keni</i>	<i>yanu</i>	<i>pigine</i>	'You(pl.) go to the field'
you (pl.)			
<i>kuni</i>	<i>yanu</i>	<i>mebei</i>	'They go to the field'
they			

The markers identified for singular, dual and plural numbers are *-e*, *-si* and *-i* respectively. However, the first person singular personal pronoun *Ma* 'I' gets the allomorph *an-* for taking the dual suffix *si* and plural suffix *-i*.

There are three personal pronoun markers in Limbu, which are distinguished by three numbers, viz., 1. Singular 2. Dual and 3. Plural. Below are exemplified the personal pronouns.

First person singular

	<i>Ma</i>				'I'	
<i>Ma</i>	<i>yanu</i>	<i>peiki</i>				'I go to the field'
I	field – to	go				

First person dual

<i>ansi</i>	<i>necci</i>	'I	two'		
<i>ansi</i>	<i>necci</i>	<i>yanu</i>	<i>picci</i>		'I two go to the field'
I	two	field	to go		

First person plural

<i>ani</i>	'we'			
<i>ani</i>	<i>yanu</i>	<i>pegi</i>		'We go to the field'

Except first person singular *Ma* 'I' the other two, dual and plural have *an-* base. The dual is expressed by the use of suffix *-si-*, as well as the post position *-necci* (*necci* gives the meaning of numeral 'two')

Second person singular

<i>kene</i>				'You (sg.)'
<i>kene</i>	<i>yanu</i>	<i>pige</i>		'You(sg.) go to the field'

Second person dual

<i>kensi</i>				'You two'
<i>kensi</i>	<i>necci</i>	<i>yanu</i>	<i>pise</i>	'You two go to the field'

Second person plural

<i>keni</i>				'You (pl.)'
<i>keni</i>	<i>yanu</i>	<i>pigine</i>		'You (pl.) go to the field'

ken- is the base form of second person pronoun. Endings of plural formation are the following:

- e is for singular
- si is for dual along with *necci*
- i is for plural

Third person pronoun

Third person pronouns are classified into human and non-human. There is no gender distinction in human pronouns.

Third person singular

<i>kune</i>	'he / she'
<i>kune yanu pek</i>	'He / She goes to field'

Third person dual

<i>kunsi necci</i>	'he / she two'
<i>kunsi necci yanu pesi</i>	'He / She two go to field'

Third person plural

<i>kuni</i>	'they'
<i>kuni yanu mebei</i>	'They go to field'

Third person non human singular

<i>kon</i>	'it'
<i>kon yanu pe</i>	'It goes to field'

Third person non human dual

<i>konha necci</i>	'it two'
<i>konha necci yanu pesi</i>	'It two go to field'

Third person non human plural

<i>konha</i>	'they'
<i>konha yanu mebe</i>	'They go to field'

Demonstrative Pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns are two types : proximate and remote

		Singular		Plural	
	Proximate	<i>kon</i>	'this'	<i>konha</i>	'these'
	Remote	<i>k^hen</i>	'that'	<i>k^hen^ha</i>	'those'
<i>kon</i>	<i>manayin</i>	<i>mikmenimna</i>	<i>uwa</i>		'This man is blind'
this	man	blind	is		
<i>k^hen</i>	<i>mensumayin</i>	<i>kabmou</i>	<i>uwa</i>		'That girl is here'
that	girl	here	is		

Indefinite Pronouns

halasaM ‘anybody’ and *haleaM* ‘nobody’ are indefinite pronouns

<i>kon</i>	<i>yambokin</i>	<i>halasaM</i>	<i>c^hogma</i>	<i>suktu</i>
this	work	anybody	do	can

‘Anybody can do this work’

<i>kon</i>	<i>yambokin</i>	<i>haleaM</i>	<i>c^hogma</i>	<i>mesuktun</i>
this	work	nobody	do	not can

‘Nobody can do this work’

Interrogative Pronouns

t^he ‘what’, *hat* ‘who’, are used as interrogative pronouns

<i>k^henin</i>	<i>t^he?</i>	‘What is that?’
that is	what	
<i>konin</i>	<i>hapa?</i>	‘Who is he?’
he is	who	

4.1.4 ADJECTIVE

An adjective qualifies noun and it precedes the noun in the construction.

<i>c^huppa</i>	<i>hinjaS’a</i>	‘The small child’
small	child	

<i>makt^hopa</i>	<i>kamit</i>	‘The dark cloud’
dark	cloud	

The plural marker is added to the noun only; not to the adjectives

<i>kup^hora</i>	<i>on</i>	‘The white horse’
white	horse	
<i>kup^hora</i>	<i>onha</i>	‘The white horses’
	horses	

When demonstrative pronoun is added, it precedes the adjective

<i>konin</i>	<i>nuba</i>	<i>paMpe</i>	‘This is a beautiful village’
--------------	-------------	--------------	-------------------------------

this beautiful village

konin p^hemba paMpe 'This is a bad village'
bad

Classification of adjectives

Limbu adjectives can be classified as qualitative, quantitative and predicative.

Qualitative Adjectives

<i>nuba</i> good	<i>embic^hc^ha</i> boy	<i>S'a</i>	'The good boy'
<i>numa</i> good	<i>mensuma</i> girl	<i>S'a</i>	'The good girl'
<i>nuba</i> good	<i>hinja</i> child	<i>S'a</i>	'The good child'
<i>yomba</i> big	<i>hinja</i> child	<i>S'a</i>	'The big child'
<i>sarepa</i> green	<i>siMp^hekwa</i> leaf		'The green leaf'
<i>yomba</i> big	<i>him</i> house		'The big house'
<i>yamkesiMba</i> dirty	<i>huk</i> hand		'The dirty hand'
<i>c^huppa</i> small	<i>yakp^haM</i> room		'A small room'

Quantitative adjectives

<i>lisi</i> four	<i>c^huc^huppa</i> little	<i>ot^hinha</i> eggs	'four little eggs'
<i>yalik</i> more	<i>yem</i> time		'more time'
<i>k^hegobahapmo</i>	<i>t^hikille</i>		'One among the guards'

guards + among one person

Predicative adjectives

The adjectives are used as predicatives in some sentences. However, the adjectives follow the nouns and an inflectional affix *-wa* is added at the end of sentence.

<i>k^hen</i>	<i>hinjayin</i>	<i>nat^hakpawa</i>	'That child is deaf'
that	child	deaf	
<i>kon</i>	<i>ketayin nuba</i>	<i>mewa</i>	'The story is good'
this	story/good	is	
<i>c^heseyin</i>	<i>sarekyapawa</i>		'The fruit is green'
fruit	green is		
<i>pokwayin</i>	<i>yombawa</i>		'The basket is big'
basket	big is		

It is observed that adjectives are generally formed by adding the suffix *-ba / -pa*, *-ma* and *-wa / -waba* to nouns. However, there are some exceptions also in which there will be no affixes added at all or added with some other affixes.

<i>k^hyam</i>	'all'	<i>sarik</i>	'loud'
<i>yak</i>	'more'	<i>a jet</i>	'much'
<i>eksa</i>	'alone'	<i>myaksit</i>	'little'

The adjective forming suffixes are used according to the gender of the noun such as for the masculine gender the suffix *-ba / -pa* and for the feminine *-ma* is added.

<i>nuba</i>	<i>embic^hc^ha</i>	<i>S'a</i>	'The good boy'
good	boy		
<i>numa</i>	<i>mensuma</i>	<i>S'a</i>	'The good girl'
	girl		
<i>c^huppa</i>	<i>hinja</i>	<i>S'a</i>	'The small child'
small	child		

4.1.5 NUMERALS

The basic cardinals from one to nine are number – specific. However, except one, the rest receive the suffix *-ci* (for two and eight) and *-si* for the others up to nine. Further, ten is expressed by the use of *theboM* where *-boM* indicates the number ten as the multiplicative unit *t^he* – being a variant of *tik* 'one', *-boM* is again having the further variants like *-gip / -kip*

<i>tik</i>	‘one’
<i>necci</i>	‘two’
<i>sumsi</i>	‘three’
<i>lisi</i>	‘four’
<i>Masi</i>	‘five’
<i>tuksi</i>	‘six’
<i>nusi</i>	‘seven’
<i>ecci</i>	‘eight’
<i>paMsi</i>	‘nine’
<i>t^heboM</i>	‘ten’

Addition

To express the higher numbers, two number terms join together. The smaller number precedes the higher number.

<i>tik tik</i>	‘eleven’
<i>tik ne</i>	‘twelve’
<i>tik sum</i>	‘thirteen’

It is observed that the first number has the full term whereas the following term loses the suffix *-ci* / *-si* in case of formation of higher numerals. Further, the stem for two *ne-* becomes *ni-*.

Multiplication

Ten, twenty and thirty are expressed with the allomorphs of primary numbers of one, two -three + *-boM*. From ‘forty’ to ‘ninety’, it is represented with the allomorphs of primary number from four to nine + *-gip* / *-kip*

<i>t^heboM</i>	‘ten’
<i>niboM</i>	‘twenty’
<i>sumboM</i>	‘thirty’
<i>ligip</i>	‘forty’
<i>Magip</i>	‘fifty’
<i>tukgip</i>	‘sixty’
<i>nugip</i>	‘seventy’
<i>ekip</i>	‘eighty’
<i>paMip</i>	‘ninety’

For one hundred, the term is *kip siM*

Ordinals

Ordinals are denoted by use of suffix *–sigekpa* to the primary numbers. The suffix *–ci* and *–si* of dual number are dropped for ‘two’ and ‘three’ when they express ordinals.

<i>tik</i>	<i>sigekpa</i>	‘first’
one		
<i>ni</i>	<i>sigekpa</i>	‘second’
two		
<i>sum</i>	<i>sigekpa</i>	‘third’
three		

The middle and last are expressed with the suffix *–wa* along with the respective terms.

<i>kunumwa</i>	‘last’
<i>kurumwa</i>	‘middle’

Fractional

<i>kusukwatik</i>	‘quarter’
<i>kup^hreM</i>	‘half’
<i>sumsugwa</i>	‘three fourth’
<i>tikaM kusukwatik</i>	‘one and a quarter’
one and quarter	
<i>tikaM kuhelek</i>	‘one and half’

4.2 VERB MORPHOLOGY

4.2.1.1 FINITE VERB

The stem of the verb, which is inflected to person, number and tense, is called finite verb. The verb *peikma* ‘to go’ is having *peik* + (*ma*) ‘verbal stem (+ infinitive)’. It changes into the following ways when it gets inflected to person, number and tense

Tense

Simple Present

The verbal stem receives different suffixes basing on the person, number and tense. The simple present tense suffix for the first person is *–i*. (Due to morphophonemic change with the change of number, the verbal stem gets modified internally).

First Person

<i>Ma</i>	<i>yanu</i>	<i>peiki</i>	'I go to the field'
I		field to go + pre.ten.	
<i>ansi</i>	<i>necci</i>	<i>yanu picci</i>	'I two go to the field'
I	two	go + pre.ten.	
<i>ani</i>	<i>yanu</i>	<i>pegi</i>	'We go to the field'
we		go + pre.ten.	

Thus, *peikma* 'to go' becomes *peik* – *i* for first person singular. In the first person dual and plural the stem *peik* changes to *picci* (for first person dual) and *pegi* (for first person plural). The voiceless consonant in the second syllable *k* becomes *c* gemination in the dual and gets voiced as *g* in the plural number.

In the second person the present tense singular marker is *–ge*. In the dual and plural numbers the markers are *–se* and *–ine* respectively.

For the third person, human, *–i* is the marker for dual and plural and for the singular it is unmarked ($\emptyset$). For the human plural, prefix *me-* is added as marker and the verb stem undergoes change from *peik* – to *bei-* with dropping of *–k*. In the non-human plural *bei* becomes *be*

Second Person

<i>kene</i>	<i>yanu</i>	<i>pige</i>	'You(sg.) go to the field'
you (sg)		go + pre.ten.	
<i>kensi</i>	<i>necci</i>	<i>yanu pise</i>	'You two go to the field'
you	two	go + pre.ten.	
<i>keni</i>	<i>yanu</i>	<i>pigine</i>	'You(pl.) go to the field'
	you(pl)	go + pre.ten.	

Third Person (human)

<i>kune</i>	<i>yanu</i>	<i>pek</i>	'He / She goes to the field'
he/she		go + pre.ten.	
<i>kunsi</i>	<i>necci</i>	<i>yanu pesi</i>	'He / She two go to the field'
he/she	two	go + pre.ten.	
<i>kuni</i>	<i>yanu</i>	<i>mebei</i>	'They go to the field'
they		go + pre.ten.	

Third Person (non human)

<i>kon</i>	<i>yanu</i>	<i>pe</i>	'It goes to the field'
it		go + pre.ten.	
<i>konha</i>	<i>necci</i>	<i>yanu pesi</i>	'It two go to the field'
it	two	go + pre.ten.	
<i>konha</i>	<i>yanu</i>	<i>mebe</i>	'They go to the field'
they		go + pre.ten.	

Simple Past

The loss of voiceless velar consonant *k* is observed in the verbal stem except the alternation as voiced in first person singular and second person plural. The remaining changes are as discussed in simple present tense.

Simple past

First Person

<i>Ma</i>	<i>yanu</i>	<i>pegaM</i>	'I went to the field'
I		go + past.ten.	

<i>ansi</i>	<i>necci</i>	<i>yanu</i>	<i>abesi</i>	'I two went to the field'
I	two		go + past.ten.	

<i>ani</i>	<i>yanu</i>	<i>abe</i>	'We went to the field'
we		go + past.ten.	

Second Person

<i>kene</i>	<i>yanu</i>	<i>kebe</i>	'You(sg.) went to the field'
you (sg)		go + past	

<i>kensi</i>	<i>necci</i>	<i>yanu</i>	<i>kebesi</i>	'You two went to the field'
you	two		go + past.ten.	

<i>keni</i>	<i>yanu</i>	<i>kebegi</i>	'You(pl.) went to the field'
you (pl)		go + past.ten.	

Third Person (human)

<i>kune</i>	<i>yanu</i>	<i>pei</i>	'He / she went to the field'
he/she		go + past.ten.	

<i>kunsi</i>	<i>necci</i>	<i>yanu</i>	<i>pesi</i>	'He / she two went to the field'
he/she	two		go + past.ten.	

<i>kuni</i>	<i>yanu</i>	<i>mebe</i>	'They went to the field'
they		go + past.ten.	

Third Person (non human)

<i>kon</i>	<i>yanu</i>	<i>pei</i>	'It went to the field'
it		go + past.ten.	

<i>konha</i>	<i>necci</i>	<i>yanu</i>	<i>pesi</i>	'It two went to the field'
it	two		go + past.ten.	

<i>konha</i>	<i>yanu</i>	<i>mebe</i>	'They went to the field'
they		go + past.ten.	

Simple Future

First Person

The vowels *-ei* and the mid vowel *-e* in the verbal stems / *peik* / and / *abe* / in first person becomes the front vowel *-i* for the future tense. But in second and third persons, the presence of *-ei-* is observed

<i>Ma</i>	<i>yanu</i>	<i>pika</i>		'I shall go to the field'
I		go + fut. ten.		
<i>ansi</i>	<i>necci</i>	<i>yanu</i>	<i>abicci</i>	'I two shall go to the field'
I	two		go + fut. ten.	
<i>ani</i>	<i>yanu</i>	<i>abik</i>		'We shall go to the field'
we		go + fut. ten.		

Second Person

The word final vowel *-e* is present uniformly in all numbers

<i>kene</i>	<i>yanu</i>	<i>peige</i>		'You(sg.) shall go to the field'
you (sg)		go + fut. ten.		
<i>kensi</i>	<i>necci</i>	<i>yanu</i>	<i>peise</i>	'You(two) shall go to the field'
you	two		go + fut. ten.	
<i>keni</i>	<i>yanu</i>	<i>peigamme</i>		'You(pl.) shall go to the field'
you (pl)		go + fut. ten.		

Third Person (human)

<i>kune</i>	<i>yanu</i>	<i>peik</i>		'He / she will go to the field'
he/she		go + fut. ten.		
<i>kunsi</i>	<i>necci</i>	<i>yanu</i>	<i>picci</i>	'He / she two will go to the field'
he/she	two		go + fut. ten.	
<i>kuni</i>	<i>yanu</i>	<i>mebek</i>		'They will go to the field'
they		go + fut. ten.		

For the non-human, only the pronouns for singular and dual vary. The remaining structure of the sentence remains unchanged.

Continuous Tense

The continuous form is expressed with *-karo ~ -ciro ~ -klo ~ -gro ~ -kla* affixes according to person, number and gender along with another affix following *-pot ~ -bot ~ -bet ~ -boc ~ -pac*.

It is observed that the pronominal affixes such as *a-* for first person dual and plural and *ke-* for second person and so on gets reduplicated before the continuous forms as well.

<i>abicciro</i>	<i>abocci</i>	'I (two) are going'
<i>abeklo</i>	<i>abet</i>	'We are going'

Present Continuous

First Person

<i>Ma yanu peikaro potta</i>	'I am going to the field'
I go + pre.cont	
<i>ansi necci yanu abicciro abocci</i>	'I two are going to the field'
I two go + pre.cont. ten.	
<i>ani yanu abeklo abet</i>	'We are going to the field'
we go + pre.cont. ten.	

Second Person

<i>kene yanu kebeklo kebet</i>	'You(sg.) are going to the field'
you (sg) go + pre.cont. ten.	
<i>kensi necci yanu kebicciro kebocci</i>	'You two are going to the field'
you two go + pre.cont. ten.	
<i>keni yanu kewigro kewocci</i>	'You (pl.) are going to the field'
you (pl) go + pre.cont. ten.	

Third Person

<i>kune yanu peklopat</i>	'He / she is going to the field'
he/she go + pre.cont. ten.	
<i>kunsi necci yanu picciro pacci</i>	'He / she two are going to the field'
he/she two go + pre.cont. ten.	
<i>kuni yanu mewikla mebet</i>	'They are going to the field'
they go + pre.cont. ten.	

Past Continuous

First Person

<i>Ma yanu pikaMlo paccaM</i>	'I was going to the field'
I go + past.cont. ten.	
<i>ansi necci yanu abecciro abotsesi</i>	'I two were going to the field'
I two go + past.cont. ten.	
<i>ani yanu abero abecc^he</i>	'We were going to the field'
we go + past.cont. ten.	

Second Person

<i>kene yanu kevigro kebotc^hi</i>	'You(sg.) were going to the field'
you (sg.) go + past.cont. ten.	
<i>kensi necci yanu kebeciro kebotc^hesi</i>	'You two were going to the field'
you two go + past.cont. ten.	
<i>keni yanu kewigro kebotc^hi</i>	'You(pl.) were going to the field'
you (pl.) go + past.cont. ten.	

Third Person

<i>kune</i>	<i>yanu</i>	<i>peira</i>	<i>pocch^he</i>	‘He/she was going to the field’	
he/she		go +	past.cont. ten.		
<i>kunsi</i>	<i>necci</i>	<i>yanu</i>	<i>peciro</i>	<i>pocch^hesi</i>	‘He/she two were going to the field’
he/she	two		go +	past.cont. ten.	
<i>kuni</i>	<i>yanu</i>	<i>mebera</i>	<i>mebocch^he</i>	‘They were going to the field’	
they		go +	past.cont. ten.		

Future Continuous

First Person

<i>Ma</i>	<i>yanu</i>	<i>peikaro</i>	<i>potta</i>																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																			</
-----------	-------------	----------------	--------------	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	----

Second Person

<i>kene</i>	<i>yanu</i>	<i>kewiglo</i>	<i>kebot</i>	‘You(sg.) shall be going to the field’	
you (sg.)		go + fut.cont. ten.			
<i>kensi</i>	<i>necci</i>	<i>yanu</i>	<i>kebicciro</i>	<i>kebocchi</i>	‘You two shall be going to the field’
you	two		go + fut.cont. ten.		
<i>keni</i>	<i>yanu</i>	<i>kewigro</i>	<i>kebotsi</i>		‘You(pl.) shall be going to the field’
you (pl.)		go + fut.cont. ten.			

Third Person

<i>kune</i>	<i>yanu</i>	<i>pekla</i>	<i>pat</i>		'He/she will be going to the field'
he/she		go +	fut.cont. ten.		
<i>kunsi</i>	<i>necci</i>	<i>yanu</i>	<i>pecciro</i>	<i>pacci</i>	'He/she two will be going to the field'
he/she	two	go +	fut.cont. ten.		
<i>kuni</i>	<i>yanu</i>	<i>mebekla</i>	<i>mebet</i>		'They will be going to the field'
they		go +	fut.cont. ten.		

Perfect Tense

The perfect tense is marked with the affixes *-aM ~ -saM* first followed by *-oye ~ -woye* for present and past tenses and *-nuremen* for future tense with the corresponding changes for person and number.

Present Perfect

First Person

<i>Ma yanu pikaM aM woyaM</i>	‘I have gone to the field’
I go + pre.perf. ten.	
<i>ansi necci yanu abesi aM awaesi</i>	‘I two have gone to the field’
I two go + pre.per f. ten.	
<i>ani yanu abe aM awaye</i>	‘We have gone to the field’
we go + pre.per f. ten.	

Second Person

<i>kene yanu kebe aM keoye</i>	‘You(sg.) have gone to the field’
you (sg.) go + pre.per f. ten.	
<i>kensi necci yanu kebesi aM keoyesi</i>	‘You(two) have gone to the field’
you two go + pre.per f. ten.	
<i>keni yanu kebegi aM keoyi</i>	‘You(pl.) have gone to the field’
you(pl.) go + pre.per f. ten.	

Third Person

<i>kune yanu pe aM oye</i>	‘He/She has gone to the field’
he/she go + pre.per f. ten.	
<i>kunsi necci yanu pesi aM oyesi</i>	‘He/She two have gone to the field’
he/she two go + pre.per f. ten.	
<i>kuni yanu mebe aM meboye</i>	‘They have gone to the field’
they go + pre.perf. ten.	

Past Perfect

First Person

<i>aM yanu peikaM aM woyaM</i>	‘I had gone to the field’
I go + past.perf. ten.	
<i>ansi necci yanu abesi aM awayesi</i>	‘We two had gone to the field’
I two go + past.perf. ten.	
<i>ani yanu abe aM awaye</i>	‘We had gone to the field’
we go + past. perf. ten.	

Second Person

<i>kene</i>	<i>yanu</i>	<i>kebe</i>	<i>aM</i>	<i>kewoye</i>	‘You(sg.) had gone to the field’
you (sg.)				go + past. perf. ten.	
<i>kensi necci</i>	<i>yanu</i>	<i>kebesi</i>	<i>aM</i>	<i>kewoyesi</i>	‘You two had gone to the field’
you two				go + past. perf. ten.	
<i>keni</i>	<i>yanu</i>	<i>kebegi</i>	<i>aM</i>	<i>kewoyi</i>	‘You(pl.) had gone to the field’
you (pl.)				go + past. perf. ten.	

Third Person

<i>kune</i>	<i>yanu</i>	<i>pe</i>	<i>aM</i>	<i>oye</i>	‘He/She had gone to the field’
he/she				go + past. perf. ten.	
<i>kunsi necci</i>	<i>yanu</i>	<i>pesi</i>	<i>aM</i>	<i>oyesi</i>	‘He/She two had gone to the field’
he/she two				go + past. perf. ten.	
<i>kuni</i>	<i>yanu</i>	<i>mebe</i>	<i>aM</i>	<i>meoye</i>	‘They had gone to the field’
they				go + past. perf. ten.	

Future Perfect

First Person

<i>Ma yanu pekma oyemen</i>	‘I should have gone to the field’
I go + fut. perf. ten.	
<i>ansi necci yanu abesi saM nuremen</i>	‘We two should have gone to the
I two go + fut. perf. ten.	field’.
<i>ani yanu abe saM nuremen</i>	‘We should have gone to the field’
we go + past. perf. ten.	

Second Person

<i>kene</i>	<i>yanu</i>	<i>kebe</i>	<i>saM</i>	<i>nuremen</i>	‘You(sg.) should have gone to the field’
you (sg.)				go + fut. perf. ten.	
<i>kensi necci</i>	<i>yanu</i>	<i>kebesi</i>	<i>saM</i>	<i>nuremen</i>	‘You two should have gone to the field’
you two				go + fut. perf. ten.	
<i>keni</i>	<i>yanu</i>	<i>kebegi</i>	<i>saM</i>	<i>nuremen</i>	‘You(pl.) should have gone to the field’
you (pl.)				go + fut.per perf. ten.	

Third Person

<i>kune</i>	<i>yanu</i>	<i>pe</i>	<i>saM</i>	<i>nuremen</i>	‘He/She would have gone to the field’
he/she				go + fut. perf. ten.	
<i>kunsi necci</i>	<i>yanu</i>	<i>pesi</i>	<i>saM</i>	<i>nuremen</i>	‘He/She two would have gone to field’
he/she two				go + fut. perf. ten.	

<i>kune</i>	<i>yanu</i>	<i>mebe</i>	<i>saM</i>	<i>nuremen</i>	‘They would have gone to the field’
they		go + fut.	perf.	ten.	

Perfect Continuous

The perfect continuous tense is marked with the affixes *-karo ~ -ciro ~ -klo ~ -giro ~ -kla* followed by *-wo ~ -woyi* for present and past tenses and *-saM nuremen* for future tense along with the respective changes in person, number.

Present Perfect Continuous

First Person

<i>Ma</i>	<i>yanu</i>	<i>pekaro</i>	<i>uwa</i>	<i>a</i>	‘I have been going to the field’
I		go + pre.perf.cont.ten			
<i>ansi</i>	<i>necci</i>	<i>yanu</i>	<i>abicciro</i>	<i>ye</i>	<i>awasi</i>
I	two		go + pre.perf.cont.ten		
<i>ani</i>	<i>yanu</i>	<i>abekloye</i>	<i>awoyi</i>		‘We have been going to the field’
we		go + pre.perf.cont.ten			

Second Person

<i>kene</i>	<i>yanu</i>	<i>kebeklaye</i>	<i>kawa</i>		‘You(sg.) have been going to the field’
you(pl.)		go + pre.perf.cont.ten			
<i>kensi</i>	<i>necci</i>	<i>yanu</i>	<i>kebicciroye</i>	<i>kewasi</i>	‘You two have been going to the field’
you	two		go + pre.perf.cont.ten		
<i>keni</i>	<i>yanu</i>	<i>kebegiroye</i>	<i>kewoyi</i>		‘You(pl.) have been going to the field’
you (pl.)		go + pre.perf.cont.ten			

Third Person

<i>kune</i>	<i>yanu</i>	<i>pekla</i>	<i>ye</i>	<i>uwa</i>	‘He/She has been going to the field’
he/she		go + pre.perf.cont.ten			
<i>kunsi</i>	<i>necci</i>	<i>yanu</i>	<i>kebicciraye</i>	<i>kewasi</i>	‘He/She two have been going to the field’
he/she	two		go + pre.perf.cont.ten		
<i>kuni</i>	<i>yanu</i>	<i>kebegiraye</i>	<i>kewoyi</i>		‘They have been going to the field’
they		go + pre.perf.cont.ten			

Past Perfect Continuous

First Person

<i>Ma</i>	<i>yanu</i>	<i>pegaMla</i>	<i>ye</i>	<i>oyaM</i>	‘I had been going to the field’
I		go + past perf.cont.			
<i>ansi</i>	<i>necci</i>	<i>yanu</i>	<i>abesiro</i>	<i>ye</i>	<i>awayesi</i>
I	two		go + past perf.cont.		

ani yanu abera ye awayi
we go + past perf.cont.

‘We had been going to the field’

Second Person

kene yanu kebara ye kewaye
you (sg.) go + past perf.cont.

‘You(sg)had been going to the field’

kensi necci yanu kebe sira ye kewayesi
you two go + past perf.cont.

‘You(two) had been going to the field’

keni yanu kebegiraye kewayi
you (pl.) go + past perf.cont.

‘You(pl)had been going to the field’

Third Person

kune yanu peira ye oye
he/she go + past perf.cont.

‘He/She had been going to the field’

kunsi necci yanu peisira ye oyesi
he/she two go + past perf.cont.

‘He/She two had been going to the field’

kuni yanu meberaye mewo oye
they go + past perf.cont.

‘They had been going to the field’

Future Perfect Continuous

First Person

Ma yanu pekaM saM nuremen
I go + fut.perf.cont.

‘I shall have been going to the field’

ansi necci yanu abesi saM nuremen
I two go + fut.perf.cont.

‘We two shall have been going to the field’

ani yanu abe saM nuremen
we go + fut.perf.cont.

‘We shall have been going to the field’

Second Person

kene yanu kebe saM nuremen
you (sg.) go + fut.perf.cont.

‘You(sg.) shall have been going to the field’

kensi necci yanu kebesi saM nuremen
you two go + fut.perf.cont.

‘You(two) shall have been going to the field’

keni yanu kebegi saM nuremen
you (pl.) go + fut.perf.cont.

‘You(pl.) shall have been going to the field’

Third Person

kune yanu pesaM nuremen
he/she go + fut.perf.

‘He/She will have been going to the field’

<i>kunsi necci yanu pesi saM men nuremen</i>	'He/She two will have been
you two go + fut.per.cont.	going to the field'
<i>kuni yanu mebe saM men nuremen</i>	'They will have been going to
they go + fut.perf.cont.	the field'

Pronominalizing Feature

It is observed that the pronominal base of the first and second persons are inflected to the verbal base uniformly. The feature is prefixed with the verbal base. This type of inflection, i.e. the pronominal base embedded with the verbal base is known as pronominalized feature. It takes place in Limbu language and hence it is referred as Pronominalized group of languages.

Examples:

<i>ansi necci yanu abesi</i>	'I two went to the field'
I two field go+past	
<i>keni yanu kebegi</i>	'You (pl.) went to the field'
You(pl) go+past	

Mood

Mood expresses the speaker's point of view about the occurrence of the event. It may be a statement, a command, a question or doubt.

Indicative

Simple declaratives sentences indicate this mood. There is no marker for this statement.

<i>kuni leMnoMbasi</i>	'They are merchants'
they + merchant	
<i>k^henin aMan</i>	'It is mine'
it is mine	
<i>anige konlam tyeyige</i>	
we this way came	'We came by this way'

Imperative

The imperative is marked with *-a* and *-e* markers along with the verbal stems.

<i>teira</i>				‘take’
<i>kempu</i> brothers	<i>utta</i> call			‘Call your brothers’
<i>sutlaha</i> words	<i>hirikaM</i> neatly	<i>saptusa</i> write		‘Write the words neatly’
<i>yuMe</i>				‘Sit down’
<i>kamma</i> on the ground	<i>yuMe</i> sit			‘Sit on the ground’
<i>S’igaM</i> in	<i>taMke</i> come			‘Come in (sg.)’
<i>ket^ha</i> <i>S’it</i> story one	<i>amette</i> me tell			‘Tell me a story’

Probability Mood

The marker *-chuk / -S’uk* is used to express the probability mood

<i>Ma</i>	<i>tama</i>	<i>c^hukka</i>		‘I may come’
I	come	may		
<i>kune</i>	<i>puyin</i>	<i>sepma</i>	<i>S’uktu</i>	‘He may kill the bird’
he	bird acc.	kill	may	

Obligatory Mood

The marker *-poM* is used after the verb to express obligatory mood

<i>Ma</i>	<i>tamae</i>	<i>poM</i>		‘I ought to come’
Come	to	ought		
<i>kune</i>	<i>puyin</i>	<i>serura</i>	<i>poM</i>	‘He should kill the bird’
		kill	should	

<i>lac^hik</i>	<i>yamba</i>	<i>koc^hc^he</i>	<i>pegma</i>	<i>poM</i>
one	job	to search	go	should
‘One should go to find a job’				

Optative Mood

The marker *-la* is used to express the optative mood. It is usually added after the verb.

<i>k^hen^ha</i>	<i>kerakke</i>	<i>met^haM</i>	<i>la</i>	‘Let them all come’
them	all	come	let	

Desiderative Mood

-*taM* marker is used after the verb to express desiderative mood

<i>Ma</i>	<i>tama</i>	<i>assira taM</i>		'I like to come'
I	to come	like		
<i>kune</i>	<i>c^hasepakwa</i>	<i>cama kusirataM</i>		'He liked to eat the fruit'
he	fruit	to eat liked		

4.2.1.2 NON FINITE VERB

Infinitive

The suffix *-ma* is added to the verb to make it as an infinitive one.

<i>Ma</i>	<i>tama</i>	<i>assirataM</i>		' I like to come',
I	to come	like		
Here, the verb <i>tye</i> becomes <i>tama</i> to denote infinitive sense.				
<i>kune</i>	<i>c^hasepakwa</i>	<i>c^hama</i>	<i>kusirataM</i>	' He liked to eat the fruit'
he	fruit	to eat	liked	

Purposive infinitive is expressed through the suffix *-re ~ -se* after the main verb.

<i>c^haramre lagi</i>	<i>aMa kopma hettaM</i>	<i>pegaM</i>
graze in order	I hill	go pt.ten

'In order to graze, I went to the hill'

<i>Ma</i>	<i>temmuki</i>	<i>Mse</i>	<i>siligudi peka</i>
I	radio	to buy	siliguri shall go

'I will go to siliguri for buying a radio'

Gerund

The infinite suffix *-ma* is replaced with *-men* in the verbal form to have gerund feature.

Infinite		Gerund	
<i>laMekma</i>	'to walk'	<i>laMekmen</i>	'walking'
<i>logma</i>	'to run'	<i>logmen</i>	'running'
<i>hipma</i>	'to beat'	<i>hipmen</i>	'beating'

kopmao hepma laMekmen t^hople meo nubaro
 hill in walking health is good

‘Walking in the hill is good for health’

c^halik logmen kezabawa ‘Running fast is difficult’
 fast running difficult is

4.2.1.3 CAUSATIVE VERB

The affix *-paM* / *-baM* and *-paMk^huM* will be added to the principal verb to have the causal forms.

Ma onyin lok paMk^huM ‘I have made the horse to run’
 I horse acc. run make pre.perf

Ma hinjayin umlim cabaMo ‘I make the boy to eat the sweet’
 I boy acc. sweet eat make

kuni onha nanpo o lokmebaM kusira mewa
 they horses races run make pre.cont.
 ‘They are making the horses to run in the races’

kune hattisi yambok kejokpen yaMasi pipaMk^hura pat
 they some one worker 5 rupees give pre.cont.
 ‘She is making some one give five rupees to worker’

ansi neccire hinjayin nanbo o lok abaMsu
 we two boy acc. race in run make
 ‘We two make the boy to run in the competition’

aMa hattisi kheneo yaM pipaMk^huMla patta
 I someone money give make pre.cont.
 ‘I am making someone give you money’

4.2.1.4 NEGATIVE VERB

The negative verb is formed by prefixing *me-* to the actual verb and suffixing *-nen* to the verb.

kene yambok c^hokma menunen
 you work do not should
 ‘You should not do the work’

<i>kune</i>	<i>lot^huyin</i>	<i>oma</i>	<i>menunen</i>
she	bread acc.	bake	not should
'She should not bake the bread'			

Sometimes, instead of the suffix *-nen*, the suffix *-n* is added to the verb.

<i>Ma</i>	<i>mebekan</i>	'I am not going'
I	not go	
<i>Ma</i>	<i>tandik medan</i>	'I shall not come tomorrow'
I	tomorrow not come + fut.	

It is also noticed that on the instructional type sentences, the suffix *-nen* loses the final consonant *-n* and as such only *-ne* is added after the verb.

<i>kon</i>	<i>heke</i>	<i>mebat^hene</i>	'Do not say thus'
	thus	not say	
<i>illek</i>	<i>mejogene</i>		'Do not tell lies'
lies	not tell		
<i>Ma</i>	<i>tamanule togi</i>	<i>mebegene</i>	'Do not go before I come'
I	come before	not go	

For the second person denoting verbs, the negative prefix *me-* is replaced with *ken-* affix for singular and *kem-* affix for plural number. Example

<i>kene</i>	<i>yambok</i>	<i>kenjoknen</i>	'You(sg.) do not work'
you (sg.)	work	not do	
<i>keni</i>	<i>yambok</i>	<i>kemjogin</i>	'You(pl.) do not work'
you (pl.)	work	not do	

4.2.1.5 COMPOUND VERBS

Compound verbs are defined as the combination of two or more verbal stems to form a new verb.

<i>uMma</i>	'to pull'
<i>simma</i>	'dip into'

The above two verbs compound together to form a new verb *uMsimma* 'crawl: as a baby'. The other words in which *simma* combine to form new words are:

<i>puMsimma</i>	'gather together: assemble'
<i>d^huMsimma</i>	'kneel down'

Other examples

<i>tak</i>	'skim : take of cream'
<i>paMma</i>	'shout out'
<i>tak paMma</i>	'ferment'

4.2.1.6 PASSIVE FORMATION

Active Voice

The object follows the noun in active voice. That is, subject comes first , then object and finally verb comes in the active sentence.

yupole yaMsamanega / yabobaga yaM pirusi
 Govt. poor money gives
 ‘The government gives money to the poor’

kune sapanin niru ‘He reads a book’
 he a book reads

Passive Voice

In passive voice, the first object is followed by the noun. The second object marked with case marker which follows the noun .

yangi yupole yobobagao kubic^hogu
 money govt. poor-to given

‘Money is given to the poor by government’

Sometimes as cited in the following second example there will be no passive markers at all in the passive constructions.

sapanin kune niru ‘The book is read by him’
 book acc. him read

Other examples

koreMyin Mae c^haMaM uwa a
 the bread me by eaten is being

‘The bread is being eaten by me’

ambaka Mae c^haMaM uwa a
 mangoes me by eaten are being

‘The mangoes are being eaten by me’

Negativeness in Passive Constructions

In the passive constructions, the affix *men-* is added before the verb to express negation. The object is followed by the subject and verb in the sentence constructions.

<i>sayin</i>	<i>braminS'</i>	<i>are</i>	<i>menyekun</i>	'The meat is not eaten by the Brahmins'
meat acc.	Brahmins		is not eaten	
<i>ambaka</i>	<i>Ma</i>	<i>menjae</i>	<i>uwa a</i>	'Mangoes are not being eaten by me'
mangoes	I	not eat		

4.2.1.7 TRANSITIVITY

Transitive verbs are verbs in which the action denoted by the verbs pass over from the subject or doer to the object.

<i>kune</i>	<i>puyin</i>	<i>mima</i>	<i>seru</i>
he	bird-acc	y.day	killed

'He killed the bird yesterday'

<i>Ma</i>	<i>kereMin</i>	<i>c^haMa</i>	<i>yuMa</i>
you	bread obj	eat	pre.con

'I am eating a bread'

Following are some of the verbs which are transitive

<i>t^huM</i>	'bend(a stick)'
<i>eM</i>	'break a stick'
<i>yom</i>	'break a pot'
<i>p^hum</i>	'cut a rope'
<i>sem</i>	'scatter'

4.2.2 ADVERBS

The words, which qualify the verbs, are called adverbs and generally they precede the verb in the construction.

<i>noMek^haM</i>	<i>pare</i>	'speak slowly'
slowly	speak	

There are different types of adverbs namely simple, derived and so on.

Simple

These are generally monomorphemic words.

<i>lok</i>	'part'
<i>yen</i>	'day'
<i>yem</i>	'time'

Derived

Adverbs are derived by adding some suffixes such as *–ye* and *–miba* to the noun stems.

<i>kusaM miba</i>	‘newly’
<i>kemsiM baye</i>	‘smartly’

Adverbs are also classified on the basis of time, place and manner.

Time Adverbs

<i>nambek</i>	‘afternoon’
<i>yunc^hik</i>	‘evening’
<i>salumba</i>	‘midnight’
<i>ap^hala saM</i>	‘often’
<i>ac^hendan</i>	‘day after tomorrow’

Direction Adverbs

<i>namgen</i>	‘east’
<i>namt^ha</i>	‘west’
<i>kuruM</i>	‘middle’
<i>pesam</i>	‘near’
<i>c^hukwa lepsam</i>	‘right side’
<i>peMwa lepsam</i>	‘left side’

Manner Adverbs

<i>sikkumibaye</i>	‘wisely’
<i>kemsiMbaye</i>	‘smartly’
<i>kusaMmiba</i>	‘newly’

Reduplicated Adverbs

Certain adverbs are having reduplicated words to express the greater intensity of the meaning.

<i>t^hik aM t^hik</i>	<i>kumak^hla</i>	<i>asekkille</i>	<i>ot^hinha</i>	<i>t^hikaMt^hik</i>	<i>narusi</i>
	black	snake	eggs-obj	one by one	ate
‘The black snake ate the eggs one by one’					

4.2.3 PARTICLES

Particles belong to a wide range of uninflected words. They may be used to express negativeness or connectiveness etc. In Limbu, the following are some of the particles that are used in the expressions.

Connective Particle

aM is used as a connective particle in Limbu.

Example :

himmu peiga aM nuke pere
home go and back come
'Go home and come back'

Negative Particle

meM - is used as a negative particle in Limbu.

Example :

Ma a thia M me M ku
I all places no found
'I found it nowhere'

5. SYNTAX

5.1 ORDER OF WORDS IN SENTENCES

The type of sentence formation in Limbu language is as follow

Subject S	Object O	Verb V	
<i>Ma</i>	<i>kune</i>	<i>nisuM</i>	'I see him'
I	him	see	

5.2 DESCRIPTION OF TYPES OF SENTENCES

Types of Phrases

The Limbu sentences consist of noun phrase and verb phrase.

Noun Phrase

A noun phrase may consist of a noun alone or followed by one or more attributes.

<i>kune</i>	<i>kuS'a</i>	'His son'
his	son	
<i>kuni</i>	<i>S'aha</i>	'Their sons'
their	sons	
<i>nuba</i>	<i>embic^hc^haS'a</i>	'The good boy'
good	boy	
<i>numa</i>	<i>mensumaS'a</i>	'The good girl'
	girl	

If the plural marker is added to the noun, it is added to the whole noun phrase.

<i>yomba</i>	<i>him</i>	'The large house'
large	house	
<i>yomba</i>	<i>himha</i>	'The large houses'
	houses	

If a noun is modified by a quantifier, then quantifier follows the noun.

<i>k^hen^ha</i>	<i>kerakke</i>	'All of them'
them	all	

When two attributes that is numerals and qualitatives are added to the nouns, the order of words will be as follow

numeral attribute	+	qualitative attribute	+	noun
<i>lisi</i>		<i>c^huc^huppa</i>		<i>ot^hinha</i>
four		little		eggs
'Four little eggs'				

When the case marker or post-position is added to the noun, it will be added to the whole noun phrase.

<i>nisam</i>	<i>himpe</i>	<i>saM</i>	
schoolhouse	near		'Near the school'
<i>nisam</i>	<i>him</i>	<i>onu</i>	
school	house	from	'From the house'

Attributive Noun phrase

The attributes always precede the nouns.

<i>yomba</i>	<i>sappan</i>	'The big book'
big	book	
<i>kup^hora</i>	<i>on</i>	'The white horse'
white	horse	
<i>sarepa</i>	<i>siMp^hekwa</i>	'The green leaf'
green	leaf	

When the plural marker is added to the numeral attribute, it follows the noun.

<i>yomba</i>	<i>sappanha</i>	'The big books'
	books	
<i>kuphora</i>	<i>on ha</i>	'The white horses'
	horses	
<i>S'arepa</i>	<i>siMp^hekwaha</i>	'The green leaves'
	leaves	

When the possessive case is added to the noun, it precedes the noun. However, when the plural marker is added to them then the plural marker comes next to the noun.

<i>ahuk</i>	'my hand'
<i>keraMin</i>	'your foot'

<i>kune</i>	<i>puyin</i>	<i>sepma</i>	<i>S'uktu</i>	'He may kill the bird'
he	bird	kill	may	
<i>Ma</i>	<i>tama</i>	<i>poM</i>		'I should come'
I	come	should		
<i>kune</i>	<i>puyin</i>	<i>serura</i>	<i>poM</i>	'He should kill the bird'
he	bird acc.	kill	should	
<i>Ma</i>	<i>tamae</i>	<i>poM</i>		'I ought to come'
I	come	ought		
<i>Ma</i>	<i>tama</i>	<i>niMsaM</i>		'I wish to come'
I	to come	wish		
<i>kene</i>	<i>peikmae</i>	<i>poM</i>		'You must go'
you	go	must		

The negative marker is usually added before the verb. However in some cases, *-ne* is suffixed with the verb, in addition to the negative marking prefix.

<i>k^henin</i>	<i>poMma</i>	<i>suk</i>	'It may happen'
it	may	happen	
<i>k^henin</i>	<i>poMma</i>	<i>mesuknen</i>	'It is impossible'
	may	not happen	
<i>illek</i>	<i>mejogene</i>		'Do not tell lies'
lies	not tell		
<i>kene</i>	<i>yambok</i>	<i>mejoknen</i>	'You (sg) will not work'
you(sg.)	work	not do fut	
<i>Ma</i>	<i>niruMla</i>	<i>yuMaM</i>	'I was reading'
I	read	past.cont	
<i>Ma</i>	<i>mennite</i>	<i>yuMaM</i>	'I was not reading'
I	not read	past.cont.	

Types of Sentences

Statement / Declarative Sentences

In statement type sentences, subject, object and verb pattern generally takes place.

<i>kune</i>	<i>am ma</i>	
she	my mother is	‘She is my mother’

<i>kune</i>	<i>aeima</i>	
she	my daughter is	‘She is my daughter’

<i>Ma</i>	<i>eima</i>	<i>t^hi</i>	<i>kat^huM</i>	
I	daughter	one	have	‘I have one daughter’

<i>Ma</i>	<i>eima</i>	<i>sumsi</i>	<i>kat^huMsiM</i>	
I	daughter	three	have	‘I have three daughters’

Interrogative Sentences

The interrogative words such as *at^hi* ‘where’, *t^hye* ‘what’ etc. are added after the nouns to make the interrogative sense .

<i>keS’aha</i>	<i>at^hi</i>	<i>mewa</i>	
your children	where	are	‘Where are your children ?’

<i>kene</i>	<i>t^hye</i>	<i>kejobe</i>	
you	what	eat	‘What do you eat ?’

<i>kene</i>	<i>ak^hen</i>	<i>t^haMbe</i>	<i>keget</i>	
you	how many	years	old	‘How old are you ?’

<i>kene</i>	<i>t^heaM</i>	<i>kebekpa</i>	
you	why	are going	‘Why are you going?’

Imperative Sentences

The imperative sense is marked with the affix *-a* which comes after the verb that is sentence ending. Sometimes *-a* is substituted with affix *-e*

<i>c^huwa</i>	<i>azat</i>	<i>p^hetta</i>	
water	some	bring	‘Bring some water’

<i>kon</i>	<i>sappanin</i>	<i>nire e</i>	
this	book	read	‘Read this book’

<i>himmu</i>	<i>peiga</i>	<i>aM</i>	<i>nuke</i>	<i>pere</i>	‘Go home and come back’
home	go	and	back	come	

<i>sutlaha</i>	<i>nirikaM</i>	<i>saptusa</i>	‘Write the words neatly’
words	neatly	write	

Negative Sentences

The prefix *me-*, and the suffix *-ne* are added to the verb to express negativeness.

<i>mipe</i>	<i>saM</i>	<i>mebegene</i>	‘Do not go near the fire’
fire	near	not go	

Sometimes *men-* is prefixed to the verb instead of *me*.

<i>braminhare</i>	<i>S’a</i>	<i>menjekun</i>	‘Brahmins do not eat meat’
Brahmins	meat	not eat	

However, it is found that whenever mood markers are added to that verb, the negative marker is placed between the verb and mood markers

<i>Ma</i>	<i>yoMin</i>	<i>koma</i>	<i>men</i>	<i>c^huk</i>	<i>hekkela</i>	<i>Ma</i>	<i>yen</i>	<i>membek</i>
I	net	to find	not	could	so	I	today	not went

‘I could not find my net so I did not go today’

Causative Sentences

The causative marker – *paM* is added after the verb to express causativeness

<i>Ma</i>	<i>hattisi</i>	<i>k^heneo</i>	<i>ya M</i>	<i>pipaMkuMla</i>	<i>patta</i>
I	some one	you	money	give cause	pre. cont.ten.

‘I am making some one to give you money’

<i>Ma</i>	<i>anc^ha</i>	<i>mensumayin</i>	<i>yembic^hao</i>	<i>umlim</i>	<i>c^hapaMkuM</i>
I	my	younger sister	boy to	sweet	feed make

‘I make my sister to feed the boy with sweets’

5.3 DESCRIPTION OF PATTERN OF SENTENCES

All the three kinds of sentences are realised in Limbu.

Simple Sentence

A simple sentence, that is without subordinate clause consists of either object or no object in its words of components.

<i>kyayin</i> dog	<i>a</i> barks				‘The dog barks’
<i>honin</i> horse	<i>lokte</i> run+past.ten.				‘The horse ran’
<i>anige</i> we	<i>mima</i> y. day	<i>tyeyige</i> came	‘We came yesterday’		
<i>labak</i> banyan	<i>siMhepmo</i> tree-in	<i>kesesiMba</i> spreading	<i>aMk^hebappa</i>	<i>siMporahepmu</i> branches	
<i>agwanu</i> crow and	<i>k^humet</i> wife	<i>ma agwaha</i> mother+pl.	<i>yuMesi</i> lived		

'In one of the branches of banyan tree one crow and his wife crow hen lived'

Complex Sentences

The subordinate clause precedes the main clause in complex sentences.

<i>Ma</i> I	<i>nisus</i> saw	<i>ille</i> when	<i>kune</i> he	<i>kammo</i> ground	<i>k^heMsiMnaM</i> lie down	<i>nesa</i>
'He was lying on the ground when I saw him'						
<i>kon</i> this	<i>yemle</i> time	<i>aM</i> aslo	<i>kumak^hla</i> black	<i>asekille</i> snake	<i>at^hinha</i> my eggs	<i>c^hosigaro</i> ate them
<i>kon</i> this	<i>siMbuMhepmu</i> tree -in	<i>yalikyem</i> more time	<i>karak^h</i> till	<i>meyuMan</i> won't stay		

'If the black snake eats up my eggs this time also, I refuse to live in this tree any longer'

Compound Sentence

A connector compounds two simple sentences into one sentence

ramare krusna p^here mettu koro krusnare moyem hopte
Rama Krishna come makes but krishna time no

‘Rama makes Krishna come but Krishna has no time’

Ma kune sama sardaMha tepaMkuM koro kune allo ment^hemana poka
I him luggages take make but he now not want

‘I make him take the luggage but he does not want it now’

In the above-cited examples, two complete sentences are joined together by means of a connector *koro* ‘but’ to form as a single sentence.

BIBLIOGRAPHY & REFERENCES

- Acharya, K.P. 1982 *Lotha Grammar*, Mysore: Central Institute of Indian Languages
- Austin, H. 1982 *Research on Tibeto-Burman Languages* (Trends in Linguistics: State of Arts), Berlin: Mouton Publishers
- Barnard, Comrie 1987 (ed) *The World's Major Languages*, New York : Oxford University press 799 – 810
- Benedict, Paul K. 1972 *Sino – Tibetan : A Conspectus* J.A. Matisoff (Ed.) Cambridge : The University Press
- Bradley, David 1997 *Tibeto – Burman languages and classification* I.D.Bradley (Ed) *Papers in South East Asian Linguistics : Tibeto – Burman languages of the Himalayas* (no.14, pp – 71) Canberra : Pacific Linguistics
- Campbell, G. 1874 *Specimen of Languages of India including those of the aboriginal tribes of West Bengal, the central provinces and eastern frontier* , Calcutta: Bengal Secretariate Press
- Census of India 2001 *Population by Language/Mother Tongue, (Table C-7)*, New Delhi: Office of the Registrar General, India
- Census of India 2001 *Population by Bilingualism (Table C-8)*, New Delhi: Office of the Registrar General, India
- Chowdhury, K. 1967 “*Note on Investigations on Limbu Language*” in B.Roy’s District Census Hand Book (Darjeeling) Census of India , 1961, New Delhi : Registrar General , India
- Drien George Van 1987 *A Grammar of Limbu*, Berlin : Mouton de Gruyter
- Grierson, G. A. 1909 *Linguistic Survey of India* Vol. III Part I, Tibeto-Burman Family Himalayan Dialects , North Assam Groups, Delhi: Motilal Banasirdas(Reprint)
- Shafer, R. 1938 *Sino Tibetica* , Berekely: University of California
- Shafer, R. 1966 *Introduction to Sino Tibetan* , Wiesbadan: Otto Harrassowitz
- Singh, K.S. 1993 *Sikkim, (People of India Volume XXXIX)* Anthropological Survey of India, Calcutta and Sea Gull book, Calcutta .
- Singh, K.S. 2001 *The Scheduled Tribes, (People of India, National Series, Volume III)* Anthropological Survey of India And Oxford India Paperback, Delhi
- Subba, J.R. 1999 *The Limboos of Eastern Himalayas with Special Reference to Sikkim*, Gangtok: Sikkim Yakthung Mundhum Saplopa
- Y.P. Yadava and W.W. Glover (eds.) 1999 *Topics in Nepalese Linguistics*, Kathmandu: Royal Nepal Academy

LIMBU

TEXT

ak^herik	agwa	ma ille	kumak^hla	asekin	sEru
---------------------------	-------------	----------------	----------------------------	---------------	-------------

how	crow	hen	black	snake	killed
-----	------	-----	-------	-------	--------

“How the crow hen killed the black snake”

1. *labak siMhepmo* *kese siMba aM*
 banyan tree in spreading

k^hebappa *siMpora* *hepmu* *ag wanu*
 branches tree in crow and

k^humet ma *agwaha* *yuMesi.* *hap hepmu*
 wife mother birds lived nest in

lisi *c^huc^huppa* *ot^hinha* *menase*
 four little eggs were there

at^hinha *sepmepmo* *pamahare* *sarike*
 which care parents too

nurik *t^heptesu* *k^hen* *siMlaM* *hepmuba*
 care guarded that tree trunk in

hayaM *hepmo* *k^humakla* *aosek* *S'it*
 hollow in black snake one

yuMero oye *at^hinin* *agwahare* *sarike*
 lived which crows greatly

kiresu. *t^hiyont^hok* *ma* *agwaille*
 fear every day crow hen

k^hut^hinha *t^hindu* *hekkelle* *osekin*
 eggs laid so that snake

hap^hepmu *uMsiM* *t^haMe* *aM* *naru*
 nest in crept came and swallowed

tesusi.

them

“Among the spreading branches of a banyan tree lived a crow and his wife, the crow-hen. In the nest were four little eggs, which the parents guarded with great care. In a hollow of that tree-trunk lived a black snake whom the crows feared greatly. Every time the crow-hen laid her eggs the snake crawled up to the nest and ate them up.”

2. “ *kon* *yemle* *aM* *kumak^hla* *asekille*
 this time also black snake

at^hinha *c^hosigaro* *aMa* *kon* *siMbuM* *hepmu*
 my egg ate them if I this tree in

yalikyem *karak^h* *meyuMan.* *ansi* *happin*
 more time till not stay we two nest

weteno *c^hogma poM*” *larik* *ma puille*
 another place make like this crow-hen

kuyembain *mettu.*
 crow told

“If the black snake eats up my eggs this time also, I refuse to live in this tree any longer. We must build our nest somewhere else”, said the mother bird to her husband.”

3. *ansi* *kopmo* *yalik* *yem* *karak^h*
 we here more time till

ayuMessi *aMa* *ahimmin* *lepma* *aM*
 stayed my house to foresake

weten *yuMse* *pegma* *mesukan* *larik*
 another place to stay to go I can’t that

agwain *pat* *kunsi* *tazeMu* *yuMa sille*
 crow said they to talk stayed

hisiM *ikla sik* *kunsi* *posaM* *k^hemsu.*
 hissing sound they below hear- they

ikla in *thenlan* *oye* *k^hen* *k^hunsi*
 sound what was that they

kusiMni *tesu.* *hapsigaM* *kup^hamene*
 knew them nest in helpless

<i>kunsi</i> they	<i>tinha</i> eggs	<i>sepmare</i> to guard	<i>tomsino</i> try
<i>yuMesi</i> lived	<i>kumak^hla</i> black	<i>asekin</i> snake	<i>t^haMt^haM</i> up
<i>yam mo</i> again	<i>hapille</i> nest	<i>pesaM</i> hear	<i>uM sin</i> crept
<i>hekke aM</i> there after	<i>yomba</i> big	<i>hishepmu</i> hissing in	<i>puha</i> birds
<i>t^hok sapma</i> to attack	<i>tomsin c^hoge</i> try	<i>at^hinha</i> which	
<i>yoMma</i> fear	<i>k^hepmaye</i> with	<i>pereaM pesi</i> flew away	<i>kumak^hla</i> black
<i>asek kille</i> snake	<i>ot^hinha</i> eggs	<i>t^hik aM t^hik</i> one by one	<i>narusi .</i> ate

“ We have lived here a long time. I can’t bear to desert my home and go to live elsewhere”, said the crow. While they were talking, they heard a hissing sound just below them. They knew what the sound meant. They sat helplessly in the nest trying to protect their eggs. The black snake crept higher and closer to the nest. Then with a loud hiss he tried to strike at the birds who flew away in terror. One by one, the black snake swallowed the eggs.”

4. *pamaha* *miMwa* *pok`esi* *aM*
parents send they become and
- hap^hepmu* *nukesi* *at^hinhare* *teaM*
nest in back they which
- menen* *enp^haM* *nurike kusiM* *nitesu aM*
nothing would there well knew and
- oye. agwaille patu “aMa kon niMk^humba*
it crow told I this murderous
- asekin petlamare meu / lagi lambe S’it*
snake destroy in order of one
k^hopma poM.
find

The parents came back sadly to their nest, knowing well that they would find it empty. The crow said, “I must find a way to destroy this murderous snake.”

5. *“k^hene* *ak^herikaM* *kunenu* *c^huMma*
 you how he with to fight
- kesuk ?* *sikmEtin* *sarike* *kejaba* *uwa*
 you can sting too much dangerous is
- larik* *kumet^hin* *kuniMsaM* *pugero* *pat*”.
 like this his wife despair told

“How can you ever fight him? His sting is so deadly”, said his wife in despair.

6. *k^hene* *keyOMma* *megerene* *minjime*
 you worry don’t dear
- aMa* *c^humS’it* *kot^hoMa* *t^hin in*
 I friend have which
- niMiba* *aseha* *petlamame pmo*
 poisonous snake in destroying
- iswaba* *uwa* *larik* *agwain* *pat*
 cunning is like this crow told
- hek kiyaM* *kune* *we* *siMBuM* *hepmo*
 thereafter he another tree in
- perebe* *at^hille* *kup^hosaM* *kumim*
 flew where under his dear
- kunjuM* *kidiruppen* *yuMere* *oye .*
 friend jackal living was

“Don’t you worry, my dear, I’ve got a friend who is cunning enough to destroy the most poisonous of snakes, “said the crow, and off he flew to another tree under which lived his dear friend, the jackal.”

7. *asekille* *ap^halasaM* *ot^hinha*
 snake always eggs
- c^hosi* *tesusi* *keroben* *kidiruppele*
 ate them jackal

<i>k^hepsunnu</i> heard	<i>kune</i> he	<i>patu</i> told	<i>aMjuMme</i> my friend
<i>at^hinha</i> who	<i>luM ma mendukmana</i> cruel	<i>yem mo</i> and	
<i>kek kimba</i> greedy	<i>mewa</i> these	<i>khen</i> they	<i>hare</i> people
<i>ap^halasaM</i> always	<i>taterat</i> inauspicious	<i>medumu</i> they will find	<i>kunum o</i> end at
<i>megisene</i> don't fear	<i>aMa</i> I	<i>k^hene</i> he	<i>petlamare</i> to destroy
<i>yambein</i> Way	<i>yituM</i> thought	<i>suruM aM</i>	<i>uwa.</i> is

“When the jackal heard how the snake always ate up the eggs, he said, “My friend, those who are cruel and greedy always meet with a bad end. Have no fear, I’ve already thought of a plan to destroy him.”

8. *haw, aMain* *ametta* *k^henin*
oh, I also me tell that
- t^hebe* *larik* *agwain* *pat*
what like that crow said
- he kkeaM* *asekin* *petla mare*
there after snake to destroy
- meo* *tec^hogma* *poM* *k^henin*
in order to what to do that
- kidrupelle* *oyire* *mekhepsu* *p^haM*
jackal others heard over
- kiro* *noMekaM* *kunjummin* *mettu*
fear whisper friend told
agwa in *pepekaM* *lamberapanin*
crow flew way / plan
- kumEthin* *c^haktu ‘konin* *ajek*
wife to expose this bit

<i>kezaba</i>	<i>u wa</i>	<i>larik</i>	<i>agwain</i>	<i>pat</i>
difficult	is	like this	crow	said

<i>ani</i>	<i>sarike</i>	<i>sapsimma poM.</i>
We	too much	to be careful

“Oh, do tell me what it is, “ said the crow then the jackal, fearing he might be overheard, whispered to his friend what he should do to destroy the snake. The crow flew back to his wife and told her about the plan. “It is rather risky”, said the crow. “We’ll have to be very careful.”

9.

<i>aMa</i>	<i>at^hinha</i>	<i>Sepmere</i>	<i>lagi</i>
I	eggs	to protect	order to
- | | | | |
|------------|--------------|--------------------------|---------------|
| <i>meo</i> | <i>tesaM</i> | <i>c^hopma</i> | <i>suktuM</i> |
| whatever | to | do | can |
- | | | | | |
|--------------|---------------|------------|----------------|-------------|
| <i>larik</i> | <i>mapuin</i> | <i>yam</i> | <i>poM bae</i> | <i>pat.</i> |
| like this | crow hen | | bravely | said |

“I’ll do anything to save my eggs”, said the mother bird bravely.

10.

<i>hekkeaM</i>	<i>k^hunsi</i>	<i>lajeba</i>	<i>haMille</i>
there after	they	countrie’s	king’s
- | | | | |
|-----------------|---------------|-----------------|--------------|
| <i>haMyukna</i> | <i>lepsiM</i> | <i>perepesi</i> | <i>kunsi</i> |
| palace | towards | flew | they |
- | | | | |
|-----------------|---------------|----------------|--------------------|
| <i>yuMesiba</i> | <i>siMbuM</i> | <i>hepmonu</i> | <i>huMyukna in</i> |
| stayed where | tree from | | palace |
- | | | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------|-------------------|
| <i>k^hempa</i> | <i>mema k^hen</i> | <i>kunsi</i> | <i>haMyuknaba</i> |
| too | far not | they | palace |
- | | | | | |
|---------------|-----------------|------------|--------------------------|---------------|
| <i>puMgik</i> | <i>S’igaMba</i> | <i>yom</i> | <i>ot^hako</i> | <i>ketchi</i> |
| garden | inside | big | pond | to reach |
- | | | | |
|---------------------------|----------------|------------------|------------|
| <i>at^hinhe</i> | <i>haMsama</i> | <i>mensumaha</i> | <i>uwa</i> |
| where in | royal | ladies | taking |
- | | | |
|--------------------|-----------------|-------------|
| <i>merum sinla</i> | <i>meyakaba</i> | <i>nisu</i> |
| bath | were | saw |
- | | | | |
|----------------------------|--------------------------|---------------|---------------|
| <i>k^henhare</i> | <i>k^hunsi</i> | <i>samyaM</i> | <i>ponaha</i> |
| those | they | gold | chains |

<i>moti</i> pearl	<i>ic^hihanu</i> necklaces	<i>u wei</i> other	<i>kawha</i> jewellery	<i>ot^hakille</i> pond
<i>kuk^heM</i> edge at	<i>bepmu</i>	<i>menasusiaM</i> kept	<i>nesse</i> were	
<i>mapu in</i> mother bird	<i>mo</i> down	<i>perepe i</i> flew	<i>aM</i> and	<i>samyaM</i> gold
<i>pona in</i> chain	<i>kumrao</i> beak	<i>kasu aM</i> picked and	<i>kune</i> she	
<i>yuMeba</i> staying	<i>siMbuM</i> tree	<i>lapsaM</i> towards	<i>noMe kaM</i> gradually	
<i>pema</i> fly	<i>ekta</i> start	<i>haMyukna</i> palace	<i>kegobahare</i> guards	
<i>puin</i> bird	<i>samyaM</i> gold	<i>ponanu</i> chain with	<i>peraraoyeba</i> flying	
<i>menisulla</i> saw	<i>k^hunsi</i> they	<i>t^hok kat^ha</i> clubs		
<i>merotuaM</i> took and	<i>puin</i> bird	<i>menatu</i> closed	<i>kuni</i> they	
<i>puille</i> bird	<i>samyaM</i> gold	<i>ponain</i> chain	<i>siMbuM</i> tree	
<i>hepmoba</i> in		<i>hayoM</i> hollow	<i>S'igaM</i> inside	<i>moktandu</i> dropped
<i>t^heguba</i> saw	<i>menisu</i> guards	<i>k^hegoba</i> among	<i>hapmo</i>	
<i>t^hik ille</i> one person	<i>pona in</i> chain		<i>lobmare</i> to take out	<i>meo / lagi</i> in order
<i>t^haM</i> up	<i>siM buMin</i> tree	<i>liMu</i> climbed	<i>ponain</i> chain	<i>lobmare</i> take out
<i>meo</i> in order to	<i>kuhoMhepmu</i> hole in	<i>kuhukin</i> hand	<i>t^hegunnu</i> put	

<i>kimmo e</i> immediately	<i>kuma k^hla</i> black	<i>asekin</i> snake	<i>tan</i> up		
<i>iksinla</i> curled	<i>taMeba</i> same	<i>nisu</i> saw	<i>kuto kattille</i> his stick		
<i>tikleMsip</i> once		<i>sarike</i> hardly	<i>kak^hu</i> beat	<i>aM</i> and	<i>seru</i> killed
<i>hekke</i> there	<i>aM</i> after	<i>k^heninne</i> that only	<i>kumak^hla</i> black		
<i>ase kille</i> snake		<i>kunumuwa</i> end	<i>poke.</i>		

“So off they flew towards the palace of the king of the country. The palace was not far from the tree in which they lived. They approached a big pond in the palace garden where they saw the royal ladies having a bath. They had laid their golden chains, pearl necklaces and other jewellery on the edge of the pond. The mother bird flew down, picked up a gold chain in her beak and started flying slowly towards the tree in which she lived. When the palace guards saw the bird flying off with the gold chain, they took up their clubs and chased the bird. They saw the bird drop the chain into the hollow of a tree. One of the guards climbed up the tree to get the chain. As he put his hand inside the hole to get the chain, he saw a black snake curled up there. With one hard stroke of his club he killed it and that was the end of the black snake.”

11. *k^henleye gaM* *panu ma* *agwaha* *k^hen*
there after father and mother crow that
- siMbuM hepmu* *niMsapmae* *yuMesi* *yemmu*
tree in happily stayed again
- c^huc^huppa* *oMegwa* *awaha* *aM* *kottesu.*
little baby crows also had

“The crow and the crow-hen lived in that tree happily afterwards and had many little baby crows.”

-----X-----

RAI

R. NAKKEERAR

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 FAMILY AFFILIATION

Rai belongs to Himalayan group of Tibeto-Burman sub family. It is primarily spoken in the state of Sikkim and West Bengal.

Being the original inhabitants of Nepal, the Rais call their country as *Kirant des*. Rais speak more than one dialects that is, Bahing, Balai, Sangpang, Lohorong, Waling, Chhintang, Rungchhanbang, Dungmali, Chamling or Rodong, Nachhereng, Kulung, Churasya, Khaling and Dumi (Census of India, 1961). It was identified, as a pronominalised language during G.A.Grierson period, but in the present study pronominalisation feature is absent.

1.2 LOCATION

As per the field information the Rais are living in Lachung, Zimchung in North Sikkim, Mangthang, Lingzay, South Rhegu in East Sikkim, Kamrang, Beko and Sanghanath in South Sikkim and Topung, Chumbung, Manestong and Paragon in West Sikkim.

1.3 SPEAKERS STRENGTH : Language-Mother Tongue- Bilingualism

The speakers' strength of Rai in respect of language / mother tongue and bilingualism/trilingualism as per 2001 Census publication is given below.

Language

RAI	TOTAL	M	F	RURAL	M	F	URBAN	M	F
INDIA	14,378	7,653	6,725	14,013	7,441	6,572	365	212	153
Sikkim	8,856	4,711	4,145	8,740	4,649	4,091	116	62	54

Mother Tongue

RAI	TOTAL	M	F	RURAL	M	F	URBAN	M	F
INDIA	10,446	5,551	4,895	10,236	5,435	4,801	210	116	94
Sikkim	8,829	4,696	4,133	8,713	4,634	4,079	116	62	54

1.4 BILINGUALISM

As returned in 2001 Census out of 8856 Rai speakers in Sikkim 6680 are the bilinguals and they are Bilinguals in the following language in descending order .

Sl.No	Language of Bilingualism	Total	Male	Female	Language of Trilingualism among the Bilingualism	Total	Male	Female
1	Nepali	5795	3101	2694	i.Hindi	800	546	254
					ii.English	310	188	122
					iii.Limbu	17	10	7
					iv.Bhotia	7	4	3
					v.Lepcha	7	5	2
					vi.Sherpa	6	1	5
					vii.Others @	2	1	1
2	Hindi	451	260	191	i. English	198	113	85
					ii.Nepali	160	93	67
					iii.Bhotia	1	1	0
					iv.Lepcha	1	0	1
					v.Limbu	1	0	1
					vi.Others @	3	3	0
3	English	403	235	168	i.Hindi	185	114	71
					ii.Nepali	132	80	52
					iii.Limbu	1	0	1
					iv.Others @	3	2	1
4	Bhotia	7	6	1	i. Hindi	1	1	0
					ii.Nepali	1	0	1
5	Lepcha	6	2	4	i.Nepali	3	0	3
					ii.Hindi	2	1	1
6	Limbu	6	3	3	i.Nepali	4	2	2
					ii.Hindi	1	1	0
7	Sherpa	4	0	4	i.Nepali	3	0	3
					ii.Others @	1	0	1
8	Total of Others #	8	5	3	i.Nepali	2	1	1

Accordingly 75.43% are bilinguals among the Rai speakers of Sikkim.

- # *Under the languages of Bilingualism the clubbed ‘Total of Others’ comprise of Bilingual speakers strength in relevant languages below 100. But in the state of Sikkim the languages like Nepali, Bhotia, Limbu, Lepcha, Sherpa, Tibetan, Tamang and Rai are the most important languages. So, the bilingual strength in respect of these languages, even if it is below 100 speakers, have been taken separately and not clubbed under "Total of Others"*
- @ *Under the head Trilingualism the clubbed ‘Others’ comprise of trilingual speakers strength in relevant languages below 100. But in the states of Sikkim the languages like Nepali, Bhotia, Limbu, Lepcha, Sherpa, Tibetan, Tamang and Rai are the most important languages. So, the trilingual strength in respect of these languages, even if it is below 100 speakers, have been taken separately and not clubbed under "Others"*

1.5 SOCIOLINGUISTIC SETTING

Rais are one of the cultivating tribes of Nepal. They inhabited in between the Dud kosi and Tambor rivers in Nepal. They claim that their country alone is called Kirant de:s. They call themselves Rais. In modern times, they have spread over Nepal, Sikkim and West Bengal. Rais are basically Buddhists but they are slowly leaving their custom, tradition and culture because acceptance of Hinduism and Christianity by section of them.

Rai (Bantawa) is declared as an official language of Sikkim in the year 1995. The present Government of Sikkim state has taken up the work of developing Rai (Bantawa) language like Lepcha, Bhotia, Limbu etc. and appointed some scholars for the purposes. Sikkim Regional Language Development Committee has been formed taking members from different linguistic communities with objects to celebrate “Regional Language Day” every year, to bring unity integrity and communal harmony among the various regional languages of Sikkim, to make efforts for pioneering and advocating regional languages in every institution and to maintain amicable relationship with all the communities within the state of Sikkim and decided to help the communities / associations / organisation if approached.

Kirate Association is promoting their language through translations by teaching their language to the people. The Government of Sikkim from 2002 onwards has introduced this language in the Government schools as first language up to 6th standard in 10 schools. They are also giving an effort in the translation work (from and into Rai (Bantawa) language). There is no programme in All India Radio as well as Television as such in Sikkim. But sometimes, the cultural programme is organized and telecasted by the local television.

1.6 REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Grierson (1909 : 1967 reprinted) collected a version of the ‘parable of the prodigal son’ as text and a list of standard words and phrases in a dialect called Rai which has been collected from the Royal Darbar of Nepal. In 1985, Noval Kishore Rai has done his Ph.D on “A descriptive study of Bantawa” based on Bantawa in Sikkim. His work is still unpublished. After that Yogendra P.Yadava and Warren W Glover (1999) have compiled some articles on Nepalese Linguistics in that Balthasar Bickel and Karen. H Ebert have presented articles on Kiranti languages which is based on the language spoken in Nepal. No other work is available in Rai (Bantawa) language.

Below is the grammatical description of the Rai (Bantawa) language based on the data collected from Informants during 1998 and 2008. The informants are Shri P.C.Rai, Shri R.K.Rai, Shri A.B.Rai and Shri.M.D.Rai.

2.PHONOLOGY

Rai speaks more than one dialect, which has been already mentioned in the introduction chapter. Out of those dialects Bantawa is generally considered as the standard variety of Rai. So, The present study is based on Rai – Bantawa data.

2.1 PHONEMIC INVENTORY

Rai phonemic inventory consists of 33 segmental phonemes out of which 5 are vowels and 28 are consonants.

2.1.1 SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

Vowels

	Front	Back
High	<i>i</i>	<i>u</i>
Mid	<i>e</i>	<i>o</i>
Low		<i>a</i>

Consonants

	BILABIAL	ALVEOLAR	RETROFLEX	PALATAL	VELAR	GLOTTAL
	vl vd	vl vd	vl vd	vl vd	vl vd	vl vd
STOPS	<i>p b</i>	<i>t d</i>	<i>T D</i>	<i>c j</i>	<i>k g</i>	
asp.	<i>ph bh</i>	<i>th dh</i>	<i>Th Dh</i>	<i>ch</i>	<i>kh</i>	
FRICATIVES		<i>s</i>				<i>h</i>
NASALS	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>		<i>M'</i>	<i>M</i>	
LATERAL		<i>l</i>				
TRILL		<i>r</i>				
SEMI VOWELS	<i>w</i>			<i>y</i>		

2.1.2 SUPRA SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

In Rai (Bantawa) data length is found as phonemic. Nasalization is not phonemic.

/kha:Da/	‘where’
/kaDa/	‘hand’
/M’a/	‘fish’
/ma:/	‘mother’

2.2 PHONEMIC DESCRIPTION AND DISTRIBUTION

The following types of vowels are available in Rai at Phonemic level.

High front unrounded vowel [i]
 High back rounded vowel [u]
 Mid high front unrounded vowel [e]
 Mid high back rounded vowel [o]
 Low back unrounded vowel [a]

Contrasting pairs (Vowels)

/i/	and	/e/	
/ima/			‘to laugh’
/ema/			‘to excrete’
/cinma:/			‘learn’
/chenma:/			‘choose’
/a/	and	/e/	
/ap-ma/			‘to shoot’
/ep-ma/			‘to stand’
/amaM/			‘uncooked rice’
/emkha:/			‘bed’
/u/	and	/o/	
/kupma/			‘to pluck’
/kopma/			‘to collect’
/chupma/			‘kiss’
/chokma/			‘saw’

/ i / and / o /

/piTma/
/poT/

‘cow’
‘neck’

/ u / and / e /

/cukma/
/cekma/

‘to pinch’
‘to close’

Contrasting pairs (Consonants)

/p ~ ph/

/puMma/
/phuMma/

‘to start’
‘to run away’

/p ~ b/

/pa:pa/
/ba:sa/

‘father’
‘bus’

/b ~ bh/

/bunma/
/bhunma/

‘to uproot’
‘to crash’

/k ~ kh /

/kaTma/
/khaTma/

‘to feel’
‘to go’

/k~g/

/koMma/
/goMma/

‘to feel uneasy’
‘to freez’

/m ~ n /

/maM/
/naMkuDu/

‘God’
‘snow’

/m ~ M/

/lom/
/laM/

‘road’
‘foot’

/M ~ M’/

/Ma/
/M’a/

‘to’
‘fish’

<i>/T ~ D/</i>		
	<i>/seTma/</i>	‘drag’
	<i>/seDma/</i>	‘heat (a drum)’
<i>/D ~ Dh/</i>		
	<i>/Da/</i>	‘at/in’
	<i>/Dha/</i>	‘falls’
<i>/c ~ch/</i>		
	<i>/cuk/</i>	‘colour’
	<i>/chuk/</i>	‘hand’
<i>/m~mh/</i>		
	<i>/muma/</i>	‘to do’
	<i>/mhuma/</i>	‘to fight’
<i>/l~lh/</i>		
	<i>/loe/</i>	‘tell’
	<i>/lhoe/</i>	‘run’
<i>/d ~ dh/</i>		
	<i>/dupma/</i>	‘tools making’
	<i>/dhupma/</i>	‘to pierce’
<i>/t ~th/</i>		
	<i>/tukma/</i>	‘to feel sick’
	<i>/thukma/</i>	‘to sieve’

2.3 MAJOR ALLOPHONIC DISTRIBUTION

/ i / is the high front unrounded vowel has two allophones [I] and [i]

[I] lower high front unrounded vowel occurs in the final position followed lateral consonant

<i>[kho:kII]</i>	<i>/kho:kli/</i>	‘forest’
<i>[chEn chokII]</i>	<i>/chen chokli/</i>	‘hill’

[i] high front unrounded vowel occurs elsewhere

Initial	<i>/iMlakudha:/</i>	‘school’
Medial	<i>/busit/</i>	‘first’
	<i>/kuhik/</i>	‘fog’
final	<i>/kharoni/</i>	‘ashes’
	<i>/ja:ri/</i>	‘path’
	<i>/mi:/</i>	‘fire’

/e/ is the mid high front unrounded vowel. This has two allophones [E] and [e].

[E] mid low front unrounded vowel occurs between consonants of the first syllable

[sEnkhen]	/senkhen/	‘star’
[chEnchokli]	/chenchokli/	‘hill’

[e] occurs medially

/chuwadewa/	‘sea’
/senkhen/	‘star’

/a/ is the low back unrounded vowel, has two allophones [A] and [a]

/A/ mid central unrounded vowel, occurs in the word initial syllable and in the penultimate syllable when followed by [a] in the succeeding syllable.

[hAk]	/hak/	‘rain’
[duwAcha]	/duwacha/	‘male’

[a] occurs elsewhere

/anninko/	‘dumb’
/mana/	‘person’

/o/ is the mid high back rounded vowel has two allophones [O] and [o]

[O] low mid back rounded vowel occurs immediately after retroflex sound

[luMTOk]	/luMTok/	‘stone’
[khAnDOK]	/khanDok/	‘island’
[khATOknin]	/khaToknin/	‘blind’

[o] occurs elsewhere

initial	/omphiyaMma/	‘milk’
medial	/wachok/ /no:pma/	‘wet’ ‘touch’
final	/noTno/	‘soft’

/u/ is the high back rounded vowel. This is not having allophones.

/namku/	‘tortoise’
/muma/	‘do’
/makuwa/	‘spider’
/chukni/	‘fast’
/patulo/	‘thin’
/yuwa/	‘bone’

2.4 DESCRIPTION AND DISTRIBUTION OF CONSONANTS

The consonants in Rai are distributed initially, medially and finally. Aspiration is phonemic with Stop, Nasals and Laterals.

Stops

/p/ is the voiceless bilabial stop occurring in all the places.

initial	/patulo/	‘thin’
	/piThma/	‘cow’
medial	/kapma/	‘to press’
	/ToppaM/	‘tall’
	/pa:pa/	‘father’
final	/la:dip/	‘moon’
	/walap/	‘feather’

/ph/ is the aspirated voiceless bilabial stop occurring in initial and medial positions

initial	/phekwa/	‘money’
	/phuMma/	‘escape’
medial	/Tompuk/	‘stick’
	/ka:phma/	‘midwife’

/b/ is the voiced bilabial stop occurring in all the positions

initial	/bima/	‘walk’
medial	/phembacuk/	‘palm’
	/na:bo:k/	‘nose’
final	/bub/	‘worship’

/bh/ is aspirated voiced bilabial stop occurring in initial and medial position

initial	<i>/bheMma/</i>	‘to burst’
	<i>/bhuMwaT/</i>	‘flower’
	<i>/bhow/</i>	‘nine’
medial	<i>/sakbhunma/</i>	‘to kill the will’

/t/ is the voiceless alveolar stop occurring in all the positions

initial	<i>/taMphe/</i>	‘sari’
	<i>/tama banmu/</i>	‘arrive’
medial	<i>/khatma/</i>	‘to go’
	<i>/pittala/</i>	‘brass’
final	<i>/pat/</i>	‘cries’

/th/ is the aspirated voiceless alveolar stop occurring in initial and medial positions

initial	<i>/then/</i>	‘last’
medial	<i>/rokthok/</i>	‘care basket for fish’
	<i>/mokthuwa/</i>	‘dull’
	<i>/khathep/</i>	‘blind’

/d/ is the voiced alveolar stop occurring in initial and medial positions

initial	<i>/dosiwa/</i>	‘lip’
	<i>/dari/</i>	‘beard’
medial	<i>/la:dip/</i>	‘moon’
	<i>/dowaMdum/</i>	‘story’
	<i>/khamdak/</i>	‘island’

/dh/ is the aspirated voiced alveolar stop occurring in all the positions

initial	<i>/dhama/</i>	‘to come down’
	<i>/dhuMma/</i>	‘hit’
	<i>/dhupma/</i>	‘stab’
	<i>/dhinaraluM/</i>	‘mountain’
medial	<i>/iMlakhudha/</i>	‘religious school’
	<i>/dhadhareM/</i>	‘world’
final	<i>/poudh/</i>	‘plant’

/k/ is the voiceless velar stop occurring in all the positions

initial	/kuM/	‘tooth’
	/konkuma/	‘chest’
Medial	/khokli /	‘press’
	/chokma/	‘to twinkle’
final	/hak/	‘air’
	/chomak/	‘spirit’
	/luMTok/	‘stone’

/kh/ is the aspirated voiceless velar stop occurring in initial and medial positions

initial	/khim/	‘house’
	/khokli/	‘forest’
Medial	/mikhuma:/	‘smoke’
	/neMkha:ma/	‘earth’

/g/ is the voiced velar stop occurring in initial and medial positions.

Initial	/gukwa/	‘crow’
	/gara:/	‘cart’
	/gampani/	‘weather’
Medial	/gagyuM/	‘crab’
	/banga/	‘cotton’

/T/ is the voiceless retroflex stop occurring in all the positions

Initial	/TiT/	‘cloth’
	/Tayapa/	‘husband’
	/Tayama/	‘wife’
	/Tonma/	‘push’
Medial	/khimTaM/	‘head of the house’
	/suMTaM/	‘tree’
Final	/TiT/	‘cloth’
	/saemTiT/	‘turban’
	/bhuMwaT/	‘flower’

/Th/ is the aspirated voiceless retroflex stop occurring in initial and medial positions

initial	<i>/Thum/</i>	‘tall’
	<i>/Thamma:/</i>	‘float’
	<i>/Tha:pma:/</i>	‘wash’
Medial	<i>/ThenThaMkha/</i>	‘last piece of the land’

/D/ is the voiced retroflex stop occurring in initial and medial positions

Initial	<i>/Danka/</i>	‘from’
	<i>/DoM/</i>	‘year’
Medial	<i>/o:Da/</i>	‘here’
	<i>/kha:Da/</i>	‘where’
	<i>/kaDa/</i>	‘hand’

/Dh/ is the aspirated voiced retroflex stop occurring in initial and medial positions

initial	<i>/Dhipma/</i>	‘to cover’
	<i>/Dhilo/</i>	‘late’
	<i>/Dhilam/</i>	‘road’
Medial	<i>/sukDhi/</i>	‘chance’

/h/ is voiced glottal fricative occurring in initial and medial positions

Initial	<i>/hoMku/</i>	‘river’
	<i>/hawasi/</i>	‘second’
	<i>/hiuM/</i>	‘ice’
Medial	<i>/ku:hip/</i>	‘cool’
	<i>/buluhut/</i>	‘window’

/c/ is the voiceless palatal stop occurring in initial and medial positions

Initial	<i>/cencokli/</i>	‘hill’
	<i>/cillo/</i>	‘smooth’
	<i>/caMara/</i>	‘goat’
Medial	<i>/mecei/</i>	‘short’
	<i>/nuTcuM/</i>	‘right’

/ch/ is the aspirated voiceless palatal stop occurring in initial and medial positions

Initial	/chuk/	‘hand’
Medial	/lemchokwa/ /dukpaca/	‘sweet’ ‘boy’

/j/ is the voiced palatal stop occurring in initial and medial positions

Initial	/jumdo/ /jama:li:na:/ /ja:ra:/	‘second son’ ‘freeze’ ‘all’
Medial	/panja:/ /purja:/	‘claw’ ‘loom’

Fricative

/s/ is the voiceless alveolar fricative occurring in initial and medial positions

Initial	/senkhen/ /sakhab/ /somsa:rk/	‘star’ ‘comb’ ‘lung’
Medial	/kra:nli:sa:/ /bhusuna/ /huMsaM/	‘eclipse’ ‘fly’ ‘intelligent animal’

Nasal

/m/ is the bilabial nasal occurring in all the positions.

Initial	/ma:/ /mana:/	‘mother’ ‘man’
Medial	/kuhikma:/ /bulambu/	‘cloud’ ‘leader’
Final	/nam/ /lam/	‘sun’ ‘road’

/M’/ is the palatal nasal occurring initial positions

Initial	/M’a:ksi/ /M’ansa/ /M’a/	‘banana’ ‘grass’ ‘to’
---------	--------------------------------	-----------------------------

/M/ is the velar nasal occurring in all the positions

Initial	<i>/MaluM/</i>	‘face’
Medial	<i>/yuMa/</i> <i>/heMka:ma/</i>	‘sat’ ‘earth’
Final	<i>/hiuM/</i> <i>/naM/</i> <i>/kharaM/</i>	‘ice’ ‘snow’ ‘went’

/n/ is the alveolar nasal occurring in all the positions

Initial	<i>/namma/</i> <i>/naM/</i> <i>/nuTchuM/</i>	‘to smell’ ‘snow’ ‘true’
Medial	<i>/canma/</i> <i>/mana/</i>	‘to graze’ ‘man’
Final	<i>/waDin/</i> <i>/mokon/</i>	‘egg’ ‘minister’

Lateral

/l/ is the alveolar lateral occurring in initial and medial positions

Initial	<i>/luMTak/</i> <i>/ladip/</i>	‘stone’ ‘moon’
Medial	<i>/kra:nlisa/</i> <i>/salunma/</i>	‘eclipse’ ‘to beautify’

Trill

/r/ is alveolar trill occurring in initial and medial positions

Initial	<i>/raTma/</i>	‘to save’
Medial	<i>/siriseMma/</i> <i>/chorai/</i>	‘to forgive’ ‘wide’

Semivowel

/w/ is the bilabial semivowel occurring in all the positions

Initial	<i>/wa/</i> <i>/walap/</i>	‘rain’ ‘feather’
Medial	<i>/yawa/</i> <i>/duwaca/</i>	‘friend’ ‘son’

/y/ is palatal semi vowel occurring in initial and medial positions

Initial	/Tayawa/	‘bone’
	/yum/	‘salt’
Medial	/Tayawa/	‘husband’
	/kayaM/	‘spokesman’
	/boyula:/	‘bridegroom’

2.5 CLUSTERS

Vowels

Rai has cluster of vowels *ai-*, *ia-*, *ei-*, *ui-*, *oi-*, *-iu-*, *-ae-*, *-uo-*, *-ou-*, *-au-*, *-ai-*, *-ei-*, *-ou-*, *-oi-*, *-ui-*, *-io-*, *-iu-*, *-oa-*, *-ao-*, *-ua-*, *-ia-*, *-au-*, *-ue-*, *-io-*, *-ao-*, *-uo-*, *-oe* and *ai*. These clusters generally occur in all the positions.

Initial

/ai-/	/ai/	‘today’
/ia-/	/ia/	‘laugh’
/ei-/	/eima/	‘costly’
/ui-/	/uisa/	‘in this way’
/oi-/	/oisi/	‘berry’

Medial

/-ae-/	/saempok	‘body’
/-au-/	/caut/	‘not tasty’
/-ai-/	/baima/	‘to send’
/-iu-/	/hiuM/	‘ice’
/-uo-/	/huok/	‘barks’
/-ui-/	/muinka/	‘we do’
/-ou-/	/poudh/	‘plant’
/-oi-/	/poiwa/	‘a bird’

Final

/-au/	/khau/	‘which’
/-ai/	/corai/	‘wide’
/-ao/	/banao/	‘came’
/-ia/	/bia/	‘walked’
/-ua/	/mua/	‘did’
/-ue/	/mue/	‘do’
/-io/	/hario/	‘green’
/-uo/	/canuo/	‘sweet’
/-oe/	/loe/	‘tell’

Consonants

Rai has clusters of two consonants which occurs both in the initial and medial position but the occurrence of three consonant cluster is very limited but not reflected in my data.. These clusters do not occur in the monosyllabic words. They occur mostly in disyllabic and polysyllabic words.

Initial two consonants clusters

<i>kr-</i>	<i>/kra:nlisa/</i>	‘eclipse’
<i>cy-</i>	<i>/cyambihaMpa:/</i>	‘money lender’

Medial two consonant clusters

<i>-km-</i>	<i>/pakma/</i>	‘farming’
<i>-kl-</i>	<i>/khokli/</i>	‘forest’
<i>-mm-</i>	<i>/emma/</i>	‘to cool’
<i>-ms-</i>	<i>/emsu/</i>	‘excuse’
<i>-mr-</i>	<i>/namraM/</i>	‘chamling subtribe’
<i>-mch-</i>	<i>/namchoma/</i>	‘to sun shine’
<i>-mb-</i>	<i>/nambuM/</i>	‘sunflower’
<i>-mph-</i>	<i>/semphok/</i>	‘statue’
<i>-my-</i>	<i>/semyok/</i>	‘title’
<i>-mp-</i>	<i>/ompi/</i>	‘milk’
<i>-mn-</i>	<i>/sumnica/</i>	‘millet’
<i>-ml-</i>	<i>/camla/</i>	‘digging rod’
<i>-kch-</i>	<i>/elokcha/</i>	‘baby (young)’
<i>-kc-</i>	<i>/khakcuM/</i>	‘pepper like fruit’
<i>-ky-</i>	<i>/khukya/</i>	‘chirauto’
<i>-ks-</i>	<i>/khukseM/</i>	‘fibre making plant’
<i>-km-</i>	<i>/nukma/</i>	‘to message’
<i>-kg-</i>	<i>/kuhrikguM/</i>	‘atmosphere’
<i>-kw-</i>	<i>/kekwa/</i>	‘layer’
<i>-kt-</i>	<i>/chakta/</i>	‘hut’
<i>-kn-</i>	<i>/dakni/</i>	‘invitees’
<i>-kl-</i>	<i>/khokli/</i>	‘forest’
<i>-kp-</i>	<i>/cukpa/</i>	‘step father’
<i>-kb-</i>	<i>/sakbala/</i>	‘bamboo forest’
<i>-Tm-</i>	<i>/oTma/</i>	‘to sprinkle’
<i>-tl-</i>	<i>/setlup/</i>	‘cane weaver mat’
<i>-Ms-</i>	<i>/oMsa/</i>	‘early morning’
<i>-Mm-</i>	<i>/saMmu/</i>	‘hour’
<i>-Mw-</i>	<i>/kuMwap/</i>	‘ground leveling tool’
<i>-Mkh-</i>	<i>/DaMkha/</i>	‘maize field’
<i>-Md-</i>	<i>/daMda/</i>	‘first(born) son’
<i>-Mk-</i>	<i>/DaMka/</i>	‘from’
<i>-Mn-</i>	<i>/saMnuma/</i>	‘to sanctify’

-Mg-	/gaMgama/	‘spider’
-Ml-	/doyuMla/	‘proverb’
-Mb-	/toMba/	‘bamboo container’
-Mt-	/toMtoMma/	‘a bird’
-Mch-	/haMcha/	‘prince’
-Mph-	/haMphukni/	‘dry’
-ndh-	/khendha/	‘luck’
-nw-	/peinwa/	‘pigeon’
-nd-	/khandir/	‘a mouth’
-nc-	/cancup/	‘clever’
-nkh-	/cankha/	‘lown (grassy field)’
-nth-	/cunthi/	‘wrinkle’
-nch-	/pencha/	‘fifth son’
-pm-	/kupma/	‘to pluck’
-ps-	/kepsu/	‘bet’
-pl-	/khapla/	‘religious law’
-pkh-	/dipkha/	‘a cover’
-pk-	/dupkaba/	‘iron tools maker’
-py-	/cipyoM/	‘showy’

2.6 SYLLABLE

A word in Rai may consist of one or more syllables. The syllable classification of words in Rai is as follows.

Monosyllabic
Disyllabic
Trisyllabic
Polysyllabic

Among the above types disyllabic words have frequent in occurrence more than the other type of words like Monosyllabic, Trisyllabic and Polysyllabic types.

Monosyllabic Words

Following is the structure of monosyllabic words.

CV	/mi:/	‘fire’
	/cha/	‘son’
	/wa/	‘rain’
	/do/	‘mouth

CVC	/kuM/	‘teeth’
	/naM/	‘snow’
	/nam/	‘sun’
	/pok/	‘body’
	/saM/	‘wood’
	/yaM/	‘nest’
	/yum/	‘salt’
	/tit/	‘cloth’

Disyllabic Words

In disyllabic words, Rai has the following structure (C) VC –(C) VC

V-CV	/o-ko/	‘this’
	/o-Da/	‘here’
VC-VC	/am-aM/	‘uncooked rice’
	/ach-iT/	‘few’
	/ol-uM/	‘price’
	/ukh-am/	‘long’
VC-CV	/am-no/	‘self’
	/aM-ka/	‘I’
	/en-ma/	‘to hear’
	/in-ma/	‘to sell’
CVC-CVC	/khim-bhen/	‘foundation’
	/khan-dok/	‘island’
	/luM-Tak/	‘stone’
	/maM-khim/	‘temple’
CV-CV	/me-ca/	‘glamorous’
	/di-wa/	‘grandfather’
	/ha-ni/	‘later’
CVC-CV	/sa-ka/	‘hunger’
	/duk-cha/	‘own brother’
	/sak-ma/	‘breathe’
	/path-la/	‘lean’
	/Top-po/	‘fat’
CVV-CV	/pei-wa/	‘pigeon’
	/peu-wa/	‘milky white’
	/bai-ma/	‘to send’

VV-CV	/ei-ma/	‘costly’
	/oi-si/	‘wild berry’
	/ui-sa/	‘like this’

Trisyllabic Words

CV-CV-CV	/kha-ro-ni/	‘ashes’
	/bha-lu-wa/	‘sand’
	/ba-yu-la/	‘bridegroom’
	/Ta-ya-pa/	‘husband’
	/si-ki-mi/	‘artisan’
CV-CVC-CV	/ku-hik-mi/	‘environment’
	/kha-lek-wa/	‘cold place’
	/wa-cak-ma/	‘to bathe’
CVC-CV-CV	/heM-kha-ma/	‘earth’
	/huk-mu-su/	‘strom’
	/sam-pi-ca/	‘millet’
	/gham-pa-ni/	‘weather’

Polysyllabic Words (more than three syllables)

CV-CV-CV-CV	/so-ho-mo-ho/	‘equal to all’
	/so-ta-ka-ri/	‘extremely’
	/wa-ci-lu-wa/	‘wild hen’
	/lo-pa-mu-ma/	‘word exchange (quarrel)’
CVC-CVC-CVC-CV	/nam-cok-khaT-ka/	‘astronaut’
	/sam-bhen-Ta-Mi/	‘roots’
CV-CV-CV-CVC-CV	/phi-ci-yo-tem-ma/	‘heart’
	/si-su-wa-kaT-ma/	‘to feel shy’
	/sa-nu-wa-sat-ma/	‘to give respect’
CV-CV-CV-VC-VC-CV	/si-ri-sa-et-am-ma/	‘everything’s’
CV-CV-CV-VC-VC-CV-CVC	/si-ri-sa-et-am-ma-haM/	‘God of everything’

3. MORPHOPHONEMICS

Most of the morphophonemic rules refer to addition of a sound or deletion of a sound. Plural marker is deleted when number is added to the noun.

Insertion of /-t-/ before past tense marker -a where the verb is ended with -p

<i>chap+a</i>	-> <i>chapta</i>	'wrote'
<i>khap+a</i>	-> <i>khapta</i>	'cried'

t-> r before past tense marker -a

<i>khat+a</i>	-> <i>khara</i>	'went'
<i>set+a</i>	-> <i>sera</i>	'killed'

Deletion of future tense marker - o

<i>khat-o-om-ka</i>	-> <i>khatomka</i>	'will go'
root-future-pl.-aux.		

<i>pat-o-om-ka</i>	-> <i>patomka</i>	'will cry'
root-future-pl.-aux.		

Deletion of initial syllable of time

<i>oko+ukDu</i>	-> <i>okoDu</i>	'this time'
this+time		

4. MORPHOLOGY

4.1 NOUN MORPHOLOGY

The morphological process in Rai is prefixation, suffixation, reduplication and suppletion. Of these prefixation is mainly employed in derivation and suffixation in inflection. Reduplication and suppletion are not common.

4.1.1 NOUN

Nouns are those which take or are capable of taking case suffixes or number suffixes.

<i>khim + Da</i>	‘to house’
N + Case maker	
house + dat. case maker	
<i>khim + ci</i>	‘houses’
N + pl. maker	

Number

Rai noun has two numbers (1) singular (denoting one) and (2) plural (denoting more than one). Plurals are formed by plural marker “-ci” morpheme added to the singular and singular is unmarked.

			Singular
<i>munima</i>	‘cat’	<i>munima-ci</i>	‘cats’
<i>kutiwa</i>	‘dog’	<i>kutiwa-ci</i>	‘dogs’
<i>khim</i>	‘house’	<i>khim-ci</i>	‘houses’

Gender

Rai is having natural gender. Masculine gender denotes person of the male sex. Feminine gender denotes persons of the female sex.

Masculine gender :	<i>/pa:pa/</i>	‘father’
	<i>/dukpacha/</i>	‘son’
	<i>/nicha/</i>	‘brother’
	<i>/sayakappa/</i>	‘bridegroom’
	<i>/Tayapa/</i>	‘husband’
Feminie gender :	<i>/ma:ma/</i>	‘mother’
	<i>/metnacha/</i>	‘daughter’
	<i>/nichama/</i>	‘sister’
	<i>/sayakapma/</i>	‘bride’
	<i>/Tayama/</i>	‘wife’

Common gender:	/khim/	‘house’
	/mano/	‘human’
	/Ma/	‘fish’
	/nam/	‘sun’
	/suMTaM/	‘tree’
	/luMTak/	‘stone’

Case

Cases are a category of suffixes, which establish syntactic relationship between nouns and verbs. There are six distinctive case suffix i.e., nominative, accusative, dative, genitive, locative, instrumental and ablative.

Nominative case

All noun stems whether singular or plural occurring freely without an overt case suffix is called the nominative. The nominative is equivalent to the uninflected stem.

<i>kutiwa – ci</i>	<i>ma+huk</i>	
dog + pl	pl + bark	‘Dogs bark’
<i>me:gra:j</i>	<i>thum ya:m</i>	
megraj	tall is	‘Megaraj is tall’

The noun “*kutiwaci*” and *me:gra:j*” occur without any case suffix. It functions as the subject or as agent to the verb ‘*mahuk*’ ‘bark’. So, it is in the nominative case relation.

Accusative case

Accusative suffix is used with the direct object of the verb. It has only one suffix i.e /-M’a/.

<i>mo</i>	<i>cha:-a</i>	<i>khoko-M’a</i>	<i>khaM</i>	
the	child	him (acc.)	sees	
‘The child sees him’				
<i>uM</i>	<i>Tayapa:-a</i>	<i>aMka:M’a</i>	<i>somtuk</i>	‘My husband likes me’
my	husband	I (accu.)	likes	

Dative Case

The dative case refers the recipient of the object and gives the meaning of ‘to’, the dative case suffixes are / -Da / and /M’a/.

<i>uM</i>	<i>khim-Da</i>	<i>khare</i>
my	house+(dat.)	go
‘Go to my house’		

<i>uM</i>	<i>duwacha</i>	<i>chapchakhim-Da</i>	<i>khara-o</i>
my	son	school – (dat.)	gone (past participle)
‘My son has gone to school’			
<i>rama</i>	<i>ravana-Ma</i>	<i>sera</i>	
rama	ravana-to	killed	
‘Ram killed Ravana’			

Genitive case

The genitive case denotes possession of the preceeding noun / pronoun, *uM-*, *an-*, *am-*, *u-*, *-o* are the genitive case marker.

<i>uM-</i>	<i>khim</i>	<i>khano:</i>	<i>ya:M</i>	‘My house is beautiful’
my(gen.)	house	beautiful	is	
<i>ram-o</i>	<i>papa</i>	<i>oDa</i>	<i>ya:M</i>	‘Ram’s father is here’
ram (gen.)	father	here	is	
<i>a:nyaM</i>	<i>cerekwa</i>	<i>man-uM</i>		‘Our language is not difficult’
language(gen.)	difficult	not	is	
<i>u – papa</i>	<i>oDa</i>	<i>ya:M</i>		‘His father is here’
(gen.) + father	here	is		
<i>khoko</i>	<i>uM-ma</i>	<i>e</i>		‘She is my mother’
she	(gen.) Mother	is		

Locative Case

Locative case is formed by addition of the locational suffix */-Da/* and */-ya/*. The meaning conveyed is ‘in’, ‘on’, ‘into’, ‘onto’, ‘towards’ etc.

<i>aMka</i>	<i>uM+khim+Da</i>	<i>yakMa</i>	‘I am in my house’
I	my+house+(loc.)	am	
<i>ceuwa+ci</i>	<i>suMTaM+Da</i>	<i>ma+ya:M</i>	‘Birds are in the tree’
Bird+pl.	tree +on	pl.+ is	
<i>Papa</i>	<i>khim-ya</i>	<i>khara</i>	‘Father went home’
Father	house-towards	went	

Instrumental Case

Instrumental Case is formed by addition of */-a/* and */-DaMka/*

mo pempak aMka-DaMka caino: e 'The bread is eaten by me'
the bread I+(instr.) eaten is

moko a:pa:+ci khoko-a : choino: ma+e
the mango+pl him+(instr.) eaten pl+is
'The mangoes are eaten by him'

Ablative Case

The ablative case denotes the place from which an action starts. The case suffix is /-DaMka/

suMTaM +DaMka moko sumbak+ci ma+Dha
tree + abl. the leaf + pl pl + fall
'The leaves fall from the tree'

chapchakhim + DaMka khare
the school + abl. go
'Go from the school'

4.1.2 PRONOUN

A pronoun is a word which is used in the place of noun and it can take a number marker and case marker. A pronoun does not take an article. Pronoun can be used in all persons whereas a noun is always used in the third person.

Types of Pronouns

Rai (Bantawa) has the following Pronouns:

Personal Pronoun
Demonstrative Pronoun
Interrogative Pronoun
Reflexive Pronoun
Indefinite Pronoun

Personal Pronoun

The personal pronoun in Rai is distinguished for three persons and two numbers. Gender distinction in pronoun is not seen. In case of animate nouns gender distinction is made by the list gender.

Person	Singular	Plural
Ist Person	<i>aMka</i> 'I'	<i>ankanka</i> 'we(pl.)'
IInd Person	<i>kha:na</i> 'you'	<i>khananinci</i> 'you(pl.)'
IIIrd Person	<i>khoko</i> 'he,she,it'	<i>khoko-ci</i> 'they'

Demonstrative Pronoun

The system of demonstrative pronoun in Rai distinguishes for two kinds of spatial distance.

proximate demonstrative pronoun which refers to object that is nearest to the speaker

remote demonstrative pronoun which refers to object that is away from the speaker.

The object may be visible or not but known. The demonstrative pronouns are /oko/ 'this' and /moko/ 'that'.

<i>oko</i> this	<i>akpok</i> a	<i>kutiwa</i> dog	<i>e</i> is	'this is a dog'
<i>moko</i> that	<i>akpoM</i> a	<i>chekuma</i> girl	<i>e</i> is	'that is a girl'

If the number marker occurs with the demonstrative pronoun it is added to the demonstrative and the objective.

<i>oko-ci</i> these	<i>hawaTeT</i> two	<i>khim+ci</i> house+pl.	<i>ma-e</i> pl. -is
'These are two houses'			

Interrogative Pronoun

Interrogative pronouns of Rai are (1) /di:/ 'what' (2) /saM/ 'who'

<i>kha:na</i> you	<i>di:</i> what	<i>tocha –o M</i> eat+will	'What will you eat'
<i>aMka-nin</i> I + with	<i>saM</i> who	<i>ban-o-M</i> come+will+aux.	'Who will come with you?'

Reflexive Pronoun

This pronoun is realised by addition of '-haMpaMe' in the verb.

<i>oko</i> it	<i>uMka-a</i> I	<i>uM-haMpaMe meta-M</i> my+self made-1person	'I made it myself'
<i>oko khana-a</i> it you(s)	<i>am-haMpaMe</i> your+ self	<i>talaptu</i> caught	'You caught it yourself'

Indefinite Pronoun

Followings are the few examples of indefinite pronouns. These pronouns do not refer to a definite person or thing but at some person or thing.

<i>uktaukpaM</i>				‘everyone’
<i>uktaukpaM</i> every one	<i>moDa</i> there	<i>ma-khara:</i> pl. - go+past.		‘Everyone went there’
<i>uktaukTeT</i>				‘everything’
<i>uktaukTeT</i> everything	<i>mokhara:</i> lost			‘Everything lost’
<i>dic</i>				‘some’
<i>dic</i> some	<i>kutiwa+ci</i> dog + pl.			‘Some dogs’
<i>saMpaM</i>				‘anybody’
<i>oko</i> this	<i>ok</i> work	<i>saMpaMa</i> anybody	<i>muma ru</i> do can	‘Anybody can do this work’
<i>khauMepaM</i>	-			nobody
<i>oko</i> this	<i>ok</i> work	<i>khauMepaM</i> nobody	<i>muma+ru+nin</i> do+can+not	‘Nobody can not do this work’

4.1.3 ADJECTIVES

An adjective is a word, which qualifies a noun. In Rai, adjectives precede the noun.

<i>cupaM</i> small	<i>dukpaca</i> boy	‘small boy’
<i>ompi</i> white	<i>samiri</i> horse	‘white horse’

Adjective does not get pluralised alongwith the change of number of the nouns. The qualified nouns receive the number marker.

<i>cupaM</i> small	<i>dukpaca-ci</i> boy + pl.	‘small boys’
<i>ompi</i> white	<i>samiri-ci</i> horse+pl.	‘white horses’

4.1.4 Predicative

Adjectives in Rai are also used predicatively. The adjectives are formed by the addition of /-lo/ suffix to the adjectival base

<i>oko</i> this	<i>dowaMdum</i> story	<i>khanulo</i> good	<i>ya:M</i> is	'This story is good'
<i>moko-ci</i> this+pl.	<i>dowaMdum-ci</i> story + pl.	<i>khanulo</i> good	<i>ma-ya:M</i> pl.+ is	'These stories are good'

4.1.5 NUMERAL

Numerals are a sub class of noun. Numerals are of two types. (1) Cardinals
(2) Ordinals

Cardinal

/pam/	'zero'
/ak/	'one'
/hawa/	'two'
/sum/	'three'
/lu/	'four'
/Ma/	'five'
/tuk/	'six'
/e/	'seven'
/re/	'eight'
/bhau/	'nine'
/ak-pem/	'ten'

The numbers from eleven onwards are formed by compounding in which the first member would be the numeral expressing the unit of 'ten' and the second member would be any one of the cardinal numbers i.e., one to nine. The numeral for 'ten' is 'pau'. Compound numerals from eleven to nineteen are as follows:

<i>ak + ak</i>	=	eleven
10+1	=	11

in the same way

<i>ak + hawa</i>	=	twelve
<i>ak + sum</i>	=	thirteen
<i>ak + lu</i>	=	fourteen
<i>ak + Ma</i>	=	fifteen
<i>ak + tuk</i>	=	sixteen
<i>ak + e</i>	=	seventeen
<i>ak + re</i>	=	eighteen
<i>ak + bhau</i>	=	nineteen
<i>hawa + pow</i>	=	twenty

Although separate numeral system is available in Rai language, the speakers of Rai prefer to use the Indo-Aryan numeral systems.

Ordinal

Ordinal numbers are formed by the addition of a ordinal marker ‘-si’ to the cardinal numerals.

/busi/	‘first’
/hawasi/	‘second’
/sumsi/	‘third’
/dusi/	‘fourth’
/Masi/	‘fifth’
/bhuMsi/	‘hundredth’

The ordinal marker is same for both the animate and the inanimate nouns.

4.1.6 CLASSIFIER

In Rai /-TeT/, /-pok/ and /-paM/ are the classifiers. It occurs with the cardinal numerals. Example

/-TeT/ for things		
/-pok/ for animals		
/-paM/ for human		
<i>ak + TeT</i>	<i>chapcu</i>	
one + class.	pen	‘one pen’
<i>ak-pok</i>	<i>munima</i>	
one+class.	cat	‘a cat’
<i>sum + paM</i>	<i>mana</i>	
three+class.	man+pl.	‘three men’

If the qualifier is added it comes before the adjective.

<i>hawaTeT</i>	<i>khanulo</i>	<i>Ten - ci</i>	‘two beautiful villages’
two	beautiful	village+pl.	

If a demonstrative pronoun is added to qualify the adjective it occurs in the beginning of the sentences.

<i>mokoci</i>	<i>hawaTeT</i>	<i>khanulo</i>	<i>Ten - ci</i>	‘Those two beautiful villages’
those	two+class.	good	village+pl.	

Classification of Adjectives

In Rai, there are two kinds of adjectives. i.e., 1. qualitative 2. quantitative

Qualitative

Adjectives which attribute as quality to the noun are called qualitative adjective.

<i>khano:</i>	<i>dukpacha</i>	‘good boy’
good	boy	
<i>lakcuklo</i>	<i>sumbak+ci</i>	‘green leaves’
green	leaf + pl	
<i>canu:-o</i>	<i>camasesi</i>	‘tasty food’
tasty	food	

Quantitative

These adjectives refer to the quantity of the nouns to which they are attributed.

<i>dic</i>	<i>phekwa</i>	‘some money’
some	money	
<i>badei</i>	<i>manaci</i>	‘more people’
more	people	

4.2 VERB MORPHOLOGY

Verb is a class of words inflected for the categories of tense and / or mood. Verb stems may either be simple or complex.

A simple stem consists of only a root. A complex stem has a root followed by one or more derivational or formative elements. The inflected verbs may be divided into finite and non-finite verb.

<i>khaM</i>	‘sees’
<i>bane</i>	‘comes’
<i>kha:T</i>	‘goes’
<i>chamuyaM</i>	‘singing’
<i>samTuk</i>	‘loves’

4.2.1 VERB

A verb in Rai may be defined as a word that can be followed by tense – aspect – mood marker. The conjugation of verb is relatively simple. There is no change for person or number. Verb has special affirmative and negative forms, which, in turn, include finite and non-finite forms.

4.2.1.1. FINITE VERB

Finite forms are marked for tense-aspect and person and can operate as independent sentences.

Tense

The category of tenses are three namely present tense, past tense and future tense.

Present tense

The base alone is used as present tense.

<i>khoka khaT</i>	'He goes'
he goes	

<i>khananin khar-anin</i>	'You(resp.) go
you(resp.) go+ (hon.)	

<i>aMka khokoci+M'a kha:M+Ma</i>	'I see them'
I them+acc. see + present. 1 st person	

Present Progressive Tense

<i>aMka khaT+ya+Ma</i>	'I am going'
I go+progress.+1 st person. Sg.aux	

<i>khoka khaT+ya+M</i>	'He is going'
he go+progr.+3 rd person. sg	

Present Perfect Tense

<i>aMka khara-o: yak+Ma</i>	'I have gone'
I past.verb have+1 st Per.sing	

Present Perfect Continuous Tense

<i>aMka khat-ya-yuMsa yakMa</i>	'I have been going'
I go-ing-been have-1 st person. Sg	

Past tense

Likewise Past tense and Future tense could have the same pattern. The base +a/sa/ra suffixes are used to make past tense.

khaTma –khara
to go went

banma – bana
to come came

khoko ma bhuru DaMka yuwa ‘He came down the hill’
he the hill down come+past

aMka dhasa-M ‘I fell down’
I fall down+pas.ten

Future tense

Future tense is expressed as *root+o+M*

khananin+ci akhaT-o-M ‘You (pl) shall go’
you + pl go + future marker+aux.

khoko khaT-o-M ‘He will go’
he go + future

aMka khaT-o-Ma ‘I will go’
I go+ future+1st person sing.

ankanka khat-o-mko ‘We will go’
we go + future+1st person. Pl

Aspect

The category of aspect has a three – way opposition depending on the kind of action in terms of its distribution over a period of time.

Habitual Aspect

There is no habitual aspect marker as such.

aMka mo-Ten-Da yuM-Ma ‘I live in the village’
I the-village+in live+1st person sg.

moko cauwa-ci ma-pen ‘The birds fly’
the bird+pl. pl.+fly

<i>moko</i>	<i>pit-ci-a</i>	<i>ompi</i>	<i>mo-pu</i>	‘ The cows give milk’
the	cow+pl+erg..	milk	pl.+give	

Durative or Progressive Aspect

It indicates action which is limited in duration and in progress. It is generally marked by /-yaM’/, /-Ma/ and /-yan/

<i>aMka</i>	<i>akTeT</i>	<i>cam</i>	<i>camu-Ma-Ma</i>	‘ I am singing a song’
I	a	song	sing + cont.+am	

<i>aMkanka</i>	<i>akTeT</i>	<i>pempak</i>	<i>cam+ya+nka</i>	‘we are eating a bread’
we	a	bread	eat + cont.+are	

Perfect Aspect

The perfective aspect is marked by –o. The perspectives are of two types-present perfect and past perfect.

<i>aMka-a</i>	<i>mo</i>	<i>khusawa</i>	<i>khaMa:-o</i>	<i>yak+Ma</i>	‘I have seen the thief’
I	the	thief	see + perfect aspect		

<i>aMka-a</i>	<i>kolkaTTa:-Da</i>	<i>khim</i>	<i>met-a:o</i>	<i>yaMa-M</i>	
I	calcutta+in	building	build + perfect aspect	had+1 st person Sg.	

‘I had built a building in calcutta’

Mood

Mood expresses the attitude of the speaker towards what he is saying in terms of the degree or kind of reality in terms of the obligatory, necessity, desirability etc. of the propositional content of the sentence. modals generally co-occur with tense auxiliary.

Mood of obligation

Mood of obligation is expressed by the auxiliary /-DoT/ which follows the verb or the adverb.

<i>aMka</i>	<i>banMa</i>	<i>DoT</i>	‘I should come’
I	come	should	

<i>khoko:a</i>	<i>mo-ceuwa</i>	<i>seTma</i>	<i>DoT</i>	‘He should kill the bird’
he	the bird	kill	should	

Necessity Mood

Necessity mood is /- *cakhali*/ which follows the verb.

<i>khoko</i>	<i>dits</i>	<i>phekwa</i>	+ <i>cakhali</i>	'He wants some money'
he	some	money	wants	

<i>aMka</i>	<i>banma</i>	<i>cakhali-Ma</i>	'I want to come'
I	come to	want+1 st per.sg present	

Dubitative Mood

Dubitative mood which expresses doubt or uncertainty on the part of the speaker about the proposition is marked by /-*he*/ suffixed to the verb.

<i>mokhoci-a</i>	<i>mo-sen</i>	<i>he</i>	'they may ask'
they	pl.-ask	may	

<i>oko</i>	<i>li</i>	+ <i>he</i>	'It may happen'
it	happen+	may	

Imperative Mood

The sentence which express commands and requests have the imperative mood. Marker is /-*e*/

<i>amko</i>	<i>meca-M'a</i>	<i>buTT-e</i>	'Call your daughter'
your	daughter-acc.	call+imperative	

<i>aM</i>	<i>khim-Da</i>	<i>khar-e</i>	'Go to my house'
my	house+dat. case	go	

<i>oko</i>	<i>caplayak</i>	<i>khipt-e</i>	'Read this book'
this	book	read	

Permissive Mood

<i>Mokoci</i>	<i>jha:raM'a</i>	<i>bansi</i>	<i>pumne</i>	'Let them all come'
they	all	come	per. mood	

<i>mokociM'a</i>	<i>kipma</i>	<i>puwa-num</i>	'Let them read'
then	read	per. mood	

Indicative mood

The sentences which express statements, have the indicative mood. This is the unmarked mood.

o:Da akpok munima ya:M 'Here is a cat'
here a cat is

mokoci manaci como: mayaM 'Those men are tall'
those men tall are

Interrogative Mood

The sentences which express question have interrogative mood.

khoko amko ni:cama e? 'Is she your sister?'
she your sister+interrogative mood

kha:na-a oko muma taru? 'Can you do it?'
you it do can+interrogative mood

Conditional Mood

It is expressed by suffixing /-lo/ with the verb.

khonalo aMka yuM-lo mo ok cuwa:o li-o-M
if I sit up the work done be- will
'If I sit upon, the work will be done'

khonalo aMka man-yuM-lo mo ok cuwa:o man-li-o-M
if I not sit upon the work done not+will be
'If I do not sit upon, the work will not be done'

4.2.1. 2 NON FINITE VERBS

The system of affirmative non-finite forms of Rai verb comprises of Infinitive, Verbal noun, Gerund and Participle.

4.2.1.2.1 INFINITIVE

The infinitive is expressed by adding /-ma/ suffix to the root. They have no person or tense aspect marker.

<i>mu + ma</i>	=	to do
<i>khaT + ma</i>	=	to go
<i>pe + ma</i>	=	to vomit
<i>tuhup + ma</i>	=	to wipe

4.2.1.3 VERBAL NOUN

The verbal noun is formed by the addition of the suffix */-su/* to the root of the verb.

<i>loT + su</i>	-	<i>loTsu</i>	‘running’
<i>chamlu + su</i>	-	<i>chamlusu</i>	‘singing’
<i>loTsu</i>	<i>samiri-o</i>	<i>mu</i>	‘Running was done by horse’
running	horse-by	do	
<i>kho-o chapsu</i>	<i>khon-o man-nuM</i>		‘This writing is not good’
his writing good	not is		

4.2.1.4 CAUSATIVE VERB

Causative verbs are those which have two agents of which one causes the other to do. Causative verbs are derived from the transitive or intransitive verbs by the addition of causative suffix – *luMaMa/ -luwaMa*

<i>aMka-a:</i>	<i>khokoM’a</i>	<i>akTeT</i>	<i>cam</i>	<i>cam muma</i>	<i>luMa-Ma</i>
I	her	a	song	to sing	caus. suffix
‘I am making her sing a song’					
<i>aMka-a</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>samiriMa</i>	<i>loTma</i>	<i>luwa-Ma</i>	
I	the	horse	run+to	caus.suffix	
‘I made the horse to run’					

4.2.1.5 AUXILIARY VERB

There are few auxiliary verbs in Rai which are used in combination with other verbs to express tense or mood of the action denoted by the verb.

<i>moDa</i>	<i>hawapok</i>	<i>kutiwa-ci</i>	<i>ma+yaM</i>	‘There are two dogs’
there	two	dog+s	pl +is	
<i>aMka</i>	<i>kho</i>	<i>caM-a-Ma</i>		‘I am eating rice’
I	rice	eat +am		
<i>khoko</i>	<i>khaT-o-M</i>			‘He will go’
he	go-will-3 rd person.sg.			
<i>oko</i>	<i>lima</i>	-	<i>ru</i>	‘It may happen’
It	happen		may	

4.2.1.6 NEGATIVE VERB

There is a basic verb /*ma:DoM*’/ /*man-nuM*/ *man*-which indicates negation conveying the meaning of ‘not’. It is inflected for all persons and singular and plural.

<i>parake man-ceue</i>		‘Don’t speak loudly’
loudly	not+speak	

<i>khoko-a</i>	<i>oko</i>	<i>muma</i>	<i>ru-nin</i>	‘He can not do it’
he	it	do	can+not	

<i>oko</i>	<i>khan-o</i>	<i>ma+nuM,</i>	<i>enkaM’a</i>	<i>moko pau-e</i>	‘This is not good give me that’
this	good	not-is	me	that give	

<i>oko</i>	<i>canut</i>	<i>yaM</i>	‘This is not eatable’
this	not eatable	is	

4.2.1.7 COMPOUND VERB

Verb compounds include words of the verb group of whose first element is a nominal base and the second element is a verb.

/ <i>sakma-sonma</i> /	‘to breathe’
/ <i>sela-muma</i> /	‘to play’
/ <i>taM-tukma</i> /	‘headache’
/ <i>cema-kaTma</i> /	‘to be happy’
/ <i>ema-pema</i> /	‘diarrhoea vomiting’
/ <i>cama-duMma</i> /	‘feast’
/ <i>batma-tatma</i> /	‘reflexaction’

4.2.1.8 Voice

In Rai, Passive form is formed by the addition of a passive marker ‘-*DaMka*’. Verb undergoes a change as *tin/sin* (suffix). The subject of the active sentence comes in the object place with the passive marker.

Active :	<i>khoko-a</i>	<i>mo</i>	<i>caplayak</i>	<i>kip</i>
	he	the	book	reads
	‘He reads the book’			

Passive:	<i>mo</i>	<i>caplayak</i>	<i>khoko-DaMka</i>	<i>khiptu:o</i>	<i>ya:M</i>
	the	book	him-by	read (passive)	is
	‘The book is read by him’				

4.2.2 ADVERB

Adverbs are the classes of words, which are used to modify the verb. Adverbs are semantically divided into different groups as follows.

Adverb of Place
Adverb of Time
Adverb of Manner

Adverb of Place

/o:Da/	‘here’
/mo:Da/	‘there’
/khaDa/	‘where’

Adverb of Time

/Demkha/	‘when’
/maMkolen/	‘tomorrow’
/akhumaM/	‘yesterday’

Adverb Manner

/cuknin/	‘quickly’
/seMlanin/	‘neatly’
/patlanin/	‘loudly’

4.2.3 PARTICLES

Particles have a functional meaning or it modifies the noun or a verb. By definition of word is a morpheme that is, capable of occurring in an absolute position. But some are words and some are not. Particles, which do not fulfil the criteria of a word, resemble post-position in their respect.

Particles may be broadly classified into (a) interrogative particles (b) negative particles (c) affirmative particles (d) the particles of particularization.

Interrogative particles and negative particles have been dealt in the earlier sections. Both have a functional meaning. Affirmative particles is /molo/ and /zyo/

zyo	oko+ci	eM	khim+ci	ma-e
yes	these	my	house+pl	pl.+is
‘yes, these are my houses’				

Particles of particularization are /e/ and /yaM/

oko	ekpok	kutiwa	e	‘This is a dog’
this	a	dog	is	
o:Da	ekTa	munima	yaM	‘Here is a cat’
here	a	cat	is	

4.2.3. Clitics

Clitics are those which are bound forms and which do not take tense or case suffixes, but are capable of taking another clitic. The clitics are of two types i.e., free clitics and bound clitics. Free clitics are independent in their occurrence where as bound clitics occur only with demonstrative pronouns.

<i>/o:Da/</i>	‘here’	<i>/o:ko/</i>	‘this
<i>/mo:Da/</i>	‘there	<i>/mo:ko/</i>	‘that’

Here is enclitics, which represent for proximate and */m-/* which represent for remote.

5. SYNTAX

Rai is a subject – object – verb language. It consists of Noun phrase and Verb phrase. Noun phrase functions as the subject. There can be no sentence without a predicate. Sometimes a predicate itself may stand for a sentence. Rai sentences can be classified on two grounds: (1) according to the function (2) according to structure. The different types of sentences according to functions are :

Declarative
Interrogative
Imperative
Negative
Causative
Co-ordination

5.1 DESCRIPTION OF TYPES OF SENTENCES

Declarative Sentences

It is a simple sentence. It has one subject and one predicate. It has no Noun Phrase other than subject and any other verb besides the predicate.

<i>khana</i> you (Sg.)	<i>o:Da</i> here	<i>ta-yaM</i> 2 nd per.sg.-are	‘You are here’
<i>aMka</i> I	<i>oko</i> it	<i>khaM-Ma</i> see-1 st per.sg.	‘I see it’

Interrogative Sentence

There are two types of interrogative sentences in Rai , i.e., non –wh question and wh-type question.

Non –wh-question

Non –wh-question type interrogative sentence is marked by the use of stress to the verb final. The suffix can be added to the predicate of the sentence.

<i>khoko am</i> she your	<i>nicama e</i> sister+question marker is	‘Is she your sister?’
<i>khana:a</i> you	<i>oko muma te-ru-nin</i> it do 2 nd per.+ not	‘Can’t you do it?’

Wh - Question Type

This type of sentences are formed by addition of the interrogative particles to the sentences.

<i>am nuM di -e</i>	'What is your name?'
your name what is	

<i>khana khaDa te-yuM-luk?</i>	'Where do you live?'
you where 2 nd per.-live-do	

Imperative Sentence

Imperative sentence involves only the second person as the subject may also remain understood. So, the verb base alone is often used as an imperative.

<i>eM-khim-Da khare</i>	'Go to my house'
my-house-to go	

<i>eMko gaDaDa khaTMa</i>	'Go to my cart'
my cart+to go	

<i>am metnacha-M'a buT-e</i>	'Call your daughter'
your daughter-acc. call	

Negative Sentence

Rai verb base with use of the prefixed the negative marker '*man-*' may form negative sentence. For example

Prefix : / <i>man-</i> /	- / <i>man-co-e</i> /	don't eat
Suffix : / <i>-nin</i> /	- / <i>khat-nin</i> /	doesn't go
Infix : / <i>-nu-</i> /	- / <i>ru-nu-M</i> /	can't

<i>joz:e</i>	<i>man- ceu-e</i>	'Do not tell lies'
lies	not+tell+imp.	

<i>amka</i>	<i>ai</i>	<i>ban-nu-Ma</i>	'Today I am not coming'
I	today	come+not-aux.	

<i>muiseake</i>	<i>man-yiM-e</i>	'Do not say thus'
thus	not+say+imp.	

Imperative Negative

patlanin *man-ceu-e* 'Don't speak loudly'
loudly do not+speaking+imp.

Causative Sentence

Action pertaining to the subject and the direct object is expressed through the causative sentences. The causative verb in this sentence constitutes the verb phrase. Casuals are apparently formed by suffixing /-ma/.

khoso:a *mukacaM'a* *Ma* *phekwa* *saM-M'a* *puma* *met-ya:M*
she worker+acc. 5 rupees someone+to give caus. +is
'She is making someone give 5 rupees to workers'

aMka *khoso-M'a* *akTeT* *cham* *cam-lu-Ma-Ma*
I her a song sing+caus. +is
'I am making her sing a song'

Co-ordination

Co-ordination is a symmetrical relationship holding between or among clauses which are independent. The co-ordinating connectives are *he* 'or' and *ka* and *manki* 'and' for disjunction and conjunction.

he 'or'

hawapaM *he* *sumpaM* *dukpa-ci* *khim* *ma-khaT*
two or three boy+pl. home+to pl+go
'These two or three boys go home'

ka 'and'

o:Da *akpok* *munima* *ka* *akpok* *kutiwa* *yaM*
here one cat and one dog is
'Here is a cat and a dog'

manki 'and'

ram *manki* *syam* *khara* 'Ram and Shyam went'
Ram and Shyam went

5.2 DESCRIPTION OF PATTERNS OF SENTENCES

According to the structure, the sentences are classified into the following groups.

Simple sentence
Complex sentence
Compound sentence

Simple Sentence

A simple sentence has only one subject and a predicate. It may consist of a subject, object and a verb.

aMka *dits* *ya:M* *cakhals-Ma* 'I want some money'
I some money want – 1st sg.aux.

khoka:a *akTeT* *caplayak* *kip* 'He reads a book'
he a book reads

Complex Sentence

Complex sentence consists of a simple sentence, which constitutes the principal or the main clause of the sentence and one or more subordinate clauses.

khonalo aMka yuMlo, *mo* *ok* *muwa:o li-o-M*
if I sit upon this work done be-will-aux
'If I sit upon, the work will be done'

khoko *moDa ya:Ma,* *men* *cakniMe* *khara*
she there was but soon go+past
'She was there, but went soon'

Compound Sentence

Two or more sentences constitute a compound sentence. The two simple sentences in a compound sentence may be juxtaposed in Rai or may be connected by connectors /*he*/ 'or' and /*manki*/ 'and'.

dits *M'a+ci* *Top-o neM* *dits* *M'a+ci* *cup-o moDa ma+ya:M*
some fish+pl. big and some fish+pl.small there pl.+ is
'Some fishes are big or some fishes are small'

o:Da *akpok munima* *manki* *akpok* *kutiwa* *ya:M*
here one cat and one dog is
'Here is a cat and a dog'

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1.	Benedict, Paul K	1972	<i>Sino-Tibetan : A conspectus</i> , J.A Matisoff (Ed.) Cambridge: The University press.
2.	Bickel, Balthasar	1999	"Nominalization and focus in some Kiranti languages", In Yadav, Yogendra P and Warren W Glover(eds.), Topics in Nepalese Linguistics, Royal Nepal Academy, Kathmandu, Nepal.
3.	Block, Bernard and George L.Trager,	1942	<i>Outline of Linguistics Analysis</i> , Linguistic Society of America , Baltimon, Md.,
4.	Census Of India	1961	<i>Language Tables</i> Part II –c(ii), India Vol. I, The Manager of Publications, Civil lines, Delhi, 1964.
5.	Census of India	1991	<i>District Census Hand Book, North, South East and West Districts</i> , Series 22, Sikkim, part XII A&B, published from Directorate of Census Operation, Sikkim.
6.	Census of India	2001	C-16 Language Table
7.	Ebert Keren H. 2	1999	'Nonfinite verbs in Kiranti languages'-an areal perspective" in Yadav, Yogendra P and Warren W Glover (eds.), Topics in Nepalese linguistics, Royal Nepal Academy, Kathmandu, Nepal.
8.	Ghatak, Sanchita	1993	"Rai". In K.S.Singh(ed.) People of India. Sikkim, Vol. xxxix, Anthropological Survry of India, Seagull Books, Kolkata.
9.	Grierson, G. A.	1909	<i>Linguistics Survey of India Himalayan Dialect and North Assam Group</i> , Vol. III, Part I, Moti Lal Banarashidas. (Reprint.1967)
10.	Hockett C. A.	1970	<i>A course in Modern Linguistics</i> , New Delhi, Oxford & IBH Publishing Co.
11.	Nigam R.C.	1972	<i>Language handbook on Mother Tongues in Census</i> , Census of India-1961. Office of the Registrar General, India
12.	Rai, Noval Kishore	1985	<i>A descriptive study of Bantawa</i> , Unpublished Ph.D dissertation, Poona University.
13.	Singh, K.S.	1993	Sikkim, (People of India Volume XXXIX) Anthropological Survey of India, Calcutta and Seagull Books, Kolkata.
14.	Varshney, Radhy L.	1995	<i>An Introductory Text book of Linguistics and Phonetics</i> , Students Store, Bareilly.
15.	Yadav, Yogendra P and Warren W Glover (eds.)	1999	<i>Topics in Nepalese Linguistics</i> , Royal Nepal Academy, Kathmandu, Nepal.

**RAI
TEXT**

khaisakia mo gukwama-a mo mak pachap sera
how the hen-crow the black snake kill+pt

akTeT phemsa-o homsi-o suMTaM-o khek kapda
a spreading banyan tree + of branch among

akpok gukwa+ma manki khosa-a Tayama gukwa+ma mayu+Ma.
a hen-crow and his wife hen+crow live +past

yaM+Da lukaTeT cuppo waDin-ci mayaMa. khosa+M'a
the nest+ in four small egg+pl were which to

mapa swam+ nin atma muaMa.
parent great care with guard do.

mokoMe suMTaM-o hui+Da akpok mak pechap yuM+aMa.
that tree + of hollow+in a black snake live+past.

khoko +nin gukwa+ci unkhama+nin kumakaT+aMa.
whom+with crow+pl greatly+with fear+past.

ukTa ukDu gukwama puwami khosa-o waDin+ ci mo pacap
every time hen-crow her egg+pl the snake

dhaTni yaM+Da ban+aMa ka camamuwaMa.
up nest+in come+past. and eat up.

khonalo moko mak pecap-a uM waDin+ci oko+Du caM calo uMka
if the black snake my egg+pl. this time also eat up I

oko suMTaM+Da handaMka yuMnuMa
this tree + in any more do not sit.

ankanan-a an yaM nikharuM+Da metmaMe DoT, gukwa+ma-o
we our nest some where else build must hen-crow

uTayapa+M'a lowa.
her husband+to say+past.

anka bede:ka waiDaMka oya yuMsa-o yainka. UMka uM khim nambuklo
we long time here have live+Pas.ten I my house desent

lisa-o ka hausolip-pa khaTki yuMma aMma ruruMa, gukwama-a yiMa.
been and else where go live+to bear can not hen-crow say+past.

munToM moko+ci Dum+muyaMsahiDa mokoci-a swa swa-o DoMla-o
while they talk + progressive they hissing sound

mokoci-o DiTs hyuniMe maena. oko DoMla-o tupyuM mokoci-a
their some below heard this sound +of meant they

metupta. mokoci amamru liki moko-o waDin+ci ratkep muma yaM+Da
knew they helpless by their egg + pl protect+trying nest + in

mayu+Ma. moko mak pechap Dhani yaM-o cukDa pokstoyaMsa bana
sit + past. the black snake higher nest+of closer crept.

hale bade:ka DoMlaninMe ceuwaciM'a thoMma cokmet muwa. khokkoci
then loud hiss birds strike tried who

kuma-a penake makhara. ak ak muwaki moko mak pachap-a waDin+ci khuMTa
terror-in flew away. One one by the black snake egg+pl swallow+pt

mapa minrak+nin mokoci-o yaM+Da lamaki mabana, oko khano:nin sintaki
parent sadly +with their nest+in back came this well knowing

yaM uhup matokoM. gukwa-a yiMa oko setkaba pechapM'a pheMla muma.
nest empty would find. hen-crow said the killer snake destroy

uMka-a akTeT suMTuM lamma DoT
I a plan find must.

khana-a khaisakia khokonin demkha mhuma taru? khoso:-o dhoktu
you how him + with ever fight can his sting

un phen-o ya:M, khosai Tayama-a koMTuknin yiMa
so deadly is his wife in despair say+past.

khana minrak man-mue , uM nuMnami uMka-o akpaM yawa ya:M khokko
you worry not do my dear I a friend have whose

aMma muisa nuMyi pecap+M'a setma+M'a sayathakla ya:M gukwa-a
cunning the most poisonous sanke to kill enough is hen-crow

yiM+a manki penaki auso suMTaMDa khara khakko hyuni khosa-o nuMnulo yawa
say+past and flew another tree off which under his dear friend

kuimuk yuM+aMa
fox live+pas.ten

munToM kuimuk-a khaisakia pecap-a nimma moci waDin+ci coMa lowa
when the fox how the snake always the egg+pl. ate up

en+a, khosa-a yiMa uM yawa moci khokko boncholok ka cukapma mali, maTok
hear+past, he said my friend those who cruel and greedy are meet

nimma khanoT then ru. kuma man-kaMe mosaM'a seci uMka:-a akTeT sumtum
always bad end. fear no have him I a plan

chamta-o yakMa.
thought have

muisa. UMka+M'a lowanum, oko di e? gukwa-a yiMa. hale kuimuk-a
oh! Me to tell do it what is? hen-crow said then the fox

nici-a en loki kuma-a khoso-o yawa-o nabak+Da khosa-a pecap+M'a seTma
overheard fear his of friend ears+in he snake+to destroy

di muma DoT yiMaka lowa. gukwa penaki uTayama. oya tabana manki
what do should whispered crow flow to his wife to back and

sumtum-o chapchoMDa khosaM'a yiMa. oko manlo mincen ya:M gukwa-a yiMa
the plan about her told his rather risky is crow said

anka unkhama cancel lima DoT
we very careful have to be.

uMka-o waDin+ci ratmaM'a uMka hak-o chaM muoMa, ceuwama-o muyuma liki yiM
my egg+pl. to save I anything will do mother bird bravely say+past.

khunkia khokoci moko haMhon-o haM-o haMkhim+lipa penaki makhar.
so they the country of king of place +owards flew away

haMkhim khokoci yuMsa-o suMTaM DaMka maMkha man+nu:Ma
palace they lived tree from far not + was.

mokoci haMkim buMgakha-o aket dhiwat-amdu tabana. khaDa
they palace garden +of a big pond approached where

haM macupci wacakyaMsa mua-o khokoci-a makh+aMa.
Royal ladies a bathi having they see+past

khokoci-a an-o sona-o luMwacaM, goMgoriema, potwaluM naM
They their golden chair pearl necklace and

nici wawat wat-am-o cukDa yuMsa-o may+aMa.
other jewellery pond of near laid have+past

mo- wama cauwa penaka hyuni dhasa, akleT sona-o luMwacaM khoko-o
the mother bird flew down a a golden chair in her –in

docom-a buptaka, khoDa khoko yuMsa-o suMTaM+lipa compinin penma uMasa
beak pick up in which she lived tree + towards slowly fly+to start+past.

munToM haMkhim-o taMkaruk+ci-a sona-o luMwa +nin cauwa penaka kharao
when palace guard+pl. golden chair + with bird flew gone

makhaMa. khokoci-a mokoci-o banthukci thintaka cauwaM'a maThintta
saw they their clubs took-up the bird chased

akTeT suMTaM-o huiDa cauwa-a luMwaMa dhasa-o mokoci-a makha+Ma
a tree + of hollow+in bird the chair dropped they see+past.

akpaM taMkaruk moko luMwaca latmaM'a suMTaMDa waM+a
one+of the guard the chair to+get the tree climb+past.

muntoM luMwaT latmaM'a hui huD-Da achuk sukta, khosa-a moDa
as the chair get+to inside the hole his hand put he there

akpok mak+pacap supcuktaki yuMa-o toktta
a black+snake curled up saw

banthuk-o ak badeka apla-a khoso-a mosaM'a sera manki mokoMe
club+of a hard with stroke he to it killed and that

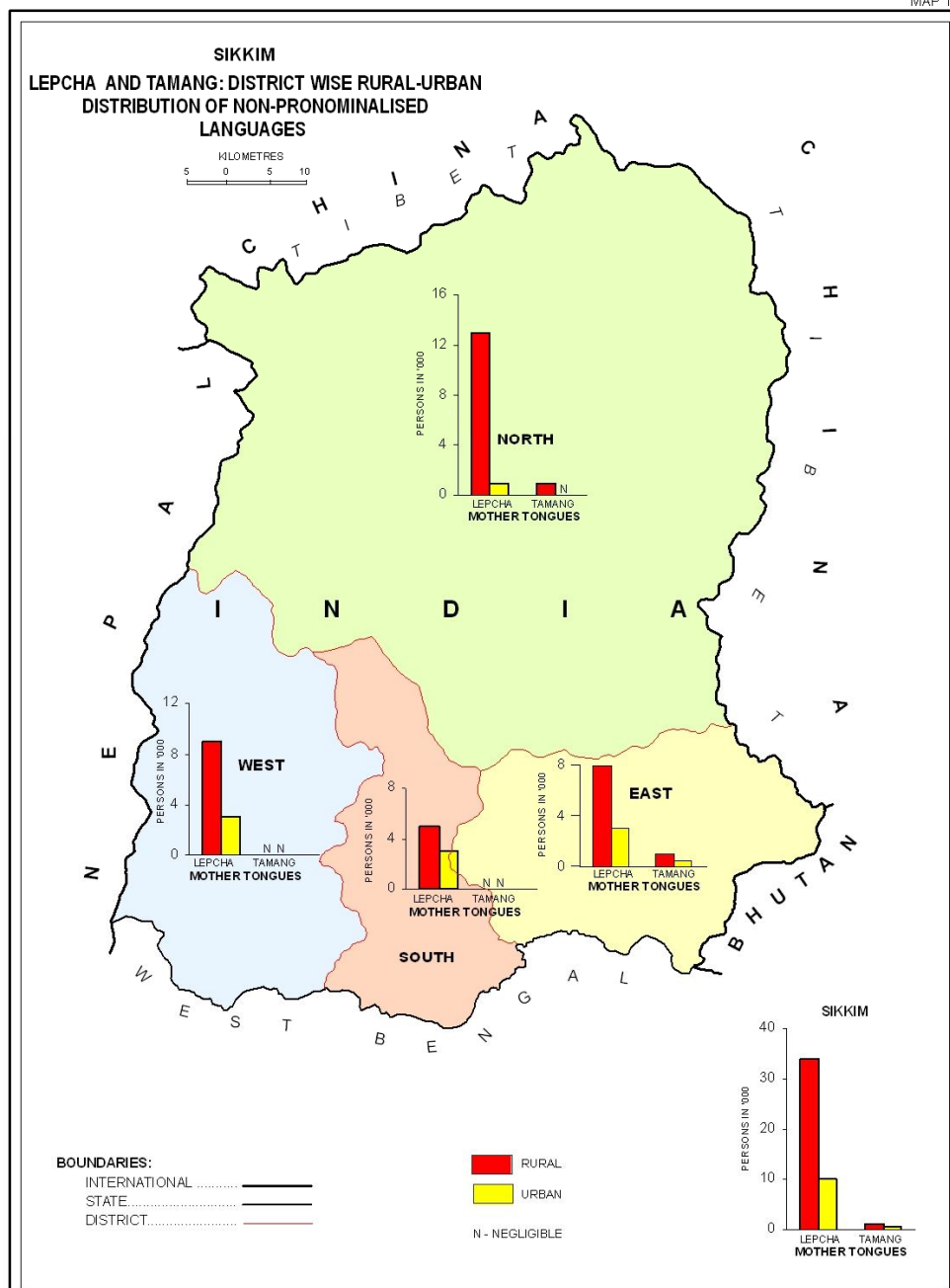
moko mak+pacap-o then yaMa.
the black-snake of end was

gukwama naM gukwa wayanin moDaMka moka suMTaM+Da yuMa manki
crow hen and crow happily afterwards that tree + in lived and

mokoci-o badeka cupaM gukwa-chaci malisa
their may little crow-babies had.

-----X-----

NON-PRONOMINALISED HIMALAYAN
LANGUAGES
LEPCHA-TAMANG-GURUNG-NEWARI-MANGARI-SUNWAR



Based upon Survey of India map with the permission of the Surveyor General of India.

© Government of India, copyright 2008.

LEPCHA

S.GANESH BASKARAN

1. INTRODUCTION

The present study gives out the grammatical sketch of Lepcha language spoken in Sikkim state based on the data collected during the field investigation from June 1997 to September 1997.

1.1 FAMILY AFFILIATION

According to Grierson (1909: Vol. III) Lepcha Language belongs to the Non-Pronominalized Himalayan group of TibetoBurman sub family. As per the subsequent classification by Paul Benedict Lepcha (in Sikkim) belongs to the “Himalayan” group of “Tibetan –Kanauri (Bodish-Himalaya)” branch of Tibeto Burman sub-family. [Benedict: 1972]

1.2 LOCATION

According to G. A. Grierson 1909 (reprint 1967,p-233) the Lepchas are considered as the oldest inhabitants of Sikkim. They are also found in Western Bhutan, Eastern Nepal and in Darjeeling district of West Bengal. In Indian Census the Lepcha is returned mainly from Sikkim and West Bengal.

1.3 SPEAKERS STRENGTH

Language-Mother Tongue- Bilingualism

The speakers’ strength of Lepcha in respect of language / mother tongue and bilingualism/ trilingualism as per 2001 Census publication is given below.

Language

LEPCHA	TOTAL	M	F	RURAL	M	F	URBAN	M	F
INDIA	50,629	26,111	24,518	48,295	24,954	23,341	2,334	1,157	1,177
Sikkim	35,728	18,505	17,223	34,289	17,753	16,536	1,439	752	687

Mother tongue

LEPCHA	TOTAL	M	F	RURAL	M	F	URBAN	M	F
INDIA	50,629	26,111	24,518	48,295	24,954	23,341	2,334	1,157	1,177
Sikkim	35,728	18,505	17,223	34,289	17,753	16,536	1,439	752	687

1.4. BILINGULISM

As returned in 2001 Census out of 35728 Lepcha speakers in Sikkim 26620 are the bilinguals and they are bi-linguals in the following languages in descending order.

Sl. No	Language of Bilingualism	Total	Male	Female	Language of Trilingualism among the Bilingualism	Total	Male	Female
1	Nepali	21013	10956	10057	i. Hindi	2605	1516	1089
					ii.English	1391	772	619
					iii.Bhotia	1206	698	508
					iv.Limbu	86	42	44
					v.Tibetan	48	42	6
					vi.Sherpa	13	3	10
					vii.Tamang	4	1	3
					viii.Rai	1	0	1
					ix. Others @	42	26	16
2	English	2702	1532	1170	i.Hindi	1294	740	554
					ii.Nepali	1145	645	500
					iii.Bhotia	28	16	12
					iv.Limbu	5	2	3
					v.Tibetan	2	2	0
					vi.Others @	8	6	2
3	Bhotia	1423	777	646	i. Nepali	915	517	398
					ii.Tibetan	4	4	0
					iii.Sherpa	1	1	0
					iv.Others @	27	18	9
4	Hindi	1357	761	596	i. Nepali	670	374	296
					ii.English	328	181	147
					iii.Bhotia	25	11	14
					iv.Limbu	4	2	2
					v.Tibetan	3	3	0
					vi.Others @	8	6	2
5	Tibetan	34	27	7	i. Nepali	20	19	1
					ii.Bhotia	1	1	0
					iii.Others @	2	2	0

6	Limbu	27	14	13	i. Nepali	19	10	9
7	Rai	3	1	2	i.Nepali	1	0	1
					ii.Limbu	1	1	0
8	Sherpa	5	1	4	I.Nepali	3	0	3
					ii.Hindi	1	1	0
9	Tamang	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
9	Total of Others #	55	29	26	i.Nepali	6	3	3
					ii.Others @	3	2	1

Accordingly 74.51% are bilinguals among the Lepcha speakers of Sikkim.

Under the languages of Bilingualism the clubbed Total of Others comprise of Bilingual speakers strength in relevant languages below 100. But in the states of Sikkim the languages like Nepali, Bhotia, Limbu, Lepcha, Sherpa, Tibetan, Tamang and Rai are the most important languages. So, the bilingual strength in respect of these languages, even if it is below 100 speakers, have been taken separately and not clubbed under "Total of Others"

@ Under the head Trilingualism the clubbed Others comprise of trilingual speakers strength in relevant languages below 100. But in the states of Sikkim the languages like Nepali, Bhotia, Limbu, Lepcha, Sherpa, Tibetan, Tamang and Rai are the most important languages. So, the trilingual strength in respect of these languages, even if it is below 100 speakers, have been taken separately and not clubbed under "Others"

1.5. SOCIOLINGUISTIC SETTING

The Lepchas who return their mother tongue as “Lepcha” or “Rong” call themselves Rongkup or Mutanchi. Prior to 1641 Sikkim was ruled by Lepchas only who are known as the original inhabitants of Sikkim. Risley (1891) mentioned two branches among them – the Rong and Khamba-.

The Lepchas are divided into several exogamous patrilineal clans. They generally follow endogamy at the community level, but marriages with the Bhotia are not discouraged. Monogamy is the norm in Lepcha community.

Traditionally, the Lepchas were hunters, food gatherers and pastoralists. Now, of course, they are primarily land owning cultivators. However, a few of them are found as landless agricultural and non- agricultural labourers.

The Lepcha or Rong is a language of non-pronominalised Himalayan group of Tibeto –Burman sub-family of Tibeto-Chinese Language family. They use *mutencse rom ameenam* script. For the intergroup communication they use Nepali, and to some extent, Hindi.

Lepchas are all Buddhist.

In Sikkim Lepchas are concentrated in Dzongu of North district mainly.

The Lepchas have their rich tradition of folklore and folk tales.

The sociolinguistic setting of Lepcha can be explained on the extent of its use as mother tongue and the extent of use as other tongue in different domains.

Lepcha as a mother tongue is used in different domains like home, kin and community. The use of mother tongue is related in three ways in descending order of generation, that is, parent ego children in the home and extra kin situation. Thus in the domain of locality the mother tongue is also in use. In the parent-ego-children relationship the parents invariably interact in the mother tongue with the children and also with the aged people. Since the children of these days are exposed to other languages through education most often their speech is mixed with Nepali and with English. The use of mother tongue is more between the aged people and among the middle aged whereas among the young and between the young the use of mother tongue is comparatively less. Among the women the use of mother tongue is more in comparison to the men folk.

In the formal domains of Education, Administration, Judiciary and Mass media the role of Lepcha as mother tongue is evident in the oral communication level.

In the domain of the Education in the rural and urban areas the verbal interaction between the teacher and student and among the students in and outside the classroom in Lepcha only. Lepcha language is taught as a subject in a graduate level.

In the Administration although all written correspondences are through Nepali and English, Lepcha is used as the medium of the verbal interaction between the staffs and officials, between staffs and the public in the rural and semi urban areas. The state

Government imparts training to the officials in Lepcha language for smooth running of Administration and building up of a cordial relation with the Lepcha people.

In the level of Judiciary also Lepcha language is used in informal oral communication in the lower courts during the cross examination of the convicts by the Lawyers. Sometimes the Judge, if he is a local person, also interacts with the local people in their respective language. The social workers of the registered organisations interact with both the parties of litigation in the lower courts in Lepcha and helped them to come to a possible settlement and to convince them.

In the domain of Mass media, Doordarshan and private television channel telecast folk music riddles and stories in Lepcha language. Further the Government of Sikkim encourages Lepcha people to continue their cultural programme in Lepcha in respective festive occasions. The local magazines like Sikkim herald, Suttak 6 monthly publishing the poems and stories. In the All India Radio news is broad casted in Lapcha language.

The Sikkim Government patronises preparation of dictionary and glossaries in Lepcha language and extends necessary financial aids to the welfare association of Lepcha for the purpose. In 1876 George Byres Mainwaring published a grammar of Lepcha language. Albert Gruen Wedel in 1898 edited and published one Lepcha-English Dictionary.

Thus it is evident, through Nepali control the formal domains, but Lepcha being a regional language by the motification of Sikkim official language Act 1977 of Government of Sikkim, has a distinct socio linguistic impact in the State of Sikkim.

Lepcha possesses its own ancient script '*mutencse rom ameenam*'. The Lepcha language is taught in the graduate level.

1.6 REVIEW OF EARLIER LITERATURE

According to G.A. Grierson (1909-reprint 1967-: p233). The Lepchas call themselves Rong and are known to the Tibetans as Rong -pa or Mun -pa. Lepcha is a nickname given to them by the Nepalese. According to Sikkim Gazetteer the local pronunciation of the word is Lepcha or Lepche. Dr. Waddell thinks that it is composed of /lap/ 'speech' and /cha/ 'vile' and that it consequently means 'vile speech' and by extention they have become 'vile speakers'. Presently Lepcha word is used without connotation.

2. PHONOLOGY

There are 35 phonemes in Lepcha language of which 29 are consonants and 6 are vowels as revealed by the field study . Tone is also phonemic in Lepcha.

2.1.1 SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

Vowels

	Front	central	back
High	<i>i</i>	<i>ɨ</i>	<i>u</i>
Mid	<i>e</i>		<i>o</i>
Low	<i>a*</i>		

*** The italicised /a/ actually represents the low front unrounded vowel /a/**

Consonants

Consonants	Bilabial		Labio Dental		Alveolar		Retroflex		Palatal		Velar		Glottal	
	vl.	vd.	vl.	vd.	vl.	Vd.	vl.	vd.	vl.	vd.	vl.	vd.	vl.	vd.
Stops	<i>p</i>	<i>b</i>			<i>t</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>D</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>ʔ</i>	
Aspirants	<i>ph</i>				<i>th</i>						<i>kh</i>			
Affricates									<i>C</i>	<i>J</i>				
Fricatives			<i>f</i>		<i>s</i>	<i>z</i>			<i>S'</i>				<i>h</i>	
Nasals		<i>m</i>				<i>n</i>					<i>M</i>			
Laterals						<i>l</i>								
Trills /flap						<i>r</i>		<i>R</i>						
Semivowels		<i>w</i>								<i>y</i>				

2.1.2 SUPRA SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

Tones

There are three tones found namely rising tone, level tone and falling tone. Examples for Tones:

<i>Mó</i>	‘wound’	‘rising tone’
<i>mo</i>	‘man’	‘level tone’
<i>mò</i>	‘to worship’	‘falling tone’
<i>sí</i>	‘wake up’	‘rising tone’
<i>si</i>	‘to see’	‘level tone’
<i>sì</i>	‘settlement’	‘falling tone’

Contrasting pairs

Vowel

/i ~ e/

<i>íM</i>	‘husband’s brother’s wife’
<i>ér</i>	‘skin of the fruit’
<i>acìr</i>	‘ray’
<i>achek</i>	‘ankle’

/i ~ i/

<i>kìrkí</i>	‘breast’
<i>kýít</i>	‘beard’

/a ~ o/

<i>ák</i>	‘open (door)’
<i>ót</i>	‘pick (fruit)’
<i>asàk</i>	‘asthma’
<i>azòM</i>	‘elder sisters husband’

/o ~ u/

<i>op</i>	‘shoot’
<i>uM</i>	‘water’
<i>bagòk</i>	‘foam’
<i>pudùk</i>	‘dust’
<i>arwó</i>	‘husband’
<i>akú</i>	‘fathers brother’

Consonants

/b ~ b/

<i>pudùk</i>	‘dust’
<i>bagòk</i>	‘foam’

/t ~ d/

<i>tígé</i>	‘chin’
<i>dóm</i>	‘leprosy’

/T ~ D/

<i>Túzo</i>	‘morning food’
<i>DóM</i>	‘bench’

/k ~ g/

<i>kiM</i>	‘hill’
<i>gyák</i>	‘itch’

/k ~ ʔ/	<i>kuM</i>	‘tree’
	<i>ʔ íM</i>	‘younger brother’
	<i>kóbu</i>	‘main’
	<i>ʔ imo</i>	‘wound’
/p ~ ph/	<i>pudùk</i>	‘dust’
	<i>phuyùk</i>	‘storm’
/t ~ th/	<i>tibók</i>	‘belly’
	<i>thóp</i>	‘ladle’
/k ~ kh/	<i>kɪ zòk</i>	‘index’
	<i>khibù</i>	‘skeleton’
/C ~ J/	<i>Cɪ sim</i>	‘crocodile’
	<i>Jùm</i>	‘mown’
/c ~ j/	<i>cizùk</i>	‘brew’
	<i>jachòM</i>	‘family’
/f ~ p/	<i>fópoM</i>	‘birds’
	<i>pinkòk</i>	‘feather’
/s ~ z/	<i>soMfúm</i>	‘dawn’
	<i>zo</i>	‘paddy’
/s ~ S’/	<i>somí</i>	‘weather’
	<i>S’ó</i>	‘rain’
/k ~ h/	<i>kiM</i>	‘hill’
	<i>hóm</i>	‘vomit’
/m ~ n/	<i>món</i>	‘flesh’
	<i>nuM</i>	‘visiting relatives’
/m ~ M/	<i>mitheM</i>	‘mistakes’
	<i>Múci</i>	‘dried fish’

/l ~ r/	<i>lóMhap</i>	‘cave’
	<i>rigòM</i>	‘hare’
/R ~ D/	<i>R`apsa</i>	‘window’
	<i>Dum</i>	‘cloth’
/w ~ y/	<i>awó</i>	‘husband’
	<i>ayút</i>	‘lazy’

2.2 DESCRIPTIONS AND DISTRIBUTIONS OF PHONEMES

The phonemic description of the 6 vowels and 29 consonantal phonemes are presented below along with their distribution.

Vowels

/i/ high front unrounded vowel. It occurs in all three positions

<i>iMa</i>	‘baby’
<i>kírgí</i>	‘breast’
<i>ci</i>	‘rice/millet’

/e/ mid high front unrounded vowel. It occurs in all three positions.

<i>ér</i>	‘peel’
<i>icèk</i>	‘anus’
<i>de</i>	‘lake’

/ɨ/ high central unrounded vowel. It occurs in the medial and final positions.

<i>ikṭp</i>	‘chicken’
<i>kṭyit</i>	‘beard’
<i>kírgí</i>	‘breast’

/a/ low front unrounded vowel. It occurs in all three positions.

<i>acèk</i>	‘ankle’
<i>usàk</i>	‘asthma’
<i>iMa</i>	‘baby’

/o/ mid high back rounded vowel. It occurs in all three positions.

<i>op</i>	‘shoot’
<i>tɪ̀bòk</i>	‘stomach’
<i>abó</i>	‘father’

/u/ high back rounded vowel. It occurs in all three positions.

<i>usàk</i>	‘asthma’
<i>sup</i>	‘swell’
<i>akú</i>	‘fathers brother’

Consonants

/p/ voiceless bilabial stop. It occurs in all three positions.

<i>pikɪ̀p</i>	‘armpit’
<i>kìpzoM</i>	‘grand child’
<i>kipcóp</i>	‘adopted child’

/b/ voiced bilabial stop. It occurs initially and medially.

<i>bagòk</i>	‘foam’
<i>khíbu</i>	‘skeleton’

/t/ voiceless alveolar stop. It occurs in all three positions

<i>tɪ̀bòk</i>	‘stomach’
<i>pirtám</i>	‘ground’
<i>apit</i>	‘raw’

/d/ voiced alveolar stop. It occurs initially and medially.

<i>dé</i>	‘lake’
<i>pudùk</i>	‘dust’

/T/ voiceless retroflex stop. It occurs initially and medially.

<i>Tùzo</i>	‘morning food’
<i>foTīm</i>	‘uneven tooth’

/D/ voiced retroflex stop. It occurs initially and medially.

<i>DóM</i>	‘bench’
<i>peDignim</i>	‘plan’

/c/ voiceless palatal stop. It occurs initially and medially.

cikí p 'small'
khí pcóp 'animal'

/j/ voiced palatal stop. It occurs initially and medially.

jacòM 'finger'
ajút 'near'

/k/ voiceless velar stop. It occurs in all three positions.

kirsòM 'morning star'
fókip 'birds'
bagòk 'foam'

/g/ voiced velar stop. It occurs initially and medially.

ganbú 'old'
bagòk 'foam'

/ʔ/ glottal stop. It occurs initially and medially.

ʔ iM 'younger brother'
li ʔ òM 'hall'

/ph/ aspirated voiceless bilabial . It occurs initially and medially.

phím 'tumor'
aphít 'narrow'

/th/ aspirated voiceless alveolar. It occurs initially and medially.

thùMrum 'ladle'
híthí 'honey'

/kh/ aspirated voiceless velar. It occurs initially.

khibú 'skeleton'

/c/ voiceless palatal stop. It occurs initially and medially

<i>cíkɪp</i>	‘small’
<i>acòr</i>	‘sour’

/j/ voiced palatal stop. It occurs initially and medially.

<i>juk</i>	‘do’
<i>ajút</i>	‘near’

/C/ voiceless palatal affricate. It occurs initially.

<i>CúM</i>	‘kingdom’
------------	-----------

/J/ voiced palatal affricate. It occurs initially.

<i>Jɪ tsim</i>	‘crocodile’
----------------	-------------

/f/ voiceless labio-dental fricative. It occurs initially and medially.

<i>fú</i>	‘bird’
<i>tiMfyúk</i>	‘basket’

/s/ voiceless alveolar fricative. It occurs initially and medially.

<i>sómi</i>	‘weather’
<i>asó</i>	‘muscle’

/z/ voiced alveolar fricative. It occurs initially and medially.

<i>zoMkòM</i>	‘feed’
<i>azi</i>	‘tongue’
<i>marzí</i>	‘churning rod’

/S'/ voiceless palatal fricative. It occurs initially and medially.

<i>S'o</i>	‘rain’
<i>lukS'yom</i>	‘wake up’

/h/ voiceless glottal fricative. It occurs initially and medially.

<i>hló</i>	‘high land’
<i>loMháp</i>	‘cave’

/m/ bilabial nasal. It occurs in all three positions.

<i>mi</i>	‘fire’
<i>ninmák</i>	‘cream’
<i>alàm</i>	‘thigh’

/n/ alveolar nasal. It occurs in all three positions.

<i>nuM</i>	‘guest’
<i>gànbu</i>	‘old’
<i>nan</i>	‘by’

/M/ velar nasal. It occurs in all three positions.

<i>Mú</i>	‘curry’
<i>uMzúp</i>	‘swamp’
<i>koM</i>	‘tree’

/l/ alveolar lateral. It occurs in all three positions.

<i>lawó</i>	‘moon’
<i>folèp</i>	‘toothless’
<i>kyoMrèl</i>	‘brook’

/r/ voiced alveolar trill. It occurs initially and medially.

<i>rimrèn</i>	‘god’
<i>rimdí</i>	‘skin diseases’
<i>kirsòM</i>	‘morning star’

/R/ retroflex flap. It occurs initially and medially.

<i>Ràpsa</i>	‘window’
<i>ahRúm</i>	‘heat’

/w/ bilabial semivowel. It occurs in all three positions.

<i>wi</i>	‘blood’
<i>awèn</i>	‘bachelor’
<i>miktìw</i>	‘eyelid’

/y/ palatal semivowel. It occurs medially.

<i>ayùt</i>	‘lazy’
<i>siwyóka</i>	‘last’

2.3 MAJOR ALLOPHONIC DISTRIBUTIONS

Vowels

/i/ high, front, unrounded vowel has two allophones [I] and [i].

[I] lower high front unrounded vowel occurs between consonants.

[pItkIp]	/pìkip/	‘armpit’
[fókIp]	/fókìp/	‘birds’

[i] high front unrounded vowel occurs elsewhere

/e/ mid high front unrounded vowel has two allophones [E] and [e].

[E] mid low front unrounded vowel occurs between consonants.

[gÈk]	/gèk/	‘birth’
[tEgr í p]	/tegrík í p/	‘son’

[e] mid high front unrounded vowel occurs elsewhere.

/a/ low front unrounded vowel has two allophones [a] and [a].

[a] low back unrounded vowel occurs between consonants.

[usàk]	/usàk/	‘asthma’
[MInmàk]	/Minmàk/	‘cream’

[a] low front unrounded vowel occurs elsewhere.

/o/ mid high back rounded vowel has two allophones [O] and [o].

[O] mid low back rounded vowel occurs between consonants and after semivowel in a single syllable.

[bağOk]	/bağòk/	‘foam’
[aòO]	/aòò/	‘husband’

[o] mid high back rounded vowel occurs elsewhere.

/u/ high back rounded vowel has two allophones [U] and [u].

[U] higher back rounded vowel occurs between consonants.

[pUdÚK]	/puđùk/	‘dust’
---------	---------	--------

[u] high back rounded vowel occurs elsewhere.

Consonants

/n/ alveolar nasal has two allophones. [M'] and [n].

[M'] palatal nasal occurs before voiced palatal stops.

[piM'jók] /pinjók/ 'forest'

[n] alveolar nasal occurs elsewhere.

/h/ voiceless glottal fricative has two allophones, [x] and [h].

[x] voiceless velar fricative occurs initially before vowel.

[xɪ̃do] /hɪ̃do/ 'his'

[h] voiceless glottal fricative occurs elsewhere.

2.4 CLUSTERS

The clusters in Lepcha language are of two types; vowel clusters and consonant clusters.

Vowel clusters

The vowel cluster is very less in number they are like / eu/ and / ou /.

ithàmcéu 'domestic animal'
sìMgou 'lioness'

Consonant clusters

In Lepcha three types of consonant clusters are available These are Initial two consonant, Medial two consonant and medial three consonant clusters.

Initial Two consonant clusters

ky	kyoMról	'brook'
ly	lyèMtik	'island'
hl	hló	'mountain'
S'y	S'yèM	'wood'
ny	nyútiM	'ancestors'
my	myók	'bride groom'
gy	gyókmu	'mother-in-law'
fl	flibu	'fourth'
ty	tyáMti	'desert'

Medial two consonant clusters

<i>km</i>	<i>sìkmit</i>	‘air’
<i>Mh</i>	<i>loMháp</i>	‘cave’
<i>mt</i>	<i>nimtùS’ihór</i>	‘comet’
<i>Ml</i>	<i>uMléyaM</i>	‘current’
<i>Mt</i>	<i>tyáMti</i>	‘desert’
<i>tl</i>	<i>mìtli</i>	‘earth quake’
<i>dy</i>	<i>midyèk</i>	‘flame’
<i>nj</i>	<i>pinjók</i>	‘forest’
<i>rt</i>	<i>pirtám</i>	‘ground’
<i>hR</i>	<i>ahRúm</i>	‘heat’
<i>tS’</i>	<i>fàtS’ikwér</i>	‘mud’
<i>kw</i>	<i>fàtS’ikwér</i>	‘mud’
<i>Md</i>	<i>uMda</i>	‘pool’
<i>Mm</i>	<i>loMmìk</i>	‘pebble’
<i>Mz</i>	<i>lòMzi</i>	‘sand’
<i>rs</i>	<i>kirsòM</i>	‘morning star’
<i>Mk</i>	<i>uMkyo</i>	‘spring of water’
<i>pc</i>	<i>kipcóp</i>	‘adopted child’
<i>gr</i>	<i>tigrióM</i>	‘boy’
<i>pz</i>	<i>kipzòM</i>	‘grand child’
<i>nb</i>	<i>gànbu</i>	‘old’
<i>ks</i>	<i>miksáp</i>	‘blind’
<i>ml</i>	<i>nimléMwèn</i>	‘spinster’
<i>Mw</i>	<i>nimléMwèn</i>	‘spinster’
<i>rs</i>	<i>pirsùm</i>	‘hair in the arm pit’
<i>mr</i>	<i>hlómrik</i>	‘nurse’
<i>md</i>	<i>rìmdí</i>	‘skin disease’
<i>kl</i>	<i>bòklím</i>	‘naval’
<i>gb</i>	<i>dogbú</i>	‘pain’
<i>pr</i>	<i>apró</i>	‘ribs’
<i>rb</i>	<i>serbùM</i>	‘bottle’
<i>kc</i>	<i>tìkciM</i>	‘bowl’
<i>nm</i>	<i>Mìnmàk</i>	‘cream’
<i>hr</i>	<i>tehréyan</i>	‘defiled’
<i>mz</i>	<i>thamzóm</i>	‘dish’
<i>Mk</i>	<i>báMkíp</i>	‘knife’
<i>rm</i>	<i>thùrmu</i>	‘spoon’
<i>Mb</i>	<i>pòMbu</i>	‘ass’
<i>kf</i>	<i>mokfèn</i>	‘war’
<i>hy</i>	<i>ahyèm</i>	‘treat’

Medial three consonant cluster

<i>kry</i>	<i>tàkryuk</i>	‘toad’
<i>nsy</i>	<i>dansyòM</i>	‘remove’
<i>mfl</i>	<i>umflóT</i>	‘fountain’
<i>mby</i>	<i>kimbyòM</i>	‘trust’

2.5 SYLLABLE

In Lepcha the syllables are of four. These are Monosyllabic, Disyllabic, Trisyllabic and Tetra –syllabic. The syllables are further classified as open and close. Among the syllables, Disyllables are more in number.

Monosyllabic (open)

CV	<i>mi</i>	‘fire’
CV	<i>S’o</i>	‘rain’
VCV	<i>iMá</i>	‘child’

Monosyllabic (close)

CVC	<i>kiM</i>	‘hill’
VC	<i>uM</i>	‘water’
CCVC	<i>myók</i>	‘sisters’ husband’

Disyllabic (open)

CVC-CV	<i>mì Mlo</i>	‘dew’
CV-CV	<i>la-wó</i>	‘moon’

Disyllabic (close)

VC-CVC	<i>uM-cót</i>	‘bank of river’
CV-CVC	<i>fe-nòk</i>	‘clay’
V-CVC	<i>a- cir</i>	‘ray’

Trisyllabic (open)

CV-CV-CV	<i>te-yi-mu</i>	‘young woman’
CVC-CVC-CV	<i>kip-zòM-no</i>	‘grand child’
CV-CVC-CCV	<i>ni-kuM-nyu</i>	‘great grand father’

Trisyllabic (close)

CV-CV-CVC	<i>pu-rú-sòr</i>	‘ashes’
CVC-CVC-CVC	<i>fat-S’ik-wér</i>	‘mud’
CVC-CV-VC	<i>tìg-ri-óM</i>	‘boy’

Tetra syllabic (open)

CV-CV-CVC-CV	<i>ni-tú-tìg-ri</i>	‘great grand son’
CVC-CVC-CVC-CV	<i>nam-kìp-teg- Rí</i>	‘nephew’

Tetra syllabic (close)

CVC-CVC-CV-CVC	<i>nam-tùk-S’i-hòr</i>	‘comet’
CVC-CCVC-VC-CVC	<i>kim-byò-Mat-òM</i>	‘fog’

3. MORPHOPHONEMICS

When the alternants of morphemes occur with various kinds of suffixes in combination of phonological variations, morphophonemic changes take place within the morphemes. Morphophonemics is concerned with those phonological variations.

Deletion

1. In the initial position of a noun form /h-/ is dropped when the plural marker is added

Thus

huM 'horse'
poM plural marker

Instead of /huM poM/ 'horses' the form is /uMpoM/ for 'horses'

2. In the verbal formation also /h-/ gets dropped when a main verb join with the tense suffix, the final consonant of the main verb /*púh*/ 'bark' tense suffix /*bam*/ 'ing' is added.

For example:

pú h 'bark' (verb root)
bám 'ing' (progressive tense suffix)

when these two forms happen to join together to make a sense of gerundial formation 'barking' it is realised as /*púbam*/ instead of /*puhbm*/ .

Addition

1. The auxiliary verb /*gat*/ 'must' when join with the main verb /*lat*/ 'come' the final consonant of the main verb become double to denote imperativeness

For example:

lat 'come'
gat 'must'

To denote 'must come' instead of /*lat gat*/ it become /*latto gat*/

2. The past tense suffix /-win/ becomes /-hin/ when it happens to join with the main verb /*lat*/ 'come' to make a sense of 'came'

/lat/ 'come'
/-win/ 'past tense marker'

To make sense of past tense verb ‘came’ it should be /lat win/ but it become /lat hin/. The initial consonant of the Past tense marker / w-/ is replaced by glottal voiceless friction / h-/

3. In the cardinal numeral formation of lepcha a part of the morpheme is dropped when it is happened to form numerals with the help of the base numerals. Generally in lepcha the base numerals are based on compounding. While forming compounding numerals some portion of the base morpheme is dropped.
For example:

<i>kát</i>	‘one’
<i>áp</i>	‘ten’
<i>kát+ap</i>	‘eleven’
one+ten	

In case of ‘thirteen’ insertion of the morpheme is realised

<i>sam</i>	‘three’
<i>áp</i>	represents ‘ten’

In case of thirteen it should be

<i>sam</i>	<i>áp</i>	‘thirteen’
3	+	10

but the form is /sam tap/ where /t/ has been inserted analogically

4. MORPHOLOGY

4.1.1 WORD FORMATION

A simple word is defined as one, which is a free form and is capable of taking inflectional or derivational affixes. In Lepcha, a stem by itself can be a word for example form like/ *kiCu* / ‘dog’ is a stem as well as a word, form like/ *kiCupoM* / ‘dogs’ is also a word in Lepcha consisted of a stem and suffix. Accordingly Lepcha words comprised into the following parts of speech such as Noun, Pronoun, Adjective, Verb, Adverbs and Post Positions.

4.1.2 NOUN

The Lepcha has two types of nouns such as, Simple noun and Mass noun.

Simple Noun

Nouns, which are not derived from another noun or any other word class, are called simple nouns. It is further divided in two categories that is mass nouns and count nouns. The mass nouns are always used in singular and count nouns are those, which can be counted or used in plural.

Simple Noun

<i>tigri ʔóM</i>	‘boy’
<i>abó</i>	‘father’
<i>myóm</i>	‘bride’
<i>hʔkbí</i>	‘cock’
<i>hʔkbóm</i>	‘hen’
<i>sʔikbʔk</i>	‘bison’
<i>kazùmót</i>	‘bitch’

Mass noun

<i>Min</i>	‘milk’
<i>wi</i>	‘blood’
<i>bagòk</i>	‘foam’
<i>pudúk</i>	‘dust’

Count Noun

<i>khú</i>	‘bread’
<i>fó</i>	‘bird’

Gender

Nouns can be broadly divided into two groups such as Animate and Inanimate. The Animate nouns can further be divided into Human and Non Human nouns which have again two way distinction of gender Masculine and Feminine determined by the use of two different words. Nouns lack grammatical gender distinction. Gender in Lepcha is natural.

Masculine		Feminine	
<i>myók</i>	‘bride groom’	<i>nyóm</i>	‘bride’
<i>tègríkṭp</i>	‘son’	<i>tiwkṭp</i>	‘daughter’
<i>tégrióM</i>	‘boy’	<i>tayí</i>	‘girl’
<i>abo</i>	‘father’	<i>amú</i>	‘mother’

Inanimate nouns

<i>mi</i>	‘five’
<i>kiM</i>	‘hill’
<i>lòMzi</i>	‘sand’
<i>lawó</i>	‘moon’
<i>sṭ cìk</i>	‘sun’

Number

Nouns are inflected for number. Singular is unmarked. The plural is realised in two forms according to the nouns. The Non-human nouns are suffixed with the form /*poM*/ to denote plural. Likewise, human nouns are suffixed with the form /*soM*/ to denote plural.

<i>kṭ Cú</i>	<i>púS’o</i>	‘dog barks’
dog	barks	
<i>kṭCú pòM</i>	<i>puSó</i>	‘dogs bark’
dog + pl	bark	
<i>hṭ dúsa</i>	<i>lipòM</i>	‘his houses’
his	house + pl	
<i>adó dègri kṭp</i>	<i>soM abi Mi</i>	‘your sons are here’
your son	+ pl here available	

<i>hí dósá</i>	<i>dègríkí p</i>	<i>soM líka</i>	<i>Mi</i>	'His sons are in the house'
his son	+pl	house +in	available	

Case

The cases in Lepcha are Nominative, Accusative, Dative, Instrumental, Genitive, Locative and Ablative.

Nominative Case

The Nominative case is realised by the suffixes /re/ and /nan/ or /Ø/

<i>iMáre</i>	<i>hí dóm</i>	<i>nàkS'o</i>
child+case	him	see+pr.t
'The child sees him'		

<i>iMá nan</i>	<i>hí dóm</i>	<i>nàkSo</i>
child+ case	her	see+ pr.t
'The child sees her'		

<i>góre</i>	<i>hí dóm</i>	<i>nàk si</i>
I + case	him	see+ pr.t
'I see him'		

<i>go nan</i>	<i>iMárem</i>	<i>nakS'ó</i>
I + case	child +case	see+ pr.t
'I see the child'		

<i>hí nan</i>	<i>iMárem</i>	<i>nakS'o</i>
he+case	child+case	see+ pr.t
'he sees the child'		

<i>hí re</i>	<i>líka</i>	<i>Mi</i>
he+case	house+in	is
'he is in the house'		

<i>hó nan</i>	<i>hí dóm</i>	<i>nàkS'o</i>
you+case	her	see+ pr.t
'you see her'		

<i>fóre</i>	<i>kuM plónka</i>	<i>Màn S'o</i>
bird+case	tree+on	sit+ pr.t
'bird sits on the tree'		

<i>fopòMre</i>	<i>lèm</i>	<i>S'o</i>
bird+pl+case	fly	pr.t.
'birds fly'		

Accusative Case

The accusative Case is realised by the suffixes /m/ and /em/ occur with the noun or Pronouns.

<i>go</i>	<i>adóm</i>	<i>nàksi</i>	'I see you'
I	you	see	
<i>go</i>	<i>hídóm</i>	<i>nàk si</i>	'I see him'
I	him	see	
<i>góre</i>	<i>namleM</i>	<i>nàksi</i>	'I see the lady'
I	lady+case	see	

Dative Case

The dative case is realised by the suffix /ka/ which occurs with the nouns.

<i>go</i>	<i>líka</i>	<i>nòM si</i>	'I go into the house'
I	house+to	into go	
<i>iMa sòM</i>	<i>SiM ka látso</i>		'the children come to the garden'
child+pl	garden+ case come		
<i>ado</i>	<i>líka</i>	<i>nu</i>	'go to your house'
your	house+case	go	

Instrumental Case

The instrumental case is realised by the suffix /S'a/ which occurs with the subject

<i>kuMtòl reSá</i>	<i>arinan</i>	<i>tyót tho</i>
tree+case	saw+case	cut
'The tree had cut by the saw'		

<i>go</i>	<i>ban kɪprɛS'à</i>	<i>thampòt</i>	<i>tyót tho gɪm</i>
I	knife+case+case	fruit	cut was

'The fruit was cut with the knife'

Genitive Case

The genitive case is realised by the suffix /-sa/ occurs with the noun or pronoun.

<i>hidúsa</i>	<i>lí poM</i>
he+case	house+pl

'his houses'

<i>iMá re sa</i>	<i>akɪpòM</i>
child + case	hand+pl

'the hands of the child'

<i>are</i>	<i>lípòM</i>	<i>hisàsa gɪm</i>
this	house+pl	my

'These are my houses'

Locative Case

The locative case is realised by the suffix /-ka / occurs with the noun.

<i>hísisa</i>	<i>dègrikɪp</i>	<i>líká</i>	<i>Mi</i>
my	son	house+in	is

'my son is in the house'

<i>hidósa</i>	<i>degríkɪp soM</i>	<i>líká</i>	<i>Mi</i>
his	son+pl	house+in	is

'his sons are in the house'

Ablative Case

This ablative case is realised by the suffix /-lom/ which occurs with the noun.

<i>KuM nyom poM</i>	<i>khuMlom</i>	<i>glusyo</i>
Tree + Leaves	'from'	fall

'The leaves fall from the tree'

hi re líkoMlòm tyuk ma
 he+ case house+top+from jump+ pr.t.
 ‘he jumped from the top of the house’

Post Position

Case relations are also expressed by the post positions. In Lepcha post positions like /nonka/, /depka/, etc. occur after the noun or noun phrase and these are not taking gender and number markers.

go hi ssa tMwi nonka Mi
 I my cart into am
 ‘I am in my cart’

go 're hósa depka yúk màtka nònsiyá
 I case you with go+ do will go
 ‘I will go with you to work’

hi re kisśa depka lát hin
 he+ case me with came
 ‘he came with me’

fópoM kuMáplòM lem má
 bird+pl tree+above fly+do
 ‘birds fly above the tree’

hi kuM amìn dá ma
 he tree+under sleep+do
 ‘he sleeps under the tree’

ren róMre bú sugòM níma
 master case room inside is+do
 ‘Master Lepcha is inside the room’

gyágar ?i n pákistán sa abéka fenkát honthóp gómaʔo
 war pakistan+case between india happen done
 ‘There was a war between India and Pakistan’

hi kisʔm alòM diMsi ‘he stands behind me’
 he me behind stands

4.1.3 PRONOUN

There are four types of pronouns in Lepcha namely, Personal Pronoun, Demonstrative Pronoun, Interrogative Pronoun and Reflexive Pronoun.

Personal Pronoun

The Lepcha personal pronoun system distinguishes for three persons and two numbers. Lepcha does not have distinction of gender.

Person	Singular		Plural	
Ist Person	<i>go</i>	‘I’	<i>kayú</i>	‘we’
IInd Person	<i>ho</i>	‘you’	<i>ayú</i>	‘you(pl)’
IIIRD Person	<i>hí</i>	‘he/ she’	<i>híyú</i>	‘they’(non-Human)
	<i>aré</i>	‘It’	<i>oré soM</i>	‘they’(Human)

<i>go</i> I	<i>adòm</i> you	<i>nàksi</i> see	‘I see you’
<i>kayú</i> we	<i>obi</i> there	<i>nòMS’u</i> go	‘we go there’
<i>ho</i> you(sl)	<i>obi</i> there	<i>nòMS’u</i> go	‘you (sl) go there’
<i>ayú</i> you(pl)	<i>obi</i> there	<i>nòMS’u</i> go	‘you (pl) go there’
<i>hí</i> he	<i>obi</i> there	<i>nòMS’u</i> go	‘he goes there’
<i>hí</i> she	<i>obi</i> there	<i>nòMS’a</i> goes	‘she goes there’
<i>aré</i> it	<i>abí</i> here	<i>Mi</i> is	‘It is here’
<i>híyú</i> they	<i>abi</i> here	<i>Mi</i> are	‘They are here’

<i>orésoM</i>	<i>abí</i>	<i>Mi</i>	
they (pl)	here	are	‘They are here’

Demonstrative Pronoun

In Lepcha the demonstrative pronouns maintain two ways spatial distance. 1) Proximate demonstrative pronoun, which refers to the objects that are near to the speaker. 2) Remote demonstrative Pronoun, which refers to the objects that are away from the speaker, they may be visible or not visible but known. Demonstrative Pronouns are /*are*/ ‘this’ (proximate) and /*ore*/ ‘that’ (remote).

<i>aré</i>	<i>kiCú</i>	<i>g#m</i>	
this	dog	is	‘this is a dog’

<i>moró</i>	<i>oré</i>	<i>apàk</i>	<i>Mi</i>	
fat	that	man	is	‘that man is fat’

Interrogative Pronoun

In Lepcha there are four types of Interrogative pronouns. The question is marked after the noun, pronoun or before the verb.

<i>ho</i>	<i>thàmpot</i>	<i>siré</i>	<i>gó</i>	
you	fruit	which	like	‘which fruit do you like?’

<i>ho</i>	<i>S’u</i>	<i>Cúsèt</i>	<i>go</i>	
you	what	eat	like	‘what do you eat?’

<i>adósa</i>	<i>iMasòM</i>	<i>satèt</i>	<i>Mi</i>	
you	children	how many	have	‘how many children do you have?’

<i>go</i>	<i>dépka</i>	<i>thú</i>	<i>dis#bu</i>	
me	with	who	come+will	‘who will come with me?’

4.1.4 ADJECTIVE

An adjective qualifies a noun. In Lepcha generally the adjective preceeds the noun. However, it follows also in case of quantitative adjectives, numerals and predicative adjectives.

Qualitative Adjectives

<i>arìmbu</i> good	<i>tegrí ʔòM</i> boy	‘good boy’
<i>Cìwkʈbu</i> small	<i>iMa</i> child	‘small child’
<i>adùmbu</i> white	<i>cho</i> coloured	‘white coloured’
<i>bu ʔ yór bu</i> yellow	<i>cho</i> coloured	‘yellow coloured’

Quantitative Adjectives

<i>ʔuM</i> water	<i>CipKàm</i> little	‘little water’
<i>Jo</i> paddy	<i>Cipkàm</i> little	‘little paddy’
<i>Min</i> milk	<i>Cipkàm</i> little	‘little milk’
<i>nyúgu poM</i> Pencils	<i>agyèpdó</i> plenty	‘plenty of pencils’
<i>tayíwoM sòM</i> girls	<i>agyépdo</i> a lot	‘lot of girls’
<i>góre</i> I	<i>miktumrìM</i> English+language	<i>kamkám</i> a little
‘I know a little English Language’		<i>yueibàm</i> know
<i>hídoliyàM</i> he+possess	<i>Min</i> milk	<i>Cipkàm</i> little
‘He has a little milk’		<i>Mibàm</i> available

<i>tayíwòM sòM</i>	<i>agyèpdó</i>	<i>chùCuM</i>	<i>tarzìM matbàm</i>
girls+(pl.)	a lot	studying	started
'Lot of girls started studying'			

Numbers can also function as adjectives, which are called Numeral adjectives. The numeral adjectives also occur after the noun.

<i>obi</i>	<i>kuju</i>	<i>Met</i>	<i>Mi</i>
there	dog	two	are
'There are two dogs available'			

<i>obi</i>	<i>jí siM</i>	<i>sokat</i>	<i>Mi</i>
there	crocodile	hundred	are
'There are one hundred crocodiles available'			

Predicative Adjectives

Adjectives are found used predicatively but they cannot be considered as verbs because these verbs do not take tense, aspect and mood markers. The adjectives occur after the noun.

<i>hi</i>	<i>athó</i>	<i>Mi</i>	
she	tall	is	'She is tall'

<i>tegrióM</i>	<i>orére</i>	<i>nyur poM</i>	<i>gim</i>	
boy	that	deaf	is	'That boy is deaf'

<i>rípre</i>	<i>ahìr</i>	<i>Mi</i>	
flower	red	is	'The flower is red'

Numbers can also function as adjectives, which are called Numeral adjectives. The numeral adjectives also occur after the noun.

<i>obi</i>	<i>kìCu</i>	<i>Mèt</i>	<i>Mi</i>
there	dog	two	are
'there are two dogs available'			

<i>obi</i>	<i>JìsiM</i>	<i>sokàt</i>	<i>Mi</i>
there	crocodile	hundred	are
'there are one hundred crocodiles available'			

4.1.5 NUMERAL

The basic numerals in Lepcha are the numbers from one to ten, hundred and thousand etc. The basic cardinals are free forms.

<i>kàt</i>	‘one’
<i>Met`</i>	‘two’
<i>sam</i>	‘three’
<i>flí</i>	‘four’
<i>fuMú</i>	‘five’
<i>torók</i>	‘six’
<i>kukyók</i>	‘seven’
<i>kikĩ</i>	‘eight’
<i>kukyót</i>	‘nine’
<i>kití</i>	‘ten’

The numbers from eleven to nineteen are formed by adding the suffix / *áp* / with the basic form of the numerals.

<i>kat áp</i>	‘eleven’
<i>Met áp</i>	‘twelve’
<i>S’amt áp</i>	‘thirteen’
<i>flit áp</i>	‘fourteen’
<i>fuMút áp</i>	‘fifteen’
<i>kukyòt áp</i>	‘nineteen’
<i>ka kàt</i>	‘twenty’

The concrete numbers such as thirty forty and lakh, crore has got separate forms.

<i>ká kasákàt</i>	‘thirty’
<i>ka kát sa kàt</i>	‘forty’
<i>ka kát sa nèt</i>	‘fifty’
<i>ka kát sakìti kát</i>	‘One Hundred’
<i>bùmcho kát</i>	‘one lakh’
<i>so sóya kát</i>	‘ten lakh’
<i>Cé oM kát</i>	‘one crore’
<i>tuMcúr kát</i>	‘ten crore’

Ordinals Numbers

Ordinal numbers are formed by the addition of an ordinal marker to the base of the cardinal numeral, ordinal marker is /*bu*/

<i>kát bu</i>	‘first’
one+suffix	

<i>Mèt bu</i> two+suffix	‘second’
<i>sàm bu</i> three+suffix	‘third’
<i>flí bu</i> four+suffix	‘fourth’

Fractions

There are two fractional numbers realised in Lepcha.

<i>apèt</i>	‘half’
<i>kat</i>	‘one’

4.2 VERB – MORPHOLOGY

A verb can be defined in Lepcha as a stem capable of taking tense aspect and mood markers.

<i>hʼnan</i>	<i>iMáre</i>	<i>nàkso</i>
he+ case	child+ case	see+pr.t
‘he sees the child’		

Verb is also not marked for person but the tense marker occurs at the end.

4.2.1.1 FINITE VERB

Finite verb is a verb that shows completion of an action realised through the use of tense, person and mood markers added to the verb root.

<i>go</i> I	<i>khú</i> bread	<i>thási</i> eat+pr.t.	‘I eat bread’
<i>go</i> I	<i>adóm</i> you	<i>nàksi</i> see+pr.t.	‘I see you’
<i>tegri ʔoM</i> boy	<i>til so</i> fall+pr.t.		‘boy falls’

Tense

The tense relates to the time of action, event or state of affairs referred to in the sentence at the time of utterance.

The Lepcha language shows three way opposition for tenses 1. Present 2. Past and 3. future. The tense markers occur at the end of the verb.

Present Tense

The present tense is realised by the suffixes /so/ and /si/. The suffix /si/ occurs to denote the first person singular whereas /so/ occurs for other pronouns.

<i>go</i> I	<i>adóm</i> you	<i>nàksi</i> see+pr.t.	'I see you'
<i>kayú</i> we	<i>adóm</i> you	<i>nàk sò</i> see+pr.t.	'we see you'
<i>hínan</i> he	<i>kistəm</i> me	<i>nàk sò</i> see+pr.t.	'he sees me'
<i>hínan</i> she	<i>kisəm</i> me	<i>nàk so</i> see+pr.t.	'she sees me'
<i>kizhu</i> dog	<i>pù sò</i> bark+pr.t.		'dog barks'

Past Tense

The past time is denoted by the use of suffixes to the verbs such as /non/ and /hin /.

<i>góre</i> I	<i>tìl non</i> fall+p.t.		'I fell down'
<i>hínan</i> he	<i>kiMkón</i> hill+up	<i>talnòn</i> went	'he went up the hill'
<i>góre</i> I	<i>tùkmu</i> thief	<i>Cá maka non</i> catch+p.t.	'I caught the thief'
<i>góre</i> I	<i>wyúk kiMnon</i> confuse+p.t.		'I got confused'
<i>góre</i> I	<i>siwyóka</i> last	<i>láthin</i> come+p.t.	'I came last'

<i>hínén</i>	<i>sìtha</i>	<i>láthin</i>	‘when did he come ?’
he	when	come+ p.t	

<i>kayú</i>	<i>tisó</i>	<i>làthin</i>	‘we came yesterday’
we	yesterday	come+p.t.	

Future Tense

The future tense is denoted by the use of /*set noM sét*/ prefixed to the verb stem.

<i>ho</i>	<i>nòM S’èt</i>	‘you shall go’
you(sg.)	shall+go	

<i>ayú</i>	<i>noM S’èt</i>	‘you shall go’
you(pl.)	shall+ go	

<i>hi</i>	<i>noM S’èt</i>	‘he will go’
he	will go	

<i>hi</i>	<i>noM S’èt</i>	‘She will go’
she	will go	

Aspect

Aspect is a grammatical category of verb that reflects temporal action. There are two aspects realised in Lepcha which are perfect and durative / (progressive). These are exemplified below. No difference is observed between present Perfect and the past perfect tense. The perfect time is realised by a suffix /*tho*/ that occurs with the verb root.

<i>yúk्रे</i>	<i>gónan</i>	<i>mathóMi</i>
work+case	I case	donot+have
‘I have not done the work’		

<i>hi</i>	<i>hidó</i>	<i>tyólsa</i>	<i>líka</i>	<i>noMthóMi</i>
he	his	friends	house+to	had gone
‘he had gone to his friends house’				

<i>go</i>	<i>kíśa</i>	<i>tyóliyàM</i>	<i>noMthóbu</i>	<i>gím</i>
I	my	friends+case	had gone	aux.vb.
‘I had gone with my friends’				

Progressive

There are two types of progressive tenses such as Present progressive and Past Progressive.

Present Progressive

The Present progressive or continuous tense is realised by a suffix /bam/ which occurs after the base verb.

<i>kitjú</i> dog	<i>púbam</i> bark+ing	'dog is barking'
<i>bigú pòMre</i> cow pl+case	<i>Cót bam</i> graze+ing	'cows are grazing'
<i>hínan</i> he	<i>fúre sót bam</i> bird kill+ing	'he is killing the bird'
<i>alòM</i> now	<i>hí nan dàh bam</i> he sleep+ing	'now he is sleeping'

Past Progressive

The past progressive is realised by a form / Míbu/ which occurs after the base verb.

<i>gónan</i> I+non case	<i>rókthu</i> read	<i>Mí bu</i> ing	'I was reading'
<i>kayúre</i> we+ case	<i>daníhàm</i> sleep	<i>Míbu</i> ing	'we were sleeping'

Mood

Mood expresses the speaker's point of view about the occurrence of the event. It is the mode or manner expressing a statement a command, a question or doubt in a sentence. In Lepcha, there are seven modal expressions namely Indicative, Imperative, Interrogative, Conditional, Probability, Subjunctive and Optative.

Indicative mood

Indicative mood is realised by declarative statements and no separate marker is used as such.

<i>are</i>	<i>kiJu</i>	<i>kat</i>	<i>g#m</i>	
this	dog	one	is	'this is a dog'

<i>abi</i>	<i>alu</i>	<i>kat</i>	<i>Mi</i>	
here	cat	one	is	'here is a cat'

Imperative mood

Request or command is realised by the use of intonation in a sentence.

<i>his'sa</i>	<i>li'ka</i>	<i>nu</i>	
my	house+to	go	'go to my house'

<i>his'sa</i>	<i>li'ka</i>	<i>di</i>	
my	house+to	come	'come to my house'

<i>his'sa</i>	<i>pi'co</i>	<i>bidí</i>	
my	book	bring	'bring my book'

<i>hidúsa</i>	<i>tayúkèprem</i>	<i>lik</i>	
your	daughter+case	call	'call your daughter'

Interrogative mood

The question is made by a separate word.

<i>hi</i>	<i>si'ta</i>	<i>láthin</i>	
he	when	come+p.t.	'when did he come?'

<i>ho</i>	<i>sumàntn#</i>	<i>noMsi'bu</i>	
you	why	going	'why are you going?'

Conditional Mood

<i>pemì t</i>	<i>hóre</i>	<i>tici'tka</i>	<i>látgòM</i>	<i>kayúnan</i>	<i>are</i>	<i>dyúlnagàt</i>	<i>setMí</i>
if	you	in time	come	we	this	examine	do
'if you come in time we will examine'							

Optative Mood

The expression of wish is realised by a separate morpheme occurring after the base verb stem.

<i>rimrèn</i> god	<i>adóm</i> you	<i>lentók</i> bless	<i>bótika</i> may	'may god bless you'
<i>gyéker</i> indian	<i>munán</i> may	<i>getíka</i> win		'may Indian win'

The desire or permission is expressed by the use of two separate words occurring in a sentence .

<i>hiyú</i> let	<i>ginrèm</i> all	<i>latkòn</i> come +do	
		'let them all come'	
<i>alàm</i> let	<i>hidóm</i> her	<i>ripsìMsa</i> garden+ case	<i>yúkmàtkon</i> work +do
		'let her work in the garden'	
<i>hiyú</i> let some of you	<i>abèklom</i> go	<i>aflík non</i> and	<i>ban ʒuM bidí</i> water fetch
		'let some of you go and fetch water'	

Probability Mood

The probability is realised by a suffix /kit/ which occurs with the base verb.

<i>hínàn</i> he+case	<i>fú</i> bird	<i>Sótkít</i> kill+may	'He may kill the bird'
<i>are</i> it	<i>Munkít</i> may	<i>S'yó</i> happen	'It may happen'
<i>hí</i> he	<i>adóm</i> you	<i>ditkì t</i> may see	'He may see you'

4.2.1.2 NON-FINITE VERB

Infinitive

The verb, which does not express the completion of an action, is called infinitive verb. In Lepcha the suffix */-ni/* occurs finally with the verb.

iní mat baS'ĩrõ go manõní
fish not today I not+go+to
'I did not find my net to catch fish'

kayu gĩm bú ka nom S'yomní gaT ko ní
we temple +case go + to need to
'we need to go to the temple'

Verbal Noun

A verb functions as a noun called verbal noun. In Lepcha, the suffix */-bu/* is used to forming a verbal Noun.

doMsíbu yúkre ñonrèm mathíM
running work horse done
'running is done by the horse'

S'erábu lémliyáM renjám ka aryúm Mi
hunting sport sikkim+in favourite
'hunting is favourite sport of Sikkim'

Participle

Participle is that of the verb which partakes of the nature both of verb and of an Adjective. The suffix */-ba/* is realised as participle form which occurs with the verb.

krikèt lèmba hídósa mehèt aryúm múnma
cricket playing his health gained done
'playing cricket he gained good health'

acyòmdí hí Mámba kuJúrem hí nan chame
fast+by running dog+case he catch do
'running fast, he caught the dog'

putìMnan bígba hñàn fiyú Dammá
 stick+case hitting he+case pot break+do
 ‘hitting the stick, he broke the pot’

4.2.1.3 CAUSATIVE VERB

Causative verbs are those which have one or more than one agents of which one causes the doer to do the action. In Lepcha, the causativeness is expressed by the use of two forms. The markers /- *khàt*/ and /*Jùkma* /.

gonán hídòm chó jukhma binkònham
 I+case her book give+make request
 ‘I am making her give a book’

hínán mòre khàtka loʔyuk matburem khòmfáMu binkònham
 she+case some make+to work labourers people five request
 ‘she is making some one give 5 rupees to the workers’

gónan hídùm arók thòMsibù Júkma
 I + case him liquor drink made
 ‘I made him drink liquor’

gónan ʔonrèm gesíbu Júkma
 I +case horse win made
 ‘I made the horse won’

gónan iMárem S’riyòp Júkma
 I +case child +case weep made
 ‘I made the child weeping

gónan iMárem nin thòM sibù Júkma
 I + case child + case milk drink made
 ‘I made the child drink milk’

4.2.1.4 AUXILIARY VERB

Auxiliary is used with a main verb that helps in the formations of moods . In Lepcha the suffix / *gat* / is an Auxiliary verb.

go titto gat ‘I should come’
 I come+ should

go tìtto gat ‘I must come’
 I come+ must

<i>hi</i>	<i>azóm</i>	<i>juk</i>	<i>mi khenne</i>	
she	bread	bake	not should	‘she should not bake the bread’

4.2.1.5 NEGATIVE VERB

The negation is expressed by the use of suffix /*me*/ occurring with the base verb.

<i>alóm</i>	<i>mé lin</i>	
say	not+thus	‘Do not say thus’

<i>are</i>	<i>arim</i>	<i>cikpòt póM</i>	<i>mígòn</i>	
this	good	words	not+are	‘these are not good words’

<i>hinàn</i>	<i>gyúk</i>	<i>Cuk</i>	<i>mígàt</i>	<i>nì</i>	
he +case	work	should	not	do	‘he should not do this work’

<i>lukkàl</i>	<i>go</i>	<i>me dinè</i>	
tomorrow	I	not+ come	‘I shall not come tomorrow’

<i>srèngo</i>	<i>medìne</i>	
today	not coming	‘I am not coming to day’

4.2.1.6 COMPOUND VERB

In Lepcha combination of nouns and verb or verb and verb gives the sense of compound verb. The first element of the compound verb carries the meaning and the second element performs the action of the finite verb.

<i>gyébu</i>	<i>to</i>	‘guarded’
guard	do	
<i>atípoM</i>	<i>gíwsùM</i>	‘protected’
egg	to protct	
<i>hyúl</i>	<i>ma ʒó</i>	‘swallowed’
swallow	do	
<i>khúl(wam)</i>	<i>ma ʒó</i>	‘bathing
bath	taking	

<i>lam</i> fly	<i>maʔo`</i> away	‘flew’
<i>hron(nam)</i> climb	<i>síhat</i> up	‘climbing’
<i>bí kúl</i>	<i>dàhi</i>	‘curled’
<i>màt bam</i> live	<i>maʔó</i> do	‘lived’

4.2.1.8 TRANSITIVE VERB

The verb which is used with a direct object called transitive verb that is transitive verb is a verb which requires an object (expressed or implied) to complete its meaning the effect of the action denoted by the verb falls on the subject.

<i>go</i> I	<i>khú</i> bread	<i>thàsi</i> eat +pr.t.	‘I eat bread’
<i>hínàn</i> he	<i>Máre</i> child+case	<i>nàkso</i> see+pr.t.	‘he sees the child’

Intransitive Verb

The verb does not take the direct object to complete its meaning.

<i>fopoMre</i> birds	<i>limsó</i> fly +pr.t.				‘birds fly’
<i>tegriʔóM</i> boy	<i>tilsó</i> falls+pr.t.				‘boys fall’
<i>hi</i> he	<i>hidó sa</i> his	<i>líka</i> house+in	<i>dasyó</i> sleeps		
					‘he sleeps in his house’
<i>hi</i> he	<i>kumlòM</i> tree+form	<i>jyúkma</i> jumps			
					‘he jumps from the tree’

4.2.2 ADVERB

Adverbs are the classes of words, which are used to modify the verb. It occurs before the verb. In Lepcha language, the adverb is realised in three different ways namely, Adverb of place, adverb of time and adverb of manner.

Adverb of place

<i>kiJu're</i> dog+case	<i>abi</i> here	<i>Mi</i> is																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																												
----------------------------	--------------------	-----------------	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

Adverb of time

<i>góre</i> I+case	<i>srèMo</i> today	<i>médine</i> not+coming	'I am not coming today'
<i>go</i> I	<i>lukkál</i> tomorrow	<i>disí</i> come-shall	'I shall come tomorrow'
<i>go</i> I	<i>tasó</i> yesterday	<i>lathin</i> came	'I came yesterday'

Adverb of manner

Adverb of manner is denoted by the use of suffix /*mat*/ with adjectives.

<i>S'idímat</i> slow+ly	<i>jók</i> speak	'Speak slowly'
<i>Mim atí Mat</i> fully+adv	<i>majyok</i> not speak	'Do not speak loudly'
<i>potpòM</i> words	<i>ajèm mat pi</i> neat+ly write	'Write words neatly'

4.2.3 PARTICLE

A particle is a small word that functions as a connective or markers for question making and negation etc. Further it functions as connective particle.

Connective particle.

The forms / *ban* / ‘and’ and / *gul* / ‘but’ are realized as connective particle.

no'M ban lo`?di
go and come+back
‘go and come back’

ʔo`re mau gonsa are gu maʔo`
that+case not+one this but this-one
‘Not that one but this one’

Compulsive particle

The forms /*ho*/ ‘must’ and / *non gat* / ‘should’ function as compulsive particles.

hisisa líkalá taMfókhát hó látʔo
you house+my once must visit
‘you must visit our house once’

ʔúk doMsùM marókat nongàt
job find man+one should
‘one should go and find a job’

Emphatic Particle

The forms /*nongat sibu*/ ‘had to’ functions as Emphatic particle.

go nongát sibu báre ‘I had to go’
I had to go

kayu nongát sibu báre ‘we had to go’
we had +to go

Interrogative Particle

The forms /*thú*/ ‘who’, /*sibi*/ ‘where’ and /*sita*/ ‘when’ are identified as interrogative Particle.

<i>go</i>	<i>dèpka thú</i>	<i>Disíbu</i>	
me+with	who	come+will	‘who will come with me’
<i>ho</i>	<i>s#bi bam ám</i>		
you	where stay like		‘where do you like to stay’
<i>hi</i>	<i>síta láthin</i>		
he	when come+p.t.		‘when did he come?’

Negative Particle

In Lepcha, the particle /mé/ is used to denote negation and the particle /pu/ conveys double negation.

<i>lukkál</i>	<i>go</i>	<i>mé diné</i>
tomorrow	I	not come +shall
‘I shall not come tomorrow’		

<i>alóm</i>	<i>mélin</i>
say	not+thus
‘do not say thus’	

For double negation the suffix /pu/ is used with the noun.

<i>bigúpu</i>	<i>biglón pu</i>	<i>thikthó ma</i>
cow+neither	bull for	caught +do
‘neither cow nor bull was caught’		

4.2.4 ECHO FORMATION

A morpheme whose second member repeats the first with an initial consonant or syllable altered with the general meaning and the like. In Lepcha, the phoneme /s/ begins as a second component and this gives out the meaning of ‘etc’.

/lí/	‘house’	/sí/	‘etc’
/ʒuM/	‘water’	/sum/	‘water etc’
/mùMma/	‘devil’	/mùMsuM/	‘devil etc’
/kuM/	‘tree’	/suM/	‘tree etc’

5. SYNTAX

Lepcha is a subject +object+verb (SOV) language. A sentence in Lepcha consists of a noun phrase and predicate phrase, sometimes a predicate itself may stand for a sentence. For example, Imperative form itself can be a sentence.

<i>mìlMan</i>	‘sit down’
<i>lugdìM</i>	‘stand up’
<i>lyékanùM</i>	‘go out’

5.1 ORDER OF WORDS IN SENTENCE

In Lepcha the word order is subject+object+verb

<i>bigúpoMnàn</i> cow+pl+case	<i>Min</i> milk	<i>boS’ó</i> give+pr.t.	‘cows give milk’
<i>go</i> I	<i>?onrèm</i> horse	<i>thúlsi</i> ride+pr.t.	‘I ride the horse’
<i>go</i> I	<i>khú</i> bread	<i>thàsi</i> eat+pr.t.	‘I eat bread’
<i>go</i> I	<i>nyo’ka</i> field+to	<i>n`oMsi</i> go+pr.t.	‘I go to the field’
<i>kayú</i> we	<i>adóm</i> you	<i>naksó</i> see+pr.t.	‘we see you’
<i>his’ka</i> I+case	<i>chó</i> book+two	<i>Met</i> have	‘I have two books’
		<i>Mi</i> verb	

5.2 DESCRIPTION OF THE TYPES OF SENTENCE

There are six categories of sentences realised in Lepcha language. These are Declarative, Interrogative, Imperative, Negative, Causative and Exclamatory.

Declarative Sentences

In Lepcha there is no separate marker to denote assertiveness.

<i>are</i>	<i>kɨCú</i>	<i>kaT</i>		'This is a dog'
this	dog	is		
<i>hi</i>	<i>obi</i>	<i>nomS'o</i>		'He goes there'
he	there	goes		
<i>hi</i>	<i>athó</i>	<i>Mi</i>		'She is tall'
she	tall	is		
<i>abi</i>	<i>al</i>	<i>kàT</i>	<i>Mi</i>	'here is a cat'
here	cat	one	is	
<i>iMáre</i>		<i>tilS'o</i>		'The child falls (down)'
child+case		fall+pr.t.		
<i>go</i>	<i>Myótka</i>	<i>nòMsi</i>		'I go to the field'
I	field+to	go+pr.t.		
<i>go</i>	<i>hisśa</i>	<i>tiMwìnóMka</i>	<i>Mi</i>	'I am in my cart'
I	my	cart+in	am	

Imperative Sentences

The command and request are expressed by the use of intonation and there is no separate marker for the same in Lepcha.

<i>milMàn</i>		'sit down'
down sit		
<i>lúg dín</i>		'stand up'
up stand		
<i>lyènka nuM</i>		'go out'
out go		
<i>alóm melìn</i>		do not say this'
say no+this		
<i>lí</i>	<i>lóʔdi</i>	'come home
home	do+come	

nyótka di 'come to the field'
field+to come

chó lób̀̀di 'bring back the book'
book back bring

adósa anómrem lik 'call your brother'
your brother+case call

Cikpót káT Cók 'speak a word'
word one speak

Interrogative Sentences

The question is made by use of separate words like /*síta*/ 'when' /*S'u*/ 'what' and /*siréka*/ 'which' etc. However, the tag questions are realised by the suffix ?a and ya which occurs with the base verb.

ho thampót sire góhen 'which fruit do you like?'
you fruit which like

ho S'u Cusètgo 'what do you eat'
you what eat+pr.t.

hi síta láthen 'when did he come?'
he when come p.t.

ho sumátní noMsíbu 'why are you going?'
you why going

go dèpka thu Disíbu 'who will come with me?'
me+with who come+will

ho ṣ́bi bamhàm 'where do you stay'
you where stay

adósa iMàsòM satèt MihìMo
you+with children how many have
'how many children have you got?'

Tag Questions

hiyú líka bamMí?a
they house available are

‘Are they at home?’

ho are Cúki tʔa

you it do can

‘can you do it?’

Negative Sentences

Negation is realised by the suffix /*me*/ which occurs with the base verb.

alóm melin

say not+this

‘do not say this’

are arim cikpót pòM megòn

this good words not

‘these are not good words’

hʔnan gyúk Cùk megàt ni

he+case work should not do

‘he should not do the work’

lukkál go medine

tomorrow I not+come

‘I shall not come tomorrow’

srèngo medine

today not+coming

‘I am not coming today’

Causative Sentence

Causative verbs are those, which have two agents of which one causes the other to do the action. The causativeness is realised by the use of two morphemes that is bound morpheme free morpheme. The morpheme /*khàt*/ is a bound morpheme which occurs with the base verb or pronoun whereas the free morpheme /*Júkma*/ occurs after the base verb.

gónan hídóm bicókhàt binkònham

I+case her give+make request

‘I am making her give a book’

hʔnan moré khàt ka loʔyuk matpurem khomfamú binkònham

she+case some one make+to work labourers five request

‘she is making some one give 5 rupees to the worker’

gónan hídúm arók thòM sibú Júkma

I+case him liquor drink made

‘I made him drink liquor’

<i>gónan</i>	<i>ʒónrèm</i>	<i>gesíbu</i>	<i>Júkma</i>
I+case	horse	win	made
'I made the horse won'			

<i>gónan</i>	<i>iMárem</i>	<i>S'riyòp</i>	<i>Júkma</i>
I+case	child+case	weep	made
'I made the child weeping'			

<i>gónan</i>	<i>iMárèm</i>	<i>nín</i>	<i>thòM</i>	<i>síbu</i>	<i>Júkma</i>
I+case	child+case	milk	drink		made
'I made the child drink milk'					

5.3 DESCRIPTION OF PATTERNS OF SENTENCES

Based on the structural configuration the sentences may be classified into simple, complex, and compound. These are exemplified below.

Simple Sentences

A sentence, which has only one subject and one predicate, is called a simple sentence. The part, which names the person or thing we are speaking about, is called subject. The part, which tells something about the subject, is called predicate.

<i>kìCu</i>	<i>pusó</i>	'dog barks'
dog	barks	

<i>hí</i>	<i>kisíiyàM</i>	<i>látso</i>	'he comes to me'
he	me	come+pr.t.	

<i>go</i>	<i>líka</i>	<i>nòMsi</i>	'I go to the house'
I	house+to	go+pr.t.	

<i>kayú</i>	<i>adóm</i>	<i>nàkso</i>	'we see you'
we	you	see+pr.t.	

<i>hí</i>	<i>síta</i>	<i>láthin</i>	'when did he come'
he	when	come+p.t.	

<i>go</i>	<i>manóM</i>	<i>ni</i>	'I am not going'
I	not go	pr.t.	

adó líka nàkso 'see your house'
 you house+to see+pr.t.

Complex Sentences

A complex sentence is consists of one main clause and one or more subordinate clauses. Lepcha, the main clause is realised in the second part whereas the subordinate clause is realised in the first part.

láfí Diklùm m̄lek CókʔòMsoMre yinthólòM lénka pinon
 bell ring soon students school from went
 'as soon as rang the bell, students went out from the school'

. *permit h̄re kid̄ka MigòM h̄nàn kiS̄m̄ tuMsút klóMsèt Mi*
 if he difficulty do he me+to wire will
 'if he is in difficult, he will wire to me'

permit hóre tic̄itka látgoM kayúnan are dyúlMagàt sèt Mi
 we+case this examine will if you in time come
 'If you come in time, we will examine this'

Compound Sentences

A compound sentence is made up of two or more main clauses. In Lepcha main clauses are made to one sentence by using connectives like and, or, and but etc.

h̄i malátne S'ènlā huyúnan hitùm róm̄ma malátne
 he not+come but they for him wait not+come
 'He did not come but they waited for him'

. *ho k̄sú liyèMlāt yèMne go lát Cyo*
 you me home+come or I come+will
 'you come to me or I will come'

h̄i thàso láthin banliyám ʔMnon
 he yesterday came and away+gone
 'he came yesterday and went away'

go adóm góma S'ènlā hidóm mugóne
 I you like but him hate
 'I like you but I hate him'

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1) Acharya K.P. 1983. *Lotha Grammar*, Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysore.
- 2) Bendict, Paul K. (1972). *Sino-Tibetan: A conspectus*. J.A.Matisoff(Ed.) Cambridge: The University Press.
- 3) Giridhar P.P. 1981. *Angami Grammar*, Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysore.
- 4) Grierson, G.A.(Ed.). 1967. *Linguistic Survey of India* , Vol III , part I, Tibeto – Burman Family Himalayan Dialects, North Assam Groups, Motilal Banarasidas, New Delhi.
- 5) Gurubasave Gowda K.S. 1975. *AO. Grammar*, Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysore.
- 6) Hockett, C.F. 1970. *A Course in Modern Linguistics*, Oxford & IBH Publishing Co., New Delhi.
- 7) Mahapatra, B.P. & et.al, 1989 : *The Written Languages of the World: A Survey of the Degree and Modes of Use*. Government of India, New Delhi and Laval University Press, Canada.
- 8) Y. P. Yadava & W.W. Glower, *Topics in Nepalese Linguistics*, Royal Nepal Academy, 1999.
- 9) Census of India 1961, *Language Tables*. Vol –I part II –c (ii) Government of India.

**TEXT
LEPCHA**

slómadnan crew a bómnan bínókburèm swéthín
hon and hen crow black snake killed

‘How crow hen killed the Black Snake’

akòM agyèpne *bàmbu* *yógji* *kùMsa*
branches among spreading banyan tree

akom khátka *olàk* *kátin*
branch crow among

hidósa *olàk* *abóm* *bam màmtúmo*
his crow wife lived

Among the spreading branches of a banyan tree lived a crow and his wife.

asyèpka *cíikúp* *ati fèli* *nebàmtómo*
nest little egg’s four available

srépòMrem *atisa* *thothóbu* *nèt nan*
which eggs laid both are

medùkkúdo *acímatní* *gyúbanthópa*
great care guard

In the nest were four little eggs which were guarded with great care.

kuMùrèsa *aM* *anònka* *bínògbu*
tree hollow in black snake

khátbàmbam tómu *sréhi* *dépka*
lived whom wish

<i>olák</i>	<i>netbúre</i>	<i>pokúdo rowámtòpa</i>
crow	two of them	greet fear

In a hollow of that tree trunk lived a black snake whom the crows feared greatly.

<i>síthadóla</i>	<i>olát</i>	<i>bòmnaM</i>	<i>atí poM</i>
every day	crow	snake	eggs
<i>tuwìMsa</i>	<i>binók</i>	<i>orenàntal</i>	<i>hyúm</i>
alone	black snak	climb	them

<i>lamsómni</i>	<i>cóbi</i>	<i>bí</i>	<i>yèmba</i>
crawled	eat snake		vb.

Every time the crow hen laid her eggs the snake crawled up to the nest and ate them up.

<i>pemìt</i>	<i>bí nók</i>	<i>arétuèmkla</i>	
parents	black	snake	
<i>kisísa</i>	<i>atipòM</i>	<i>jówam</i>	<i>ararékuM</i>
my	eggs	eat	this tree
<i>aréka</i>	<i>sithála</i>	<i>míbàm ne</i>	
any	longer	do not live	

If the black snake eats up my eggs this time also I will refuse to live in this tree any more.

<i>kaMínan</i>	<i>zùk</i>	<i>kayòu</i>	<i>asyep</i>	<i>cibídòla</i>	<i>enT</i>
me	build	our	nest	somewhere	and
<i>abòm ulák</i>	<i>lípa</i>				
mother hen crow	said				

We must build our nest somewhere else, said the mother bird to her husband.

<i>kani</i>	<i>alón</i>	<i>siMtét</i>	<i>abìdo</i>	<i>bamgát</i>
we	a long time		here	lived

We have lived here a long time.

go kis'ša li sibídòla lyótban bam
 I myself home elsewhere bear live

lyènkasibí'la noMmá kàn olàk abí'énan lípa
 desert can't crow male crow said

I can't bear to desert my home and go to live elsewhere, said the crow.

honi yusyom sut sigrèmkon echuem yon asút kàt
 they knew sound meant small sat helplessly

tyómo syúasùt enok bu hí n í nan
 heard what sound black snake he she

yénon iwnònwìM gím sibílómla lentópmanìn
 crept down any where helplessly

while they were talking they heard a hissing sound below them .They know what the sound meant. They sat helplessly in the nest.

híníre atí poM gíwsùM ayáp roMní Mán má? o
 he—who eggs guard nest waitiig sat

? in asyèpsa atólka gyónon má?o wáto
 and nest nearest protect us strike

liklóM binóknan olèk Metbúrem nyóba
 hissing sound black snake crow both of them hearing

mátba híníre lémtítton má?o
 do then flying along vb

The black snake crept higher and closer to the nest. Then with a loud hiss he tried to strike at the birds who flew away in terror

kháT kháT mátlem bí nóbnan atípò Mrem hyúlMyònnat má?o
 one one by the black eggs swallowed.
 One by one , the black snake swallowed the eggs.

hí nísá asyèpre agún síyem SimkyúlM atísa
 they nest empty saw despair eggs

dókbùMétre lowùMnì lat mu olák abúre nan lípa
 oth of them come again crow male crow said

“go slóm màtnla cinzènbu bí
 I anyway dangerous snake.

aré rem tiwsóCìbu lomyú khát plèw gátpa.
 this cunning idea make

The parents came back sadly to their nest knowing well that they would find it empty.
 The male crow said “I must find a way to destroy this murderous snake.

“ho slómàtnre h́sa dépka dyút hidósa
 you how can he with fight his

róm mála simpàmluM hidúsa amótre naMlípa
 dead ly despair his wife said

How can you ever fight him? His sting is so deadly, said his wife in despair.

simsán dipmákat kiśsa acèmu kiśsa tyòlkátMi híre
 dear worry not my dear my friend he

sréJomdúla Myùmchain bípòMsa sothsùMka ahkèt ólak
 enough poisonous snake killed peaceful crow

abírénan lípaʔín híre riMsìrkuM kát kon
 male crow said he flew to next tree.

Don't you worry, my dear, I ve got a friend who is cunning enough to destroy the most
 poisonous of snakes, said the crow, and off he flew to another tree which lived his dear
 friend, the Jackal.

lemnónpa SréasígreM abóMkàre hí dósa acíbukyól
 they which under lived his dear friend

homùre báhambúyèmba slúmàtnre bí nànràMJíMdo atipòM
 jackal lived have to by snake always eggs

Júbi matnt yúban homúrenàn lípa “kisása tyo’l?yeM’
ate do come down greedy said my to friend

cinjen yin cinpo’M’sa nampúre S’iyópka aJènMóni palsiyo
cruel always meet those bad end

megànt hitóm slómatnt tiwgátorèsa peDìkgóním sakcìM léltòbu
meet him how to destroy plan already thought

When the Jackal heard how the snake always ate up the eggs, he said, “my friend, those who are cruel and greedy always meet with a bad end. Have no fer I’ve already thought of a plan to destroy him.

ologòM?ya s̄imládinbúle peDìkóre sríjòn niyí Mgo olàk nan
what+is me tell what kind of plan crow

wètpa yinígoM homúre hudóp arìMrem
asked then jackal his talking

tyúsuMpú a hidú dyòlsa nyérk arínka
over heard his friend whispered words

bí rém swa’CuM ore liyembjma’?o olàkre
snake destroy that flew the crow

hidú amótre deíban peDìk sréJoMI oréhidóm diMbípa
his hen crow told plan what kind to told him

are rùmTakM’ibáre kayúnàM rigbúre gyèm mat olàk
that risky we care ull crow

abínán amótrem lípa kisása aìpoM gíwsuMín alik go
male crow said to hen crow. I eggs save do I

S’yúdòlametS’yú olàksa amót re nìn alkh atìm matnabírem lípa
anything to do the crow the mother loudly to male crow said

Tell me what it is, said the crow. Then the Jackal fearing he might be overheard, whispered to his friend what he should do to destroy the snake. The crow flew back to his wife and told her about the plan. It is risky, We’ll have to be very careful.

<i>htníre</i>	<i>leyàn orésa</i>	<i>panúsa</i>	<i>gríkon lèmní</i>	<i>nonmá?o</i>
both me	place / country	royal	palace	went / flew

<i>penúsa</i>	<i>gríre</i>	<i>heni bàmbu</i>	<i>konbòM lóm</i>	<i>aryùm maMínbu</i>	<i>gɪn</i>
royal	palace	they lived	tree	far from	flow to

<i>lémlìM grísa</i>	<i>siMtòM abéka</i>	<i>oMlèp atìm</i>	<i>kháTsa</i>	<i>as̀tka</i>	<i>hí ní</i>
palace	garden	big pond	one	near	he/she

<i>kyúnnon má?o</i>	<i>sibtre</i>	<i>grísa</i>	<i>gyábu</i>	<i>kyúhàambu</i>	<i>sima?o</i>
approached	where	palace	guard	bathing	saw

So they flew towards to the palace of the King of the country. The palce was not far from the tree in which they lived .They approached a big pond in the palace garded where they saw the royal ladies having a bath.

<i>nayúnan</i>	<i>tadósa</i>	<i>Cerpenízin</i>	<i>?yúleyàk</i>	<i>?in</i>	<i>Jyúmen</i>
we	urselves	golden necklace	pearl	and	another

<i>oMlèpsa</i>	<i>akìMkadetóbu</i>	<i>yenba</i>
pond	henlaid	vb

They laid their golden necklace and other jewellery on the edge of the pond.

<i>olak</i>	<i>amotremil</i>	<i>iMbt</i>	<i>lemtèt tyunt</i>	<i>zèrsa</i>	<i>khátre</i>	<i>abòMsa</i>
crow	en crow down	they	started	golden	a/one	hen crow

<i>pitnt Crèp</i>	<i>sidúmatn</i>	<i>hidósa</i>	<i>kuMbòM kon</i>	<i>yemsùm</i>	<i>zarse mat má?o</i>
peckup	when	his/her	to the tree	fly	gold vb.
<i>olàknan</i>					
by crow					

The mother bird flew down, picked up a gold chain in her beak and started flying slowly towards the tree in which she lived.

<i>Cer penzin</i>	<i>lemnon</i>	<i>tetbàmbúre</i>	<i>grírombu</i>	<i>S'iba</i>	<i>hiyúnan</i>
necklaces	flew	look up	waiting guard	saw	they

<i>tado</i>	<i>putiM nen</i>	<i>Crùp ban</i>	<i>oláksa</i>	<i>tagum</i>	<i>riyák</i>
self	clubs	carry	crow	behind	chased

maʔo olaknan jerpanjinre bɪ nonɪ kuMsa aMpirdoM katka
do by crow golden necklace carrying hollow in the tree

glétàpnyónbo sihámaʔo
drop inside saw do

When the palace guards saw the bird flying off with the gold chain, they took up their clubs and chased the bird. They saw the bird drop the chain into the hollow of a tree.

gríraMbùsoM abéklom ore prék cum kuMka tal S'onamaʔo
waiting place fund between that follow tree climb up

htnan plesuMsa tinká kuMDoM aMpir nonka
he to take in tree hollow inside hollow

akt tapsùM mat bare bɪ nok kaT kulnán nibu S'imaʔo
put hand do black snake one curld saw

One of the guards climbed up the tree to get the chain. As he put his hand inside he saw a black snake curled up there.

hɪ nan hidùM pintiM bak bàM bírem sotMyónhat maʔo ʔ in alóm
his him club bitter to snake killed vb so

matn tnok oresa sizokbu tré palwìMgɪm
by doing that of this vb.

With one hard stroke of his club he killed it and that was the end of the black snake.

orént alòn olák haninàmwem kùMbam oréka aket
afterwards crow hen crow and crow tree that happily

maʔo ʔ en akhɪ poM la agyèpto luMden maʔo
do lived and babies many grow up

The crow and the crow hen lived in that tree happily after wards and had many little baby crows.

-----X-----

TAMANG

P. PERUMALSAMY

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 FAMILY AFFILIATION

Grierson broadly classifies the language spoken in Himalayan regions into two groups namely pronominalized group and non-pronominalized group. Tamang, a language referred as Murmi by early scholars belongs to the eastern sub-group of Himalayan languages. It is placed as a non-pronominalized Himalayan group of languages under Tibeto-Burman sub family. Tamang speakers are also referred as Tamang Bhotia, Ishang and Sain (Grierson ,1909:189).

1.2 LOCATION

Nigam (1971) states that the Tamang speakers are mainly concentrated in the northern districts of Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling in West Bengal. According to 1981 Census, a sizeable strength of speakers live in Sikkim state, followed by West Bengal. The Census conducted in 2001 also indicates that Sikkim state has the maximum number of Tamang population. A small number of speakers is accounted from north east region . The Tamangs claim that they are one among the earliest settlers of Nepal.

1.3 SPEAKERS STRENGTH : Language-Mother Tongue- Bilingualism

The speakers' strength of Tamang in respect of language / mother tongue and bilingualism/trilingualism as per 2001 Census publication is given below.

Language/Mother Tongue

TAMANG	TOTAL	M	F	RURAL	M	F	URBAN	M	F
INDIA	17,494	9,260	8,234	15,952	8,437	7,515	1,542	823	719
Sikkim	10,089	5,384	4,705	9,650	5,135	4,515	439	249	190

1.4 BILINGUALISM

As returned in 2001 Census, out of 10089 Tamang speakers in Sikkim, 8256 are bilinguals and they are bilinguals in the following languages in descending order .

Sl. No	Language of Bilingualism	Total	Male	Female	Language of Trilingualism among the Bilingualism	Total	Male	Female
1	Nepali	7222	3879	3343	i.Hindi	1169	781	388
					ii.English	407	234	173

					iii.Bhotia	22	17	5
					iv.Lepcha	11	6	5
					v.Limbu	7	3	4
					vi.Tibetan	6	6	0
					vii.Sherpa	5	2	3
					viii.Rai	1	0	1
					ix.OTHERS@	11	6	5
2	Hindi	511	324	187	i.Nepali	222	142	80
					ii.OTHERS	97	59	38
3	English	476	273	203	i.Hindi	210	123	87
					ii.Nepali	203	114	89
					iii.Bhotia	2	1	1
					iv.OTHERS@	1	1	0
4	Lepcha	7	4	3	i.Nepali	6	3	3
5	Limbu	7	6	1	i.Nepali	3	2	1
					ii.English	1	1	0
6	Sherpa	6	4	2	i.Nepali	5	4	1
					ii.Hindi	1	0	1
7	Tibetan	5	4	1	i.Nepali	2	2	0
					ii.Hindi	1	0	1
8	Total of Others#	22	16	6				

Accordingly 81.83% are bilinguals among the Tamang speakers of Sikkim.

Under the languages of Bilingualism the clubbed Total of Others comprise of Bilingual speakers strength in relevant languages below 100. But in the state of Sikkim the languages like Nepali, Bhutia, Limbu, Lepcha, Sherpa, Tibetan, Tamang and Rai are the most important language. So, the bilingual strength in respect of these languages, even if it is below 100 speakers, have been taken separately and not clubbed under "Total of Others"

@ Under the head Trilingualism the clubbed Others comprise of trilingual speakers strength in relevant languages below 100. But in the state of Sikkim the languages like Nepali, Bhutia, Limbu, Lepcha, Sherpa, Tibetan, Tamang and Rai are the most important language. studies is So, the trilingual strength in respect of these languages, even if it is below 100 speakers, have been taken separately and not clubbed under "Others"

1.5 SOCIOLINGUISTIC SETTING

The Tamangs have migrated to Sikkim from Nepal. They are popularly known by their principal occupation as 'horse traders'. The Tamangs are called as Murmis also.

The Tamangs are an endogamous group and are divided into a number of exogamous clans. So endogamy is the norm among Tamangs. But few cases of community exogamy are also noticed.

Land is a major resource controlled individually. There are both landholders and landless people in the community. Traditionally though they were traders but now agriculture is their primary occupation along with the subsidiary occupations like milk-selling, animal rearing, horticulture and service in Government and Non-Government sectors.

Though Tamangs or Murmis have their mother tongue as Tamang but they use Nepali along with Tamang. They use Devnagari script while writing Nepali. Among them some person who have adopted Buddhism (Lamaism) are exposed to Classical Tibetan.

Basically the Tamangs are Buddhist. But Hinduism has also an influence over their religion. Few of them have adopted Lamaism of Buddhist religion who are exposed to classical Tibetan.

In Sikkim they are found mainly in the lower Teesta valley and Rangit valley that is in east, south and west districts.

The Tamangs have a tradition of folk songs, which are mainly centered on socio-religions aspect of their community.

[The source of the information furnished in this section is mainly from Singh, K.S., *Sikkim*, Vol.XXXIX, 1993 (Calcutta) and The Scheduled Tribes, 2001 (Oxford) Under People of India Series, Anthropological Survey of India]

Language use

Tamang language is used in intra and inter communication levels.

Home Domain

Tamang speakers used to communicate with their kinsmen in Tamang language. In villages, it is mostly spoken in the home domain. Tamang speakers are well versed in two languages namely Tamang and Nepali.

School Domain

Tamang is being taught in schools upto standard VI as one of the vernacular language. Tamang language has its own script recently. It is called as **Tamhig**. The text books are prepared in this script by non governmental organizations such as Sikkim Tamang Buddhist Association, that are used by the students in schools.

Legislative Domain

The Tamang language has been recognized as one of the languages to be spoken in the state assembly. Accordingly, a legislative member has the privilege of talking in Tamang in legislative assembly and his speech will be translated in Nepali/English.

Other Domains

The state Newspaper 'Sikkim Herald' is being published in Tamang language with 'Tamhig' script. Some of the authors write short stories, poems, articles in Tamang language. However, there is no novel written so far or no magazine is brought out in Tamang language. Similarly, it is yet to be broadcasted in All India Radio.

Individuals and Organizations

The text books are prepared by the individuals who are interested in developing this language further. The Government is taking care of its publication. Thus, some individuals and organisations are taking steps to develop this language further.

With other Communities

Tamang language is extensively used in family domain, with family members and relatives. Festival and ceremonies are the occasions that helps the people to talk in their own language. Apart from that, an interaction with other people in a common place such as market, school, places of entertainment and so on generally takes place in Nepali language.

The official correspondence in office takes place in Nepali or English. Similarly the court proceedings are also held in Nepali or English. The educated speakers of this language are also exposed to Hindi considerably, an official language of the nation. This may be due to the interaction with the defence personnel who are posted in this region in sizable number.

1.6 REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Grierson(1909) in his Linguistic Survey of India report, places the Tamang (referred as Murmi) language in non-pronominalized, eastern sub group of Himalayan languages based on the features commonly shared with other languages of the same group such as Gurung, Sunwar, Magari, Newari, Pahari dialect, Lepcha or Rong and Toto. Grierson sketches out the Murmi or Tamang language grammar briefly along with the strength of speakers and a piece of ethnological information.

K.M.Tamang (1997), in a maiden attempt from Sikkim, has brought out a book on the equivalent sentence patterns available on Nepali and Tamang languages in Devanagari script as well as a list of basic vocabularies in Nepali-Tamang-English. He has also given the symbols for Tamang vowels and consonants in his book.

Mazaudon(2003) has studied a variety of Tamang spoken in Sindhu Palchok district of Nepal. The Eastern Tamang is spoken by more than million people. In his

analysis, he observed that length, aspiration and tone are realized in this language. Tone is realized in four ways i.e. 1. high falling 2. mid high level 3. mid low level and 4. very low. Mazaudon in his observation points out that the opposition between aspirated and non aspirated consonants is not found under the two lower tones. However, the studies on Tamang language from Sikkim state is very minimal from the linguistic perspective.

2. PHONOLOGY

2.1 PHONEMIC INVENTORY

The phonemic inventory of Tamang Language is presented below:

2.1.1 SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

Tamang phonemic inventory comprises of twenty-six phonemes. There are five vowel phonemes and twenty-one consonantal phonemes.

Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
Mid	<i>e</i>		<i>o</i>
Low			<i>a</i>

Consonants

	Bilabial vl. vd.	Alveolar vl. vd.	Retroflex vl. vd.	Palatal vl. vd.	Velar vl. vd.	Uvular vl. vd.	Glottal vl. vd.
Plosive	<i>p b</i>	<i>t d</i>	<i>T D</i>	<i>c j</i>	<i>k g</i>	<i>q</i>	
Nasal	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>			<i>M</i>		
Trill		<i>r</i>					
Fricative		<i>s z</i>					<i>h</i>
Lateral		<i>l</i>					
Approximant	<i>w</i>			<i>y</i>			

2.2. DESCRIPTION AND DISTRIBUTION OF PHONEMES

Vowels

/i/ The high front unrounded vowel *i* occurs in medial and final positions.

Medial

<i>/migu/</i>	‘smoke’
<i>/ritpa/</i>	‘beggar’
<i>/dim/</i>	‘house’

Final

<i>/loni/</i>	‘moon’
---------------	--------

<i>/dini/</i>	‘sun’
<i>/sumi/</i>	‘mother in law’

/ e / The mid high front unrounded vowel *e* occurs in medial and final positions.

Medial

<i>/leppa/</i>	‘heat’
<i>/kewa/</i>	‘birth’
<i>/pede/</i>	‘navel’

Final

<i>/me/</i>	‘fire’
<i>/1e/</i>	‘tongue’
<i>/nabe /</i>	‘ear’

/ a / The low back unrounded vowel *a* occurs in initial, medial and final positions.

Initial

<i>/a m /</i>	‘mother’
<i>/ake /</i>	‘grand father’
<i>/amba /</i>	‘guava’

Medial

<i>/ braba /</i>	‘boy’
<i>/ 1apte /</i>	‘leaf’
<i>/ k aDi /</i>	‘wood’

Final

<i>/ yuM ba /</i>	‘rock’
<i>/ lemba /</i>	‘dumb’
<i>/ sya /</i>	‘meat’

/ o / The mid high back rounded vowel *o* occurs in initial, medial and final positions.

Initial

<i>/ otiba /</i>	‘ small’
<i>/ oza /</i>	‘ that’

Medial

<i>/ ko1a /</i>	‘ child’
<i>/ jommu /</i>	‘ snow’
<i>/ por/</i>	‘wound’

Final

<i>/co/</i>	‘ rope’
<i>/tobo/</i>	‘ head’
<i>/to/</i>	‘ spade’

/ u / The high back rounded vowel *u* occurs in initial, medial and final positions.

Initial	/ ur /	‘ yellow’
	/usup/	‘sugar cane’
	/uwara/	‘field’
Medial	/rutpa/	‘ nausea’
	/kum /	‘pillow’
	/tuba /	‘chilly’
Final	/dulu /	‘dust’
	/ku /	‘chest’
	/asu /	‘mother’s younger sister’

Consonants

/ p / The voiceless bilabial stop *p* occurs in initial, medial and final positions.

Initial	/ pum /	‘egg’
	/ pukri /	‘snake’
	/por /	‘wound’
	/pi/	‘barks’
Medial	/sapra /	‘mud’
	/lapte /	‘leaf’
	/kenpo /	‘intellect’
Final	/top /	‘darkness’
	/ byap /	‘feather’
	/mrap /	‘door’

/ t / The voiceless alveolar stop *t* occurs in initial, medial and final positions.

Initial	/taM /	‘scent’
	/ tini /	‘today’
	/toM /	‘hundred’
Medial	/ rutpa /	‘nausea’
	/luMta /	‘flag’
	/ petpa /	‘shame’
Final	/ brot /	‘taste’

/ *kret* / ‘pierce’

/ *T* / The voiceless retroflex stop *T* occurs in initial and medial positions.

Initial

/ *Ta* / ‘root’
 / *ToMko* / ‘open : a door’
 / *Tambar* / ‘sprinkle’

Medial

/ *goTe* / ‘low stead’
 / *paTa* / ‘bamboo’

/ *c* / The voiceless palatal stop *c* occurs in initial and medial positions.

Initial

/ *cuja* / ‘grand daughter’
 / *ciba* / ‘death’
 / *cem* / ‘urine’

Medial

/ *mucun* / ‘blue’
 / *Mica* / ‘second’

/ *k* / The voiceless velar stop *k* occurs in initial , medial and final positions.

Initial

/ *kon* / ‘nephew’
 / *kasu* / ‘fog’
 / *keppa* / ‘old’

Medial

/ *kakpar* / ‘choke’
 / *ake* / ‘grand father’
 / *plicsi* / ‘prostitute’

Final

/ *Tok* / ‘collide’
 / *gik* / ‘one’

/ *b* / The voiced bilabial stop *b* occurs in initial and medial positions.

Initial

/ *braba* / ‘boy’
 / *byap* / ‘feather’

Medial

/ *byumba* / ‘cough’
 / *nabe* / ‘ear’

/ *gyaba* / ‘itch’

/ *d* / The voiced alveolar stop *d* occurs in initial and medial positions.

Initial

/ <i>dulu</i> /	‘dust’
/ <i>dui</i> /	‘time’
/ <i>digu</i> /	‘morning food’

Medial

/ <i>kolde</i> /	‘bed bug’
/ <i>uditi</i> /	‘few’
/ <i>galda</i> /	‘bag’

/ *D* / The voiced retroflex stop *D* occurs in initial and medial positions.

Initial

/ <i>Dwa</i> /	‘pig’
/ <i>Dibi</i> /	‘leather’
/ <i>Duppar</i> /	‘sew’

Medial

/ <i>koDi</i> /	‘stick’
/ <i>arDoba</i> /	‘illiterate’

/ *j* / The voiced palatal stop *j* occurs in initial and medial positions.

Initial

/ <i>jojo</i> /	‘elder brother’
/ <i>jeba</i> /	‘money’
/ <i>jame</i> /	‘daughter’

Medial

/ <i>ajeba</i> /	‘naughty’
/ <i>paja</i> /	‘dilute’

/ *g* / The voiced velar stop *g* occurs in initial and medial positions.

Initial

/ <i>goM</i> /	‘hill’
/ <i>geM</i> /	‘bread’
/ <i>galaM</i> /	‘goiter’

Medial

/ <i>cugu</i> /	‘fuel’
-----------------	--------

<i>/migu /</i>	‘smoke’
<i>/ sugaba /</i>	‘pain’

/ q / The voiceless uvular stop *q* occurs only in initial position.

<i>/ quan /</i>	‘dress’
<i>/ quabar /</i>	‘nurse’
<i>/ quitpa /</i>	‘break: a stick’
<i>/ quotpar /</i>	‘weight’
<i>/ quanbar /</i>	‘wear’

/ s / The voiceless alveolar fricative *s* occurs in initial, medial and final positions.

Initial

<i>/ semu /</i>	‘bride’
<i>/ serga /</i>	‘winter’
<i>/ saMbo /</i>	‘wife’s younger brother’

Medial

<i>/ aseM /</i>	‘mother’s brother’
<i>/ laMsu /</i>	‘sickle’
<i>/ usup /</i>	‘sugar cane’

Final

<i>/ Mis /</i>	‘seven’
<i>/ bakkas /</i>	‘box’

/ z / The voiced alveolar fricative *z* occurs only in medial position.

<i>/ oza /</i>	‘that’
<i>/ ozandui /</i>	‘meanwhile’
<i>/ narza /</i>	‘ear lobe’

/ m / The bilabial nasal *m* occurs in initial , medial and final positions.

Initial

<i>/ mu /</i>	‘sky’
<i>/ mi /</i>	‘man’
<i>/ mriMkol /</i>	‘girl’

Medial

<i>/ amba /</i>	‘guava’
<i>/ gramba /</i>	‘cheek’
<i>/ raMlami /</i>	‘relatives’

Final

<i>/ kum /</i>	‘pillow’
<i>/ am /</i>	‘mother’
<i>/ nam /</i>	‘rain’

/ *n* / The alveolar nasal *n* occurs in initial , medial and final positions.

Initial	/ <i>nagi</i> /	‘dog’
	/ <i>nimay</i> /	‘husband’s sister’
	/ <i>name</i> /	‘bird’
Medial	/ <i>loni</i> /	‘moon’
	/ <i>konme</i> /	‘niece’
Final	/ <i>kan</i> /	‘leg’
	/ <i>kon</i> /	‘nephew’
	/ <i>mun</i> /	‘evening’

/ *M* / The velar nasal *M* occurs in initial , medial and final positions.

Initial	/ <i>Mi</i> /	‘two’
	/ <i>Ma</i> /	‘five’
	/ <i>Mis</i> /	‘seven’
Medial	/ <i>laMai</i> /	‘cucumber’
	/ <i>maMri</i> /	‘moustache’
	/ <i>mriMkol</i> /	‘girl’
Final	/ <i>goM</i> /	‘hill’
	/ <i>galaM</i> /	‘goiter’
	/ <i>taM</i> /	‘utensil’

/ *w* / The bilabial approximant *w* occurs prominently in medial position.

Initial	/ <i>woigobar</i> /	‘sing’
Medial	/ <i>uwala</i> /	‘red’
	/ <i>tawar</i> /	‘cat’
	/ <i>kewa</i> /	‘birth’
Final	/ <i>blow</i> /	‘prick’

/ y / The palatal approximant *y* occurs in initial , medial and final positions

Initial	/ <i>ye</i> /	‘you’
	/ <i>yeo</i> /	‘thief’
	/ <i>yiya</i> /	‘palm of hand’
Medial	/ <i>sya</i> /	‘flesh’
	/ <i>largiyu</i> /	‘rain bow’
	/ <i>byumba</i> /	‘cough’
Final	/ <i>key</i> /	‘belt’
	/ <i>gley</i> /	‘king’

/ r / The alveolar trill *r* occurs in initial , medial and final positions

Initial	/ <i>ru</i> /	‘hom’
	/ <i>rai</i> /	‘rib’
	/ <i>rutpa</i> /	‘vomit’
Medial	/ <i>more</i> /	‘chutney’
	/ <i>nakru</i> /	‘bone’
	/ <i>kra</i> /	‘hair’
Final	/ <i>tar</i> /	‘fair’
	/ <i>mar</i> /	‘gold’
	/ <i>rebar</i> /	‘knit’

/ h / The voiceless glottal fricative *h* occurs in initial position.

Initial	/ <i>haMre</i> /	‘blouse’
	/ <i>har</i> /	‘chain’
	/ <i>hosyar</i> /	‘careful’
	/ <i>hyul</i> /	‘country’

/ l / The alveolar lateral *l* occurs in initial , medial and final positions.

Initial	/ <i>licca</i> /	‘back’
	/ <i>lapte</i> /	‘leaf’
	/ <i>luMta</i> /	‘flag’
	/ <i>laba</i> /	‘do’
Medial	/ <i>kola</i> /	‘baby’
	/ <i>biliM</i> /	‘cockroach’

Final	<i>/melum /</i>	‘mirror’
	<i>/ uwala /</i>	‘red’
	<i>/ yalyel /</i>	‘bright’
	<i>/ gaMsal /</i>	‘half’
	<i>/ nagal /</i>	‘nostril’

2.3 MAJOR ALLOPHONIC DISTRIBUTION

Vowels

[ɪ] high central unrounded vowel occurs after lateral and flap sounds

[<i>li</i> cc ^h a]	<i>/licca/</i>	‘behind’
[<i>gumri</i>]	<i>/gumri/</i>	‘between’

/i/ <

[i] high front unrounded vowel occurs elsewhere

[<i>1argiyu</i>]	<i>/1argiyu/</i>	‘rainbow’
[<i>dim</i>]	<i>/dim/</i>	‘house’

[A] mid central vowel occurs in word final position and after palatal and lateral consonants

[<i>t^hA</i>]	<i>/ t e /</i>	‘he’
[<i>jamA</i>]	<i>/jame /</i>	‘daughter’
[<i>b1Aku</i>]	<i>/b1eku /</i>	‘lazy ‘
[<i>1A</i>]	<i>/1e/</i>	‘tongue’
[<i>c^hAm</i>]	<i>/cem /</i>	‘urine’
[<i>c^hAMbar</i>]	<i>/ceMbar/</i>	‘pull ‘

/e/ <

[e] mid high front vowel occurs elsewhere

[<i>kewɔ:</i>]	<i>/kewa/</i>	‘birth’
[<i>pedA</i>]	<i>/pede /</i>	‘ navel’

[a] low front un rounded vowel occurs after lateral consonant

[las e m]	/ 1 a s e m /	‘ worship room’
[1 aM a i]	/ 1 a M a i /	‘ cucumber’

/a/ <

[ɔ] low back rounded vowel occurs after bilabial consonants

[1abɔ]	/ laba /	‘ air’
[bɔu]	/ bau /	‘ bring’
[mɔr]	/ mar /	‘ down’

[a] low back un rounded vowel occurs else where

[sya]	/ sya /	‘ meat’
[amc ^h aM]	/ amca M /	‘ co-wife’
[a s u]	/ a s u /	‘ mother’s younger sister’

[O] mid low back rounded vowel occurs before and after velar and nasal consonants

[d ^h OM]	/ doM /	‘ tree’
[jOmmU]	/ j o m m u /	‘ snow’

/o/ <

[o] mid high back rounded vowel occurs elsewhere

[p ^h o]	/ p o /	‘ belly’
[t ^h o b o]	/ t o b o /	‘ head’

[ʉ] high central rounded vowel occurs after velar consonants

[ag ʉ]	/ agu /	‘ mother’s sister’s husband’
[mig ʉ]	/ migu /	‘ smoke’

/ u / <

[u] high back rounded vowel occurs elsewhere

[u r]	/ ur /	‘yellow ‘
[kui]	/ kui/	‘ water ‘

Consonants

[M'] The palatal nasal sound occurs before palatal approximant

[M'ya :bɔr]	/nyabar /	‘chirp’
[M'ya: nbɔr]	/nyanbar /	‘obey’

[n] <

[n] The alveolar nasal occurs elsewhere

[dini]	/dini /	‘sun’
[nam]	/nam /	‘rain’

Aspiration

Aspiration is very much available in the phonetic level but not in contrast with unaspirated one .

<i>k^hasu</i>	‘fog’
<i>amc^haM</i>	‘co-wife’
<i>c^hami</i>	‘young woman’
<i>k^heppa</i>	‘old’
<i>p^hum</i>	‘egg’
<i>t^hobo</i>	‘head’
<i>c^hem</i>	‘urine’
<i>nag^hal</i>	‘nostril’
<i>d^higu</i>	‘morning food’
<i>c^hugu</i>	‘oil’
<i>g^ha</i>	‘blanket’

Supra Segmental Features

Length is realised only in phonetic level.

<i>[mi:]</i>	‘man’
<i>[mi: gu]</i>	‘smoke’
<i>[m1a:]</i>	‘rice’
<i>[1o:M]</i>	‘danger’
<i>[1o:ni]</i>	‘moon’

Nasalization of vowels are of very limited occurrence and they are not having contrast features.

<i>[paMũ]</i>	‘speak’
<i>[kaĩ]</i>	‘where’

Tonal variations are observed in few pairs of lexical items. However, due to the factors such as migration from the mainland and contact with other language groups, resulted with the loss of prominence of this feature among this speech group at present.

<i>[ku]</i>	‘corner’
<i>[kù]</i>	‘nine’
<i>[kà]</i>	‘blood’
<i>[ka]</i>	‘cotton’
<i>[làba]</i>	‘wind’
<i>[laba]</i>	‘work’
<i>[mì]</i>	‘eye’
<i>[mi]</i>	‘man’
<i>[tà]</i>	‘horse’
<i>[ta]</i>	‘harvest’
<i>[mè]</i>	‘fire’
<i>[me]</i>	‘tail’

The presence of aspirated nasals is observed in the Tamang language. However, it is considered only in the phonetic level.

<i>[m^hi]</i>	‘person’
<i>[n^he]</i>	‘milk’
<i>[m^hoiba]</i>	‘worship’
<i>[m^har]</i>	‘gold’
<i>[n^hayba]</i>	‘rub’

The aspirated alveolar fricative and the aspirated trill are present in this language in the phonetic level.

<i>[l^he]</i>	‘tongue’
<i>[l^hiba]</i>	‘dull’
<i>[r^hi]</i>	‘forest’
<i>[r^hila]</i>	‘wild’

2.4 CLUSTERS

Vowels

The vowel clusters are found in the word initial , medial and final positions.

Initial

<i>ai-</i>		
	<i>airak</i>	‘liquor’
	<i>aincam</i>	‘otherwise’
	<i>aila</i>	‘your (honorific)’

Medial

-uo-, -oi-, -ei-, -ai-, -ui-, -ua-

The presence of *-uo-*, and *-oi-* vowel clusters are more than the other vowel clusters.

<i>-uo-</i>		
	<i>luondi</i>	‘fox’
	<i>quotpar</i>	‘weigh’
<i>-oi-/ -ei-/ -ai-/ -ui-/ -ua-</i>		
	<i>moiba</i>	‘pray’
	<i>woigobar</i>	‘sing’
	<i>neibar</i>	‘decay’
	<i>laiba</i>	‘male cook’
	<i>puiba</i>	‘thirsty’
	<i>quabar</i>	‘dig a hole’

Final

-ui-, -ai-, -ei-, -eo- and *-ie-* vowel clusters are available in the word final position.

<i>kui</i>	‘wife’
<i>rai</i>	‘rib’
<i>magei</i>	‘maize’
<i>yeo</i>	‘thief’
<i>arie</i>	‘nothing’

Consonants

Two consonant clusters are essentially found in the medial position and least in the initial position.

Initial

The initial consonant clusters are composed of

c + y
c + w
c + l and c + r

combinations. They are as follow :

c + y	<i>pya</i>	‘broom’
	<i>byon</i>	‘bachelor’
	<i>kyuMba</i>	‘sour’
	<i>gyaba</i>	‘itch’
	<i>sya</i>	‘meat’
	<i>myappar</i>	‘sharpen’
c + w	<i>Dwa</i>	‘ pig ‘
	<i>swa</i>	‘tooth’
c + l	<i>pliksi</i>	‘prostitute’
	<i>bleku</i>	‘lazy’
	<i>klup</i>	‘bow’
	<i>gley</i>	‘king’
	<i>mila</i>	‘rice’
c + r	<i>braba</i>	‘boy’
	<i>kragu</i>	‘shawl’
	<i>mriMkol</i>	‘girl’

Medial

In the medial position also, the two consonant clusters are found. They are classified as consonant + consonant, nasal + consonant and so on.

Consonant+Consonant

<i>lapte</i>	‘leaf’
<i>mepra</i>	‘ashes’
<i>sapra</i>	‘mud’
<i>ritpa</i>	‘beggar’
<i>petpa</i>	‘shame’
<i>ridwa</i>	‘jungle pig’
<i>mikli</i>	‘tears’
<i>nakli</i>	‘winnowing basket’
<i>nakru</i>	‘bone’
<i>meglap</i>	‘bull’
<i>serga</i>	‘hail stone’
<i>karba</i>	‘plate’
<i>marmui</i>	‘ornaments’
<i>palmu</i>	‘mistress’
<i>syelbar</i>	‘wash: utensils’
<i>galda</i>	‘bag’
<i>yalyel</i>	‘bright’
<i>blowbar</i>	‘prick’
<i>sewri</i>	‘ant’
<i>myappar</i>	‘sharpen’
<i>licca</i>	‘back’
<i>jommu</i>	‘ice’

Nasal+Consonant

<i>tumbar</i>	‘cover’
<i>amcaM</i>	‘step mother’
<i>somca</i>	‘third’
<i>remkol</i>	‘male’
<i>kenpo</i>	‘intellect’
<i>pinbar</i>	‘serve’
<i>quanbar</i>	‘wear’
<i>sande</i>	‘ghost’
<i>mendu</i>	‘flower’
<i>kaMba</i>	‘cold’
<i>saMbo</i>	‘wife’s younger brother’
<i>luMta</i>	‘flag’
<i>mriMkol</i>	‘girl’
<i>toMko</i>	‘open’
<i>maMri</i>	‘moustache’
<i>laMsu</i>	‘sickle’
<i>baMna cum</i>	‘grip’

Three Consonant Clusters

Three consonant clusters are found in the medial position.

<i>maMmraMbar</i>	‘dream’
<i>reynbar</i>	‘stand up’

2.5 SYLLABLES

Syllabic pattern of Tamang is observed in the following manner :

1. Monosyllabic
2. Disyllabic
3. Tri syllabic and
4. Tetra syllabic

Monosyllabic

The monosyllabic words are formed with CV or VC and CVC or CCV pattern.

Examples are exemplified below :

CV	<i>mu</i>	'sky'
	<i>mi</i>	'man'
	<i>li</i>	'face'
	<i>ri</i>	'forest'
VC	<i>am</i>	'mother'
CVC	<i>goM</i>	'hill'
	<i>pal</i>	'master'
	<i>por</i>	'wound'
CCV	<i>syo</i>	'down'

Disyllabic

CV-CVC	<i>am-caM</i>	'step mother'
CVC-CV	<i>saM-bo</i>	'wife's brother'
CVC-CVC	<i>nap-raM</i>	'fly'

Thus, disyllabic words belong to the sound structure of VC –CVC, CVC-CV and CVC-CVC.

Trisyllabic

CV-CV-CVC, CVC-CV-CVC.

CV-CV-CVC	<i>ri-ta-war</i>	'jungle cat'
CVC-CV-CVC	<i>man-la-bar</i>	'treatment'

Tetra Syllabic

CVC-CV-CV-CV ; CV–CVC-CV-CV, CV-CVC-CVC-CVC

CVC-CV-CV-CV	<i>loM-ba-ka-ba</i>	'murderous'
CV–CVC-CV-CV	<i>ka-TaM-la-si</i>	'how'
CV-CVC-CVC-CVC	<i>me-ban-rem- kol</i>	'tal

2.6 PHONEMIC CONTRASTS

Vowels

/i/	~	/e/
<i>mi</i>		‘eye’
<i>me</i>		‘fire’
<i>li</i>		‘face’
<i>le</i>		‘tongue’
/i/	~	/a/
<i>Mi</i>		‘two’
<i>Ma</i>		‘I’
/i/	~	/o/
<i>siba</i>		‘die’
<i>soba</i>		‘earn’
/i/	~	/u/
<i>mi</i>		‘eye’
<i>mu</i>		‘sky’
/e/		/a/
<i>te</i>		‘she/he’
<i>ta</i>		‘horse’
<i>ne</i>		‘milk’
<i>na</i>		‘nose’
/e/	~	/o/
<i>Metpa</i>		‘laugh’
<i>Motpa</i>		‘call’
/a/	~	/o/
<i>ra</i>		‘goat’
<i>ro</i>		‘friend’
<i>la</i>		‘month’
<i>lo</i>		‘north’
<i>ta</i>		‘horse’
<i>to</i>		‘spade’
<i>kan</i>		‘leg’
<i>kon</i>		‘nephew’

<i>taM</i>		‘scent’
<i>toM</i>		‘husband’

<i>/a/</i>	~	<i>/u/</i>
<i>ka</i>		‘loom’
<i>ku</i>		‘chest’

<i>laba</i>		‘air’
<i>luba</i>		‘hide’

<i>rai</i>		‘rib’
<i>rui</i>		‘caste’

<i>yaMba</i>		‘light’
<i>yuMba</i>		‘rock’

<i>/o/</i>	~	<i>/u/</i>
<i>ro</i>		‘friend’
<i>ru</i>		‘horn’

Consonants

<i>/p/</i>	~	<i>/b/</i>
<i>pya</i>		‘broom’
<i>byap</i>		‘wing’

<i>/t/</i>	~	<i>/d/</i>
<i>tini</i>		‘today’
<i>dini</i>		‘sun’

<i>taM</i>		‘utensils’
<i>doM</i>		‘tree’

<i>/t/</i>	~	<i>/T/</i>
<i>ta</i>		‘horse’
<i>Ta</i>		‘root’

<i>/d/</i>	~	<i>/D/</i>
<i>doba</i>		‘turn’
<i>Doba</i>		‘read’

<i>doMba</i>		‘mix’
<i>DuMba</i>		‘shut’

/T/	~	/D/
TaMba		‘swell’
Danba		‘think’
/c/	~	/j/
caM		‘sister in law’
jaM		‘nest’
/c/	~	/s/
catpa		‘fight’
satpa		‘kill’
/k/	~	/g/
kon		‘nephew’
goM		‘mountain’
/m/	~	/b/
ama		‘mother’
aba		‘father’
semu		‘bride’
sebu		‘bride groom’
/m/	~	/n/
mam		‘mother’s mother’
nam		‘rain’
ma		‘son in law’
na		‘nose’
/n/	~	/M/
na		‘nose’
Ma		‘I’
sun		‘paddy’
suM		‘month’
/r/	~	/l/
uwara		‘field’
uwala		‘red’

2.7 PHONOTACTIC FEATURES

1. The occurrence of *a*, *u*, and *o* vowels in the word initial position is observed frequent than the other vowels *i* and *e*.
2. In general, the occurrence of consonants in the word final position is less in comparison to vowel
3. The presence of consonant clusters in the word initial and medial positions is common one. However, the consonant clusters in the medial position is comparatively found more than the initial one.

3.MORPHOPHONEMICS

1. Deletion of vowel in the second morph

When two morphs, one expressing the negativeness and the other past continuous tense, join together to make negative past continuous tense, the vowel in the second syllable preceded by the nasal gets dropped.

<i>are</i>					'nothing'
<i>muba</i>					'indicating past continuous'
<i>are + muba</i>	>	<i>aremuba</i>	>	<i>aremba</i>	
<i>aremba</i>					'not were (we)'

Thus, the -u- in -muba- has been lost by the process of suffixation.

<i>yaMdugu</i>	<i>Doban</i>	<i>aremba</i>	'We were not reading'
we	read	not + pt. cont. ten.	

2. Voiceless becomes voiced when preceded by nasal

The voiceless become voiced / b / when it is preceded by a nasal phoneme.

The voiceless bilabial /p/ in the morpheme -pa 'adjectival suffix' is changed into voiced one /b/ when it is preceded by a nasal phoneme.

(nasal consonant) + -pa > -ba					
<i>koM + pa</i>	>	<i>koMba</i>			'hard'
<i>can + pa</i>	>	<i>canba</i>			'clever'
<i>bam + pa</i>	>	<i>bamba</i>			'drenched'

The voiceless bilabial /p/ is unchanged when it is preceded by non nasal sounds

(non nasal consonant) + -pa > unchanged					
<i>pyuk + pa</i>	>	<i>pyukpa</i>			'rich'
<i>kep + pa</i>	>	<i>keppa</i>			'old'
<i>lep + pa</i>	>	<i>leppa</i>			'hot'

3. The velar stop *k* in *cuk* 'ten' becomes velar nasal *M* when it is followed by nasal sounds.

When the velar stop *k* in the syllable final position is followed by the nasal phonemes in the initial position of the second syllable, then the velar stop *k* becomes velar nasal *M*, i.e. *cuk* → *cuM* 'ten' Example:

<i>cuM ni</i>	'twelve'
<i>cuM na</i>	'fifteen'
<i>cuM nis</i>	'seventeen'

When it is followed by non nasal sounds, form remains as *cuk* - only.
There is no change takes place. Example :

<i>cuk ri</i>	'eleven'
<i>cuk som</i>	'thirteen'
<i>cuk Du</i>	'sixteen'

4. MORPHOLOGY

4.1 NOUN MORPHOLOGY

4.1.1 WORD FORMATION

The word formation in Tamang is generally inflectional one i.e. *stem* + *affix*. The stem may be a nominal one or verbal. Examples :

<i>Ma</i>	‘I’
<i>-da</i>	‘accusative marker’
<i>Mada</i>	‘me’
<i>ni-</i>	‘verbal base, to go’
<i>-ba</i>	‘first person singular present tense marker’
<i>niba</i>	‘I go’

The other forms of word formations which are also available in Tamang language is discussed below :

Prefixation

Some times the prefix *a-* denoting negativeness is added with an affirmative word to form a negative word. Examples :

<i>kaba</i>	‘come’
<i>akaba</i>	‘not come’
<i>nyu</i>	‘go’
<i>anyu</i>	‘not go’

Reduplication

Some of the syllables partly or fully repeated to form a word. Examples :

<i>rerenun</i>	‘daily’
<i>tantantaba</i>	‘empty’
<i>memama</i>	‘cow’
<i>kekeba</i>	‘sweet’

4.1.2 NOUN

There are two types of nouns viz. basic and derived.

Basic Nouns

Basic nouns are nouns which are not derived from another noun.

<i>braba</i>	‘boy’
<i>byon</i>	‘young man’
<i>dulu</i>	‘dust’
<i>goM</i>	‘hill’
<i>sewri</i>	‘ant’
<i>nagi</i>	‘dog’
<i>ta</i>	‘horse’

Basic nouns are further divided into two namely :

1. mass nouns and
2. count nouns

Mass Nouns

<i>laba</i>	‘air’
<i>kui</i>	‘water’
<i>nam</i>	‘rain’

Count Nouns

<i>mendu</i>	‘flower’
<i>lapte</i>	‘leaf’
<i>mi</i>	‘man’

The nouns can be further classified into human nouns and non- human nouns.

Human Nouns

Human nouns are classified as masculine and feminine. The prefixes *rem-* and *mriM-* are used respectively to indicate masculine and feminine genders. However, this is not uniformly used to make the distinctions.

<i>remkol</i>	‘male’
<i>mriMkol</i>	‘woman’

Some times *-me*, a suffix is used to make feminine sense.

<i>kon</i>	‘nephew’
<i>konme</i>	‘niece’

And sometimes, *-mi* is used to indicate feminine gender.

<i>ja</i>	‘mother’s sister’s son’
<i>jami</i>	‘mother’s sister’s daughter’

The younger one’s of human beings are referred with *kola* ‘infant’

<i>kola</i>	‘child’
<i>kola</i>	‘baby’

Non-Human Nouns

<i>tawar</i>	‘cat’
<i>biliM</i>	‘cockroach’
<i>toMgi</i>	‘deer’
<i>nagi</i>	‘dog’
<i>luondi</i>	‘fox’
<i>naga</i>	‘hen’
<i>Mi</i>	‘milk’
<i>mar</i>	‘butter’

The younger one of animal is referred as

<i>mela kola</i>	‘calf’
<i>tawarla kola</i>	‘kitten’

Derived Nouns

There are some prefixes and suffixes which are added with the words to make a derived noun. Such prefixes are *rem-*, *mriM-* and so on.

<i>kola</i>	‘baby’
<i>remkol</i>	‘male’
<i>mriM kol</i>	‘female’

Suffixes are *-bu* for masculine and *-mu* for feminine.

<i>semu</i>	‘bride’
<i>sebu</i>	‘bridegroom’

Compound Words (Noun+Noun)

Sometimes , two individual nouns expressing two different meanings individually, join together to express another word. In other words , two nouns form together to express one thing.

<i>leppa</i>	‘heat’
--------------	--------

<i>kui</i>	‘water’
<i>leppa kui</i>	‘hot spring’

Person-Number-Gender

Person is classified into three categories namely, first, second and third. Similarly, the number system is also divided into three types singular, dual and plural. The gender system does not have the differential markers separately for masculine and feminine genders .

Person and Number

	person	singular	dual	plural	meaning
Human	I	<i>Ma</i>	<i>yaMMi</i>	<i>yaMdugu</i>	‘ I’
	II	<i>ye</i>	<i>yeMi</i>	<i>yedugu</i>	‘ You’
	III	<i>te</i>	<i>teMi</i>	<i>tedugu</i>	‘He/She’
Non-Human		<i>cu</i>		<i>cudugu</i>	‘It’

The singular is not marked, the dual is marked with *-Mi* whereas the plural is marked with the suffix *-dugu*. The nominal stem for the first person dual and plural is *ya M-*, whereas for the singular it is *Ma* ‘I’.

Gender

Gender is not grammatical but list one . Thus it is not inflected for adjective and verb. Example

<i>remkol</i> boy	<i>tai mala</i> falls	‘The boy falls’
<i>mriMkol</i> girl	<i>tai mala</i>	‘The girl falls’
<i>te ojari</i> he there	<i>nila</i> goes	‘He goes there’
<i>te ojari</i> she	<i>nila</i>	‘She goes there’

The lexical genders are exemplified below :

Masculine		Feminine	
<i>braba</i>	‘boy’	<i>mriMkol</i>	‘girl’
<i>aseM</i>	‘father in law’	<i>aMi</i>	‘mother in law’
<i>aba</i>	‘father’	<i>am</i>	‘mother’

<i>rembo</i>	‘husband’	<i>kui</i>	‘wife’
<i>jojo</i>	‘elder brother’	<i>nana</i>	‘elder sister’
<i>cyon</i>	‘younger brother’	<i>burim</i>	‘younger sister’
<i>caja</i>	‘grand son’	<i>cujā</i>	‘grand daughter’

Case

Case system in Tamang is as follow:

The nominative case is unmarked ; instrumental, locative and possessive cases are marked; and accusative and locative cases use the same markers of other cases.

Nominative

-∅ (unmarked)

ram digamri tampaMmala
 Ram function at speaks
 ‘Ram speaks at the function’

ram mohan Dalmiya gik ajeM
 Ram mohan Dalmia one big
 ‘Ram Mohan Dalmia is a big business man’

coMlaba mi hinla
 business man is
 ‘Ram Mohan Dalmia is a big business man’

bak riri kor mala ‘Tiger roams in forest’
 tiger forest in roams

Accusative

-*da*

sucitrase Mada bazari mraMji
 Suchitra me bazar in saw
 ‘Suchitra saw me in the market’

pradipse bas sTendri yoda cuMji
 Pradip bus stand in thief acc. caught
 ‘Pradip caught the thief at the bus stand’

Instrumental

-se

tese doM tarise taji
he tree axe-by cut pas. ten.
'He cut the tree by an axe'

tese taMida balase satci
he deer-acc. arrow-by killed
'He killed the deer by an arrow'

teda balse borba muba
he-acc. flood-by washed was
'He was washed away by the flood'

Dative

-ri

lopkaMri nyu 'Go to school'
school to go

Mala gaDiri nyu 'Go to my cart'
My cart to go

rani tila tela kolezri niji
Rani yesterday her college-to went
'Rani went to her college yesterday'

Some times -da suffix also used to indicate the dative case.

Mkai ramda teda coi pinba sogo paMba
I Ram -obj. her book give to make
'I ask Ram to make her give a book'

Locative

-ri

suga doMri mula 'The parrot is on the tree'
parrot tree-on is

peLiM nup sikkim la hyolri mula
Pelling west Sikkim's region is
'Pelling is in West Sikkim region'

jeba mendodugu mendumraMri mula
 beautiful flowers garden-in are
 ‘The beautiful flowers are in the garden’

Possessive

-la

Mala dim paDa kadise saba mula
 my house bamboo sticks-by made
 ‘My house is made up of bamboo sticks’

tela gaDi la con uwala mula
 his car’s colour red is
 ‘His car’s colour is red’

Mala glebaM la pyukpa jeba mula
 my state has rich beauty
 ‘My state has rich beauty’

Ablative

-rance

airak saMa rance somala
 wine millet-from prepared
 ‘Wine is prepared from millets’

tese moha mebagaM rance baji
 he honey top hill from brought
 ‘He brought the honey from the hill top’

4.1.3 PRONOUNS

The pronouns are classified as

1. Personal pronouns
2. Demonstrative pronouns
3. Indefinite pronouns and
4. Interrogative pronouns.

Personal Pronouns

The personal pronouns in Tamang are three: first, second and third. They are distinguished in to three numbers that is singular, dual and plural.

Person	Singular		Dual		Plural	
I.	<i>Ma</i>	'I'	<i>yaMni</i>	'I two'	<i>yaMdugu</i>	'we'
II.	<i>ye</i>	'you'	<i>yeMi</i>	'you two'	<i>yedugu</i>	'you pl.'
III.	<i>te</i>	'he/ she'	<i>teMi</i>	'he/ she two'	<i>tedugu</i>	'they'

For first person dual and plural the suffixes are added after *yaM-* instead of *Ma* 'I' which may be treated as another base, first person. As for number *-ni* is an allomorph of *-i* used exclusively in first person dual. *-i* is the marker for first, second and third person dual and *-dugu* for plural of all the three persons.

<i>Ma</i>	<i>uwarari niba</i>	'I go to the field'
I	field to go	
<i>yaMi</i>	<i>uwarari niba</i>	'I two go to the field'
I two		
<i>yaMdugu</i>	<i>uwarari niba</i>	'We go to the field'
we		
<i>ye</i>	<i>uwarari nyu</i>	'You(sg) go to the field'
you (sg)		
<i>yeMi</i>	<i>uwarari nyu</i>	'You two go to the field'
you(two)		
<i>yedugu</i>	<i>uwarari nyu</i>	'You (pl) go to the field'
you (pl)		
<i>te</i>	<i>uwarari nimala</i>	'He/she go to the field'
he/she		
<i>teMi</i>	<i>uwarari nimala</i>	'He/she two go to the field'
he /she (two)		
<i>tedugu</i>	<i>uwarari nimala</i>	'They go to the field'
they		

Demonstrative Pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns are of two types : proximate and remote. These are *izu* 'this' and *oza* 'that'.

<i>doM</i>	<i>izu</i>	<i>soDa</i>	<i>kla</i>	<i>glari</i>	<i>mula</i>
tree	this	road	on	side	is

‘The tree is on this side of the road’

doM oza soDakla glari mula
that road on

‘The tree is on that side of the road’

Indefinite Pronouns

mokon ‘every one’, *jammon* ‘every thing’, *kalaise* ‘anybody’,
kalcenai ‘no body’ are used as indefinite pronouns .

mokon oTi niiji ‘Every one went there’
everyone there went

jammon maji ‘Every thing is lost’
everything lost

kalaise cu gyat lakam la ‘Any body can do this work’
anybody this work do can

kalcenai cu gyat la akam ‘Nobody can do this work’
anyone can not do

Interrogative Pronouns

tik ‘what’, *kaji* ‘which’, *kalla* ‘whose’ *kalce* ‘who’ are
used as interrogative pronouns .

teduguse tik kriMba bisi goji
they what sound it meant
‘They (know) what the sound it meant for’

yela min tik hinla ‘What is your name ?’
your name what is

oza kalla ta hinla ? ‘Whose horse is that ?’
that whose horse is

ye raMba mida kal ce siga pinla
you like man who money give fut. ten.
‘Who will give money to a man like you ?’

yese kajiba Train yeMla ? ‘Which train will you get ?’
you which train get fut. ten.

4.1.4 ADJECTIVES

Adjectives precede the nouns in Tamang.

<i>jaba</i>	<i>bra ba</i>	‘good boy’
good	boy	
<i>jaba</i>	<i>mriM kol</i>	‘good girl’
good	girl	
<i>ja ja</i>	<i>kola</i>	‘the small child’
small	child	
<i>tar</i>	<i>ta</i>	‘white horse’
white	horse	
<i>top</i>	<i>kasu</i>	‘dark cloud’
dark	cloud	
<i>piMai</i>	<i>lapte</i>	‘green leaf’
green	leaf	

The suffix *-pa / -ba* is added to the noun stem to have an adjective. The infinitive is formed by adding the suffix *-par / -bar*. However, without the suffixes *-pa / -ba* also the adjectives are formed. For the below given example the nominal or verbal base is *si-* ‘die’.

<i>sibar</i>	‘to die’	<i>siba</i>	‘dead’
--------------	----------	-------------	--------

Other examples:

<i>canba</i>	‘clever’
<i>bamba</i>	‘drenched’
<i>jeba</i>	‘good’
<i>koMba</i>	‘hard’
<i>leppa</i>	‘hot’
<i>keppa</i>	‘old’
<i>pyukpa</i>	‘rich’

<i>cu</i>	<i>jeba</i>	<i>namsa</i>	<i>mula</i>	‘This is a beautiful village’
this	beautiful	village	is	

The oppositional adjective is formed by adding the prefix *a-* with the adjectives.

<i>cu</i>	<i>a jeba</i>	<i>namsa</i>	<i>mula</i>	‘This is a bad village’
	bad			

Classification of Adjectives

Tamang adjectives can be semantically classified as qualitative and quantitative.

Qualitative

The qualitative adjective precedes the noun.

<i>hajaM</i> big	<i>kola</i>	'The big child'
<i>top</i> dark	<i>kasu</i>	'The dark cloud'
<i>jaba</i> good	<i>mriM kol</i>	'The good girl'

Quantitative

The quantitative adjective precedes the qualitative one.

<i>gor bli</i> four	<i>otiba pum</i> little eggs	'four little eggs'
<i>lanun</i> many	<i>kola dugu</i> children	'many children'

Predicative Adjectives

The adjectives are also used as predicative as cited in the following examples.

<i>ija</i> hand	<i>papnaiba</i> dirty	<i>mula</i> is	'The hand is dirty'
<i>mendo</i> flower	<i>uwala</i> red	<i>mula</i> is	'The flower is red'

4.1.5 NUMERAL

The cardinal numbers in Tamang are as follow :

<i>gik</i>	'one'
<i>Mi</i>	'two'
<i>som</i>	'three'

<i>bli</i>	‘four’
<i>Ma</i>	‘five’
<i>Du</i>	‘six’
<i>Mis</i>	‘seven’
<i>brat</i>	‘eight’
<i>ku</i>	‘nine’
<i>cui</i>	‘ten’

Addition

The higher cardinal numerals from eleven to twenty are formed of primary cardinal numbers prefixed with *cuk* - / *cuM*.

<i>cuk - ri</i>	‘eleven’ [The <i>-ri</i> is the variant of <i>gik</i> ‘one’]
<i>cuM - ni</i>	‘twelve’
<i>cuk - som</i>	‘thirteen’
<i>cuk – bli</i>	‘fourteen’
<i>cuM – na</i>	‘fifteen’
<i>cuk – Du</i>	‘sixteen’

The prefix *cuk* - becomes *cuM* – before nasal sounds. The primary cardinals seven and eight are changed as *-nis* and *-bre* respectively. However, for nineteen, the allomorph *cur-* is added instead of *cuk-/ cuM-*.

<i>cuM –nis</i>	‘seventeen’
<i>cuk – bre</i>	‘eighteen’
<i>cur – ku</i>	‘nineteen’

Variants

-ri the variant of the primary cardinal numeral *gik* ‘one’ is added with the prefix *cuk-* express the numeral eleven, *cuk – ri* ‘eleven’. Similarly, / *cui* / ‘ten’ number changes into / *su* / ~ / *sui* / when it comes to express higher number. It happens while the other primary number precedes this one.

<i>Mis su ca/ Mis cui</i>	‘twenty’
two ten	
<i>som sui</i>	‘thirty’
three ten	

/ *Mis su ca* / ‘twenty’ has one allomorph *bokal*. For expressing ‘forty’, ‘sixty’ etc. the basic cardinals are used after *bokal*.

<i>bokal</i>	<i>Mi</i>	‘forty’
<i>twenty</i>	<i>two</i>	

<i>bokal</i>	<i>som</i>	‘sixty’
<i>twenty</i>	<i>three</i>	

Ordinals

The suffix *-ca* is added with the primary numeral to form ordinal numerals.

<i>Maca / gicca</i>	‘first’
<i>Mica</i>	‘second’
<i>somca</i>	‘third’
<i>gum</i>	‘middle’
<i>licca</i>	‘last’

Fractionals

<i>gaMsal</i>	‘half’
<i>gikse gaMsal</i>	‘one and half’

4.2 VERB MORPHOLOGY

4.2.1.1. FINITE VERB

The verbal stem is inflected to person and tense in the formation of finite verb.

Example:

<i>Ma</i>	<i>uwarari</i>	<i>niba</i>	‘I go to the field’
I	field to	go + pre. ten.	
<i>ye</i>	<i>uwarari</i>	<i>nyu</i>	‘You (sg) go to the field’
you		go+ pre. ten.	

Tense

The verbal stem receives tense marker according to person.

verbal stem + tense marker + first person/ second person/ third person. The conjugational pattern is exemplified below.

Simple Present

First person *-ba* . The formation is :

verbal stem + first person marker
<i>ni</i> ‘to go’ <i>ba</i>

<i>Ma</i>	<i>uwarari</i>	<i>niba</i>	‘I go to the field’
I	field to	go	
<i>yaMi</i>	<i>uwarari</i>	<i>niba</i>	‘I two go to the field’
I two			

yaMdugu uwarari niba 'We go to the field'
we

Second person -*yu* . The formation is :
verbal stem + second person marker
ni 'go' *u*

ye uwarari nyu 'You(sg) go to the field'
you sg. field to go
yaMi uwarari nyu 'You two go to the field'
you two
yedugu uwarari nyu 'You(pl) go to the field'
you pl.

Third person - *mala*. The formation is :

verbal stem + third person marker
ni 'go' *mala*

te uwarari nimala 'He/She goes to the field'
he/she field to go
teMi uwarari nimala 'He/ She two go to the field'
he/she two
tedugu uwarari nimala 'They go to the field'
they

Past Tense -*ji* . The formation is :

verbal stem + past tense marker
ni 'go' *ji*

Ma uwarari niji 'I went to the field'
I field to went
ye uwarari niji 'You(sg) went to the field'
you (sg)
te uwarari niji 'He/She went to the field'
he/she

Future Tense

-*la* /- *ba* (first person), - *la* (second person and third person). The formation is :

verbal stem + future tense marker
ni 'go' - *ba* ~ -*la*

Ma uwarari nila 'I will go to the field'
 I field to go-fut.

te uwarari nila 'He /She will go to the field'
 he/she

Ma naMar namsari niba 'Tomorrow, I shall go to the village'
 I tomorrow village -to go – fut

Ma , naMar namsa rance kaba 'Tomorrow, I shall come from the village'
 I tomorrow village from

Continuous Tense

Present Continuous

- *siciba mula / ban mula*. The formation is :
 verbal stem + present continuous marker
ni 'go' + siciba mula / - banmula

Ma uwarari nisiciba mula / niban mula 'I am going to the field'
 I field to verb+ pre.cont.
ye uwarari nisi cibamula / nibanmula 'You(sg) are going to the field'
 you
te uwarari nisiciba mula / niban mula 'He/She is going to the field'
 he/she
tedugu uwarari nisiciba mula / niban mula 'They are going to the field'
 they

Past Continuous

- *siciba muba / - ban muba* . The formation is :
 verbal stem + past continuous marker
ni 'go' - siciba muba / - ban muba

Ma uwarari nisiciba muba / niban muba 'I was going to the field'
 I field to verb+ pt. cont.

yaMdugu Doban muba 'We were reading'
 we read +pt. cont.

Future Continuous

- *siciba tala* . The formation is :
 verbal stem + future continuous marker
ni 'go' -siciba tala

Ma uwarari nisiciba tala 'I shall be going to the field'
 I field to verb + fut.cont.

yeMi uwarari nisiciba tala 'You two shall be going to the field'
 you (two)

te dugu uwarari nisiciba tala 'They shall be going to the field.'
 They

Perfect Tense

Present

- *si jiMba mula*. The formation is :

verbal stem + present perfect tense marker
ni 'go' - sijiMba mula

Ma uwarari nisijiMba mula 'I have gone to the field'
 I field to verb + pre.perf.ten

yeMi uwarari nisijiMba mula 'You two have gone to the field'
 you (two)

tedugu uwarari nisijiMba mula 'They have gone to the field'
 they

Past Perfect

- *sijiMba muba*. The formation is :

Ma uwarari nisijiMba muba 'I had gone to the field'
 I field to verb + pt.perf.ten

yeMi uwarari nisijiMba muba 'You two had gone to the field'
 you (two)

tedugu uwarari nisijiMba muba 'They had gone to the field'
 they

Future Perfect

- *du muba*. The formation is :

Ma uwarari nidu muba 'I would have gone to the field'
 I field to verb + fut.perf.ten

yeMi uwarari nidu muba 'You two would have gone to the field'
 you (two)

tedugu uwarari nidu muba 'They would have gone to the field'
they

Perfect Continuous

- *siciba* + *mudamba*. The formation is :

Ma uwarari nisiciba mudamba 'I would have been going to the field'
I field to verb + perf.con.ten

yeMi uwarari nisiciba mudamba
you (two)

'You two would have been going to the field'

tedugu uwarari nisiciba mudamba
they

'They would have been going to the field'

4.2.1.2 NON FINITE VERB

Infinitive

The infinitive is the base of verb often followed the suffix -bar/ -par. Example :

kabar 'come to'
cabar 'eat to'

The above are exemplified in sentential level.

Mada kabar man kaba mula 'I want to come'
I to come want a

-*man* is the verbal post position. Some times , the marker - *bar* / - *par* is only added as in

tese kan cabar man laji 'He liked to eat rice'
he rice to eat liked

Other Examples :

serbar 'to blow nose'
put par 'to blow with mouth something'
papar 'to jerk (pull suddenly)'
myaM bar 'to lick'

Verbal Noun

The verbal nouns are nouns which are derived from the verbs but functions as a object of the sentence. The marker is *-ba* .

Examples :

caba ‘eat’
eat

tuMba ‘drink’
drink

1. *cu caba sahi hain*
 this eat (food) not
 ‘This is not eatable’
2. *cu tuMba kui hain*
 this drink (water) not
 ‘This water is not drinkable’

Participle

A participle is that form or the verb which partakes of the nature of both of a verb and of an adjective. Here participle marker is *-pa*

Mot pa temokondugu ‘called those all’

yese Motpa temokondugu kaji
you called those all come have
‘All those you called have come’

Gerund

Gerund is a form of verb – noun used as a subject of the verb and hence does the work of noun

yuna yarbar jeba hinla ‘Running fast is good’
fast running good is

burada tobar a jeba rikpa hinla ‘Beating a child is bad habbit’
child-acc beating bad habit is

4.2.1.3 CAUSATIVE VERB

The causative markers are *-nala* – and *so* –. The formations are verbal stem + causative marker + tense marker

yer ‘to run’ + *nala* ‘caus. m.’ + *ba* ‘pre. ten.’

Ma brabada resri yerna laba 'I make the boy to run in the competition'
 I boy –acc. race in run+caus.+ pre.ten.

Ma brabada resri yerna laji 'I made the boy to run in the competition'
 I boy –acc. race in run +caus.+ pt .ten.

Ma bra bada resri yerna lala
 run + make + fut.ten.
 'I will make the boy to run in the competition'

Mkai ,brabada miTTay caba sogo 'I make the boy to eat sweets'
 I boy – acc. sweet eat-to make

Ma tada yearba soban mula 'I am making the horse to run'
 I horse acc. run to make pre.cont.

teduguse taduguda resri yearba soban mula
 they horse acc. race in run to make pre.cont.ten.
 'They are making the horses to run in the race'

tese kalai gikda get labada sigaMa pinba soban mula
 she someone acc. worker acc. five rupees give-to make-pre.cont.ten.
 'She is making some one to give five rupees to the worker'

Negative Verb

a- . The formation is :
 Negative marker + verb + tense
a ka ba

Affirmative
kaba 'come'

Negative
akaba 'do not come'

Ma , tini akaba 'I am not coming to day'
 I today neg. m. + come + pre.cont. ten.

curaM apaM dola 'Do not say thus'
 thus neg. + say + should

tese gyat aladoMba 'He should not do the work'
 he work neg.+ do + should

Besides above negative marker *a-*, the words *hain* or *ain* ‘not’ are also used to express negative sense. *ain* is used after consonant ending word whereas *hain* is used after vowel ending word.

cu tuMba kui hain ‘This water is not drinkable’
it drink-to water not

cu Mala gyat ain ‘This is not my work’
this my work not

Compound Verbs

ciba ‘to stay’ + *klaba* ‘to leave’ forms the compound verb
cibar klaba ‘vacate’

pyaMba ‘to fly’ + *ciba* ‘to stay / live at’ forms the compound verb
pyaMsi ciba ‘flying’

The structure of the compound verb is as follow :
verb + verb > compound verb

The compound verb in sentential construction may be exemplified as :

glebaMla cawgidarse marla har puisi pyaMsi ciba nami mraMji
palace’s guards golden chain carrying flying bird saw

‘The palace’s guards saw that a bird is flying with a golden chain’

tese har tatpar gal naMri ya yuban muba tese mlaMai pukri
he chain take-to hole into hand putting he black snake

rilsa ciba mraMji
curled saw

‘To take out the chain he put his hand inside the hole and found that a black snake is curled inside’

Voice

Active Voice

In active voice, the structure of the sentence is as follow:

subject + object + verb

sarkar praMboda jaba pin mala
government poor-to money gives
‘The government gives money to the poor’

<i>ta</i>	<i>yarmala</i>		'The horse runs'
horse	runs		
<i>tese</i>	<i>coi</i>	<i>Domala</i>	'He reads a book'
he	book	reads	
<i>tese</i>	<i>coi</i>	<i>Doji</i>	'He read a book'
he	book	read + pt.	
<i>tese</i>	<i>coi</i>	<i>Dola</i>	'He will read a book'
		read + fut.	

Restructure of the passive construction is as follow :

[verbal stem- + *-ba*] + [subject + case marker] + [passive marker *la*]+[tense marker]

yarba *tase* *laji* 'Running is done by the horse'
running horse-by pass.m. +pre.perf. ten. m.

yarba *tase* *laba muba* 'Running was done by the horse'
pass.m. +pt.perf. ten. m.

sarkarse *praM boda* *jaba* *pin mala*
govt.-from poor -to money verb stem + tense
'Money is given to the poor by the government'

coi *tese* *Dosi* *ciba* *mula* 'The book is being read by him'
book he by vb. stem. + pt.ten. + perf. con.

Transitive Verbs

In a sentence , the action denoted by the verb passes over from the doer or subject to some object. This process of passing over by a verb is called transitivity, and hence , the verb is called transitive verb .

tese *tila* *nami* *satci* 'He killed a bird yesterday'
he y. day bird killed

Ma *coi* *Doban* *mula* 'I am reading a book'
I book reading

Ma *ap* *caban* *mula* 'I am eating a mango'
I mango eating

4.2.2 ADVERBS

The adverb which qualifies the verb usually precedes the verb.

<i>golcese</i>	<i>tampaMou</i>	'Speak slowly'
slowly	speak	

<i>jena briu</i>	'Write neatly'
neatly write	

Adverbs are of two types : simple and derived

The words which function as adverbs only are called simple adverbs .

<i>pralsi</i>	'sadly'
<i>taMsi</i>	'happily'

Adverbs of Direction

<i>syar</i>	'east'
<i>lo</i>	'north'
<i>nup</i>	'west'
<i>jyam</i>	'south'

Adverbs of Distance

<i>tareM</i>	'far'
<i>Mam</i>	'near'
<i>tor</i>	'upwards'
<i>muMer</i>	'out'

Adverbs of Time

<i>dappen</i>	'again'
<i>diM</i>	'day'
<i>mun</i>	'evening'
<i>yuna</i>	'fast'
<i>naMar</i>	'tomorrow'

Derived Adverbs

The suffix -si is added to the verbal stem to form the derived adverbs.

<i>ril</i>	'lie down'
<i>riksi</i>	'curled'
<i>taM</i>	'rejoice'
<i>taMsi</i>	'happily'

Numerical Adverbs

The suffix - *ca* is added to the basic numerals to form numerical adverbs.

<i>gicca</i>	'first'	(<i>gik</i> 'one' + <i>ca</i>)
<i>Mica</i>	'second'	(<i>Mi</i> 'two' + <i>ca</i>)
<i>somca</i>	'third'	(<i>som</i> 'three' + <i>ca</i>)

Adverbs in Sentential Construction

<i>naMri</i> in	<i>kaw</i> come				'Come in'
<i>yuMba</i> stone	<i>tori</i> on	<i>krato</i> step			'Step on the stone'
<i>dim</i> house	<i>kyururu</i> round	<i>law</i> go			'Go round the house'
<i>mu</i> sky	<i>tor</i> high	<i>mula</i> is			'The sky is above'
<i>doM</i> tree	<i>oza</i> that	<i>soDakla</i> road	<i>glari</i> side	<i>mula</i> is	'The tree is on that side of the road'
<i>Ma , doM</i> I	<i>rance</i> tree	<i>tareM</i> far	<i>mula</i> away		'I am far from the tree'
<i>te</i> he	<i>gaMrance</i> hill	<i>mar</i> from	<i>kaje</i> down		'He came down the hill'
<i>Mai</i> I	<i>cu</i> it	<i>kainai</i> where	<i>ayaMni</i> not found		'I found it no where'

Mood

Mood may be a statement , a command , a question or doubt.

Indicative

- ø (zero marker)

<i>Ma</i> I	<i>oza</i> that	<i>coi</i> book	<i>taMmala</i> like		'I like that book'
----------------	--------------------	--------------------	------------------------	--	--------------------

<i>Mkala</i>	<i>koppase</i>	<i>Mada</i>	<i>taM mala</i>	'My husband likes me'
my	husband	me	like	

Imperative

- u ~ - w markers are added after the verbal stem.

<i>curi</i>	<i>kau</i>	'Come here'
here	come	

<i>ciw</i>	'Sit down'
------------	------------

<i>gol cese</i>	<i>tampaMou</i>	'Speak slowly'
slowly	speak	

<i>teda</i>	<i>Mkotu</i>	'Call him'
him	call	

Sometimes, - o also stands as a marker for imperative.

<i>reino</i>	'stand up'
<i>cu kyudo</i>	'break it'
it	break

Interrogative

Interrogative mood is expressed through (a) the placement of interrogative words before the verbs and (b) the interrogative intonation pattern at the sentence ending position.

<i>Ma</i>	<i>oTi</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>kamla ?</i>	'Shall I go there?'
I	there	go	shall	

<i>te</i>	<i>kaima</i>	<i>kaji</i>	'When did he come?'
he	when	came	

<i>ye</i>	<i>kai</i>	<i>ci mala</i>	'Where do you live?'
you	where	live-do	

<i>yese</i>	<i>cula</i>	<i>kam baka</i>	'Can you do it?'
you	it	do can	

Probability

- *kam la*

<i>Ma</i>	<i>kabar</i>	<i>kamla</i>		'I may come'
I	come	may		
<i>tese</i>	<i>nami</i>	<i>satpar</i>	<i>kamla</i>	'He may kill the bird'
he	bird	to kill	may	
<i>teduguse</i>	<i>nyot</i>	<i>kam la</i>		'They may ask'
they	ask	may		

Obligatory

- *dola ~ la ~ kamla*

<i>tese</i>	<i>coi</i>	<i>bridola</i>		'He ought to write a book'
he	book	write should		
<i>Ma</i>	<i>kala</i>			'I should come'
I	come should			
<i>Ma</i>	<i>kabar</i>	<i>kamla</i>		'I ought to come'
I	come to ought			

Desiderative

- *la*

<i>Mada</i>	<i>kabar</i>	<i>man</i>	<i>kaba mula</i>	'I like to come'
I	come to	like		
<i>tese</i>	<i>kan</i>	<i>cabar</i>	<i>manlaji</i>	'He liked to eat rice'
he	rice	eat	liked	

4.2.3. PARTICLES

Particles belong to a wide ranging class of uninflected words. The most important of them are connectives, emphatics, negatives and so on.

In Tamang particle may be a prefixed one as used in negative construction.

<i>cu</i>	<i>jeba</i>	<i>namsa</i>	<i>mula</i>	'This is a beautiful village'
this	good	village	is	
<i>cu</i>	<i>ajeba</i>	<i>namsa</i>	<i>mula</i>	'This is a bad village'
this	bad	village	is	

Connective Particle

Connective particle conjoins two words in a sentence

<i>dim</i>	<i>nyu</i>	<i>ten</i>	<i>dosi</i>	<i>kaw</i>	'Go home and come back'
house	go	and	back	come	

5. SYNTAX

5.1 ORDER OF WORDS IN SENTENCES

The type of sentence in Tamang is as follow :

Subject + Object + Verb

<i>Ma</i>	<i>yida</i>	<i>mraMla</i>	'I see him'
I	you –acc	see + pre. ten.	

5.2 DESCRIPTION OF TYPES OF SENTENCES

Types of Phrases

Noun Phrase

A noun phrase may consist of a noun alone or followed by one or more attributes.

<i>tela</i>	<i>dim</i>	'His house'
he + poss. m.	house	
<i>yela</i>	<i>dim</i>	'Your(sg) house'
you + poss.m.	house	
<i>ja ja</i>	<i>kola</i>	'The small child'
small	child	
<i>top</i>	<i>kasu</i>	'The dark cloud'
dark	cloud	

If the plural marker is added to the noun, it is added to the whole noun phrase.

<i>piMai</i>	<i>lapte</i>	'green leaf'
green	leaf	
<i>piMai</i>	<i>lapte dugu</i>	'green leaves'
green	leaves	
<i>hajaM</i>	<i>dim</i>	'The large house'
large	house	
<i>hajaM</i>	<i>dim dugu</i>	'The large houses'
large	houses	

When the two attributes i.e. one numeral and the other one qualitative are added to the noun, then the order of words will be as follow :

Numeral attribute	+	Qualitative attribute	+	Noun
<i>gor bli</i> four		<i>otiba</i> small		<i>pum</i> egg
'Four little eggs'				

When the case marker is added to the noun, it will be added to the whole noun phrase.

<i>lop kaMri</i> school to	'to the school'
<i>lop kaM rance</i> school from	'from the school'

Attributive Noun Phrase

The attribute and possessive case always precede the noun.

<i>jaba</i> good	<i>braba</i> boy	'The good boy'
<i>jaba</i> good	<i>mriMkol</i> girl	'The good girl'
<i>tar</i> white	<i>ta</i> horse	'The white horse'
<i>Mala</i> my	<i>iya</i> hand	'My hand'
<i>Mala</i> my	<i>iyadugu</i> hands	'My hands'

Co-Ordinated Noun Phrases

The co ordinate word *ten* 'and' connects the two nouns.

<i>tawar</i> cat	<i>ten</i> and	<i>nagi</i> dog	'A cat and dog'
<i>gik</i> one	<i>remkol</i> boy	<i>ten gik mriMkol</i> and one girl	'One boy and one girl'

Like the above, there are some other connectors also which help to coordinate between two nouns.

Predicate Phrase

- a. The predicate phrase consists of a verb as a nucleus and may be followed by a noun, or an adverb or other markers such as tense, aspect and mood.

<i>Mala</i>	<i>dimri</i>	<i>nyu</i>	
my	house-to	go	'Go to my house'

<i>Ma la</i>	<i>gaDiri</i>	<i>nyu</i>	
my	cart-to	go	'Go to my cart'

- b. The adverb precedes the verb

<i>rama</i>	<i>yuna</i>	<i>yarmala</i>	
Rama	quickly	runs	'Rama runs quickly'

- c. The mood indicating markers are added after the verb

<i>Ma</i>	<i>kala</i>		
I	come should		'I should come'

<i>Ma</i>	<i>kabar</i>	<i>kamla</i>	
I	come	ought	'I ought to come'

<i>Mada</i>	<i>kabar man</i>	<i>kaba mula</i>	
I acc.	come to	wish	'I wish to come'

<i>teda</i>	<i>uditi</i>	<i>sigā</i>	<i>doba mula</i>	
he	some	money	want pre.ten	'He wants some money'

- d. The negative marker *a* - is added to the verb before verbal stem.

<i>cudugu</i>	<i>jeba</i>	<i>tam</i>	<i>ayin</i>	
these	good	words	not are	'These are not good words'

<i>Ma cam</i>	<i>tikjay</i>	<i>arie</i>	
I with	nothing	not have	'I have nothing with me'

However, when modal / auxiliaries come with verbs, the negative marker is added with modal only.

<i>Ma</i>	<i>cu</i>	<i>labar</i>	<i>akamba</i>	
I	this	do	not can	'I can not do this work'

<i>ye</i>	<i>curi</i>	<i>cibar</i>	<i>ata</i>		
you	here	stay to	not must		‘You must not remain here’

Statement / Declarative

Verb In statement type of sentences the word order pattern is Subject + Object +

<i>te</i>	<i>Mala</i>	<i>nana</i>	<i>hinla</i>		
she	my	eld.sister	is		‘She is my elder sister’

<i>yaMse</i>	<i>memamaduguda</i>	<i>rupmala</i>			
we	cows- acc.	beat + pre.ten			‘We beat the cows’

<i>sarkar</i>	<i>praMboda</i>	<i>jaba</i>	<i>pinmala</i>		
Govt.	poor – to	money	gives		‘Govt. gives the money to poor’

Interrogative

The interrogative words such as *tik* ‘what’ *gade* ‘how many’ are added after nouns to make interrogative sense.

<i>yela</i>	<i>min</i>	<i>tik</i>	<i>hinla</i>		
your	name	what is			‘What is your name?’
<i>yese</i>	<i>gade</i>	<i>dik</i>	<i>oiji</i>		
you	howmany	year	reached		‘How old are you?’

<i>ye</i>	<i>kaima</i>	<i>niban</i>	<i>mula</i>		
you	when	go pre. con. ten.			‘When are you going?’

<i>te</i>	<i>kalla</i>				
he	who is				‘Who is he?’

Imperative

The imperative sentences end with markers ~ -v ~ - o

<i>Mada</i>	<i>namdar</i>	<i>paMu</i>			
me	story	tell			‘Tell me a story’

<i>yikidugu</i>	<i>jena</i>	<i>briu</i>			
words	net	write			‘Write the words neatly’

<i>dim</i>	<i>nyu</i>	<i>ten</i>	<i>dosi</i>	<i>kau</i>	
house	go	and	back	come	‘Go home and come back’

<i>golce se</i>	<i>tampaMou</i>	
slowly	speak	‘Speak slowly’

<i>ciw</i>		‘Sit down’
<i>reino</i>		‘Stand up’

Negative

a - is prefixed before the verb

<i>Ma</i>	<i>tini</i>	<i>akaba</i>	
I	today	not come	‘I am not coming today’

<i>Ma</i>	<i>naMar</i>	<i>akata la</i>	
I	tomorrow	not come fut.	‘I shall not come tomorrow’

<i>cula</i>	<i>akamba</i>	<i>hinla</i>	
it	impossible	is	‘It is impossible’

<i>Mubar</i>	<i>ode</i>	<i>yona</i>	<i>anyu</i>	
bed to	so	soon	not go	‘Don’t go to bed so soon’

Causative Sentences

The suffixes - *so* and -*nala* are used to form causative.

<i>M kai</i>	<i>teda</i>	<i>dot</i>	<i>kinba</i>	<i>soba</i>	<i>taro</i>	<i>tese</i>	<i>ataM</i>	<i>mala</i>
I	her	luggage	take	to make	but	he	not like	pre.ten.

‘I make her to take the luggage but she does not like’

<i>Mkai</i>	<i>brabada</i>	<i>miTTay</i>	<i>caba</i>	<i>sogo</i>
I	boy-acc.	sweet	eat –to	make

‘I make the boy to eat the sweet’

<i>Ma</i>	<i>brabada</i>	<i>resri</i>	<i>yerna</i>	<i>laba</i>
I	boy –acc.	race –in	run	to make

‘I make the boy to run in the race’

<i>Ma</i>	<i>brabada</i>	<i>resri</i>	<i>yerna</i>	<i>lala</i>
I	boy-acc.	race-in	run-to	make fut.

‘I will make the boy to run in the race’

5.3 DESCRIPTION OF PATTERNS OF SENTENCES

Simple Sentences

A simple sentence consists of subject +(object) + verb.

<i>nagi</i> dog	<i>cu</i> bark +	<i>mala</i> pre.ten.	'The dog barks'
<i>Ma</i> I	<i>majuk</i> confuse	<i>taji</i> get	'I get confused'
<i>mriM kol</i> girl	<i>tai mala</i> falls		'The girl falls'
<i>Ma</i> I	<i>dimri</i> house-to	<i>niba</i> go	'I go to house'
<i>Ma</i> I	<i>uwarari</i> field in	<i>gyat laba</i> work	'I work in the field'

Complex Sentences

The subordinate clause precedes the main clause in complex sentences.

<i>curemnai</i> this time also	<i>mIaMai</i> black	<i>pukrise</i> snake	<i>Mala</i> my	<i>puMdugu</i> eggs	<i>caji</i> ate	<i>bisam</i> if
<i>Ma</i> I	<i>curi</i> here	<i>cibar</i> stay to	<i>klaba</i> leave			

'If the black snake eats up my eggs this time also, I refuse to live in this tree any longer'

<i>Mkai</i> I	<i>teda</i> him	<i>ceba</i> see	<i>duiri</i> when	<i>te</i> he	<i>sari</i> ground	<i>cisi</i> on	<i>ciba</i> lying	<i>muba</i> was
------------------	--------------------	--------------------	----------------------	-----------------	-----------------------	-------------------	----------------------	--------------------

'He was lying on the ground when I saw him'

Compound Sentences

The sentence having more than one main clause is compound sentence.

<i>Mai</i> I	<i>cuisse</i> ten	<i>somsu</i> thirty	<i>nyama</i> hour	<i>Train</i> train	<i>cumji</i> caught	<i>terance</i> after	<i>Ma</i> I
-----------------	----------------------	------------------------	----------------------	-----------------------	------------------------	-------------------------	----------------

<i>cukrise</i>	<i>somsu</i>	<i>nyama</i>	<i>gezaMri</i>	<i>dokaji</i>
eleven	thirty	hour	office to	came

‘I caught the train at 10-30 a.m. and came to the office at 11-30 a.m.’

<i>ramase</i>	<i>krusnada</i>	<i>kaw</i>	<i>bi mala</i>	<i>taro</i>	<i>krusna lari</i>	<i>dui</i>	<i>are</i>
Rama	Krishna –acc.	come	makes	but	Krishna –has	time	no

‘Rama makes Krishna to come but Krishna has no time’

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Austin, Hale. 1982 *Research on Tibeto Burman Languages* (Trends in Linguistics : State of Arts) Berlin : Mouton Publishers
- Beames, J. 1867 *Outlines of Indian Philology* with a map showing the distribution of Indian Languages, Calcutta
- Campbell, A. 1840 “Notes on the Limboos and other Hill Tribes hitherto undescribed”, In Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol.IX part I pp.595.
- Census of India 1961 *Language Tables*, New Delhi : Office of the Registrar General, India.
- Census of India 2001 *Population by Language / Mother Tongue* (Table-C-7) New Delhi : Office of the Registrar General, India.
- Census of India 2001 *Bilingualism* (Table C –8) New Delhi : Office of the Registrar General, India
- Dalton , E . T . 1872 *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal* ,Calcutta
- Grierson , G. A. 1909 *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol.III part –I and part –II, Tibeto Burman Family : Himalayan Dialects, North-Assam Groups, Delhi : Motilal Banasirdas
- Mazaudon, Martine 2003 *Tamang* In G.Thurgood and R.Lapolla (eds) *The Sino-Tibetan Languages* London : Rouledge, pp 291-314
- Shafer, R 1938 *Sino Tibetica*. Berekely : University of California.
- Shafer, R 1966 *Introduction to Sino Tibetan*, Wiesbadan :Otto Harrassowitz
- Singh, K.S. 2001 *The Scheduled Tribes*, (People of India, National Series, Volume III) Anthropological Survey of India And Oxford India Paperback, Delhi.
- Tamang, K.M. 1997 *A Composition of Tamang Language*, Gangtok: Jyojyo Prakashan
- Yadava, Y.P. 1999 *Topics in Nepalese Linguistics*, Kathmandu : Royal Nepal
Glover W.W. (eds) and Academy
- Wolfenden, Stuart, 1929 *Outlines of Tibeto Burman Linguistic Morphology*, London : Royal Asiatic Society

TAMANG TEXT

<i>kareMlasi</i> how	<i>yomo</i> hen	<i>kawase</i> crow	<i>mIaMai</i> black	<i>pukrida</i> snake-acc.	<i>sacci</i> killed
-------------------------	--------------------	-----------------------	------------------------	------------------------------	------------------------

“ How the crow hen killed the black snake”

1. *ba ra* *duMla* *hyelMa ri*
 banyan tree's branch-in

- gik* *kawa* *ten* *tela* *mriM* *yomo*
 one crow and his wife hen

- kawa* *ci ba* *muba.* *jaMnaMri* *gorbli*
 crow lived nest –in to four

- otiba* *pum* *te* *aba amse* *jenalase*
 small egg they parents properly

- kyopnala si* *tanba* *mu ba* *oja* *doMla* *galri*
 guarded kept there tree's hole- in

- gik* *mIa Mai* *pukri* *ciba* *muba*
 one black snake lived

- oja* *mraMi* *kawadugu* *loMbamuba*
 that saw crows afraid -were

- dinu n* *yomo* *kawa se* *pum* *puMba muba*
 every day hen crow egg laid

- oja* *mIaMai* *pukri* *jaMri* *kasi*
 that black snake nest in came

- pumdugu* *casi* *piMba* *muba.*
 eggs eat pre. perf.ten.

“Among the spreading branches of a banayan tree lived a crow and his wife, the crow-hen. In the nest were four little eggs which the parents guarded with great care. In a hollow of that tree-trunk lived a black snake whom the crows feared greatly. Every time the crow-hen laid her eggs the snake crawled up to the nest and ate them up.”

2. *yomo kawase tela*
 hen crow her
- remboda paMji curemnai mlaMai pukrise*
 husband –acc said this time also black snake
- Mala puMdugu caji bisam Ma*
 my eggs eat +past if I
- curi cibar klaba hyaMse syando glari*
 here stay to leave we another place –in
- hyeMla jaM sodola.*
 our nest make pre.ten.

“If the black snake eats up my eggs this time also, I refuse to live in this tree any longer. We must build our nest somewhere else”, said the mother bird to her husband.

3. *kawa si paMji hyaM*
 crow said we
- Macan rance curi cibamula Ma Mala diM*
 before here stayed I my house
- klasi ten kainai ci akamba tedugu*
 leave and any where stay not can they
- tampaMban laba duiri diri teduguse*
 talk pre. cont. while down they
- pukri nyaba taiji, teduguse tik kriMba*
 snake sound heard they what sound
- bisi goji. tedugu saharayin jaMri cisi*
 knew meant they help lessly nest in stayed
- tenla pumdugu kyopnalaba boMlasi*
 their eggs save to try - into
- ciba muba ojar mlaMai pukri tor*
 pre. cont. that black snake came
- sulsi jaMla Mamri dokaji terance*
 crept nest’s near by came that after

<i>tese</i>	<i>namiduguda</i>	<i>cwabar</i>	<i>boMlaji</i>	<i>tedugu</i>
he	birds	biting	try- past	they

<i>loMsi</i>	<i>pyaMji.</i>	<i>kar</i>	<i>kar lasi</i>	<i>mIaMai</i>
fear	flew away	one	by one	black

<i>pukrise</i>	<i>puMdugu</i>	<i>gloMji.</i>
snake	eggs	swallow – past.

“ We have lived here a long time. I can’t bear to desert my home and go to live elsewhere”, said the crow. While they were talking, they heard a hissing sound just below them. They knew what the sound meant. They sat helplessly in the nest trying to protect their eggs. The black snake crept higher and closer to the nest. Then with a loud hiss he tried to strike at the birds who flew away in terror. One by one, the black snake swallowed the eggs.

4. *tenna* *jan* *tan tan* *taba*
 their nest empty

<i>syaplabisi</i>	<i>gosi</i>	<i>teMi</i>	<i>aba am</i>	<i>pralsi</i>	<i>jaMri</i>
find	know to	they two	parents	sadly	nest – in

<i>dokaji</i>	<i>kawase</i>	<i>biji</i>	<i>Mkai</i>	<i>cu</i>
came	crow	said	I	this

<i>loMba kaba</i>	<i>pukri</i>	<i>sat par</i>	<i>gik</i>	<i>gyam</i>	<i>maidola.</i>
murderous	snake	kill – to	one	way	find out

“The parents came back sadly to their nest, knowing well that they would find it empty. The crow said, “I must find a way to destroy this murderous snake.”

5. *ye* *karaMla si* *chatpa*
 you how fight

<i>te</i>	<i>cam ?</i>	<i>tela</i>	<i>le</i>	<i>loMba</i>	<i>kaba mula,</i>
he	with	his	tongue	poisonous	pre. ten.

<i>tela</i>	<i>mriMse</i>	<i>pralsi</i>	<i>paMji.</i>
his	wife	sadly	said

“How can you ever fight him? His sting is so deadly”, said his wife in despair.

6. *ye* *majuk* *atau,* *Mala*
 you worry not to my
- mriM,* *Mala* *gik* *canba* *ro* *mula* *tese*
 wife my one clever friend is he
- oja* *bisala* *pukri da* *satpar* *kamla* *kawada*
 that poisonous snake kill-to can crow
- paMsi* *te* *syando* *doMri* *pyaMsi* *niji*
 said he another tree – in flew away
- jaderi* *tela* *ro* *luandi* *ciba muba.*
 where his friend jackal lived

“Don’t you worry, my dear, I’ve got a friend who is cunning enough to destroy the most poisonous of snakes,” said the crow, and off he flew to another tree under which lived his dear friend, the jackal.

7. *pukrise* *pumdugu* *karaMlasi*
 snake eggs how
- caba* *cimbisi* *luandise* *taisi* *tese* *paMji*
 eat –to used jackal - by heard he said
- “ *Mala* *ro* *oja* *jo* *ajeba mula* *te*
 my friend that like cruel he
- a jeban* *tasi* *jinla* *aloMo* *teda* *tuman la bar*
 bad meets end not – afraid him finish –to
- Mkai* *dolan* *gik* *saDyentra* *DaMsi jimba mula.*
 I already one plan thought

“When the jackal heard how the snake always ate up the eggs, he said, “My friend, those who are cruel and greedy always meet with a bad end. Have no fear, I’ve already thought of a plan to destroy him.”

8. “*Mada* *paMo* *oja* *tikja*
 I tall that what

<i>cim</i> it is	<i>kawase</i> crow	<i>paMji</i> said	<i>terance</i> that after	<i>kawase</i> crow	
<i>syandose</i> other		<i>tailabisi</i> over heard	<i>golceso</i> slowly		<i>pukrida</i> snake
<i>jinlabar</i> kill –to	<i>tik</i> what	<i>ladoba</i> do to have	<i>tela</i> his	<i>roda</i> friend	<i>paMji</i> said
<i>kawa</i> crow	<i>tela</i> his	<i>mriMlari</i> wife to	<i>niji</i> went	<i>ten</i> and	<i>soDyentrala</i> plan
<i>bisairi</i> about	<i>teda</i> her – to	<i>paMji,</i> said	<i>“cu</i> it	<i>loMbakaba</i> risky	
<i>mula</i> is	<i>bisi</i> like this	<i>kawa se</i> crow	<i>paMji</i> said	<i>“hyaM</i> we	<i>ekdam</i> very much
<i>hosyar</i> careful	<i>tadola</i> must				

“Oh, do tell me what it is, “ said the crow then the jackal, fearing he might be overheard, whispered to his friend what he should do to destroy the snake. The crow flew back to his wife and told her about the plan. “It is rather risky”, said the crow. “We’ll have to be very careful.”

9. *“Mka, Mala*
I my *pum*
egg *kyopnalabar*
save to do –to

tijailabar kamba
whatever can *yoma*
hen *kawase*
crow *aloMna*
not fear *paM ji.*
said

“I’ll do anything to save my eggs”, said the mother bird bravely.

10. *terance*
afterwards *teMi*
they –two *hyul*
country
- glela*
king’s *glebaMkar*
palace *pyaMsi*
flew *niji.*
away *teMi*
they two
- ciba*
to stay *doMyam*
tree from *glebaM*
palace *tareM*
far *aremba.*
not

<i>tedugu</i> they	<i>ha jeM</i> big	<i>glebaM</i> palace	<i>mendo mraMla</i> garden's		
<i>hajeM</i> big	<i>pokorisi</i> pond – in		<i>doji</i> reached	<i>jahaderi</i> where	
<i>pyukpa</i> royal	<i>mriMkoldugu</i> ladies		<i>Mkwa plaban</i> bath	<i>laba</i> having taken	
<i>teduguse</i> they	<i>mraMji.</i> saw	<i>teduguse</i> they		<i>pokorila</i> pond's	<i>Mamri</i> near
<i>marla</i> golden	<i>ha r</i> chain	<i>mala</i> necklace	<i>ten</i> and	<i>syando</i> other	
<i>marmui</i> jewelry	<i>tanba muba</i> placed	<i>yo mo</i> hen	<i>kawa</i> crow	<i>ma r</i> down	
<i>pyaMsi</i> flew	<i>nisi</i> went	<i>marla</i> golden	<i>har</i> chain	<i>tela</i> her	<i>nameri</i> beak
<i>puisi</i> picked	<i>ten</i> and	<i>golcese</i> slowly	<i>te</i> she	<i>ciba</i> stayed – to	<i>doMker</i> tree – towards
<i>pyaMji</i> flew	<i>glebaMla</i> palace's	<i>cawgidarse</i> guards		<i>marla</i> golden	<i>har</i> chain
<i>puisi</i> carrying	<i>pyaMsi ciba</i> flying	<i>nami</i> bird		<i>mraMji,</i> saw	
<i>teduguse</i> they	<i>tenla</i> their	<i>koDi</i> club	<i>puisi</i> carry	<i>namida</i> bird	
<i>gappar</i> chasing	<i>titci</i> started	<i>namise</i> bird	<i>har</i> chain	<i>doMla</i> tree's	
<i>galnaMri</i> hole – in to	<i>yuba</i> put to	<i>teduguse</i> they	<i>mraMji</i> saw	<i>gik</i> one	
<i>cowgidar</i> guard	<i>har</i> chain	<i>tat par</i> take to	<i>d^hoMri</i> tree – in	<i>kratci.</i> climbed	<i>tese</i> he
<i>har</i> chain	<i>tatpar</i> take – to	<i>galnaMri</i> hole – into	<i>ya</i> hand	<i>yuban muba</i> putting	

<i>tese</i> he	<i>mIaMai</i> black	<i>pukri</i> snake	<i>rIlsi ciba</i> curled	<i>mraMji.</i> saw	
<i>tela</i> his	<i>koDila</i> stick's	<i>gik</i> one	<i>boMba</i> hard	<i>tobase</i> stroke	<i>cuda</i> it
<i>satsi</i> killed	<i>ten</i> and	<i>yiraMlasi</i> in this way	<i>mIaMai</i> black	<i>pukri</i> snake	<i>satsi.</i> killed

“So off they flew towards the palace of the king of the country. The palace was not far from the tree in which they lived. They approached a big pond in the palace garden where they saw the royal ladies having a bath. They had laid their golden chains, pearl necklaces and other jewellery on the edge of the pond. The mother bird flew down, picked up a gold chain in her beak and started flying slowly towards the tree in which she lived. When the palace guards saw the bird flying off with the gold chain, they took up their clubs and chased the bird. They saw the bird drop the chain into the hollow of a tree. One of the guards climbed up the tree to get the chain. As he put his hand inside the hole to get the chain, he saw a black snake curled up there. With one hard stroke of his club he killed it and that was the end of the black snake.”

11.	<i>terance</i> afterwards	<i>kawa</i> crow	<i>ten</i> and		
	<i>yoma</i> crow	<i>kawa</i> hen	<i>taMsi</i> happily	<i>oza</i> that	<i>doMri</i> tree – in
	<i>lanun</i> many	<i>kola dugu</i> children	<i>muba</i> got	<i>ciji</i> stayed	

“The crow and the crow-hen lived in that tree happily afterwards and had many little baby crows.”

-----X-----

GURUNG

R.NAKKEERAR

1. INTRODUCTION

1.0. LANGUAGE AFFILIATION

Gurung belongs to Himalayan group of speeches, which are spoken along the tracts to the south of Himalayas from Himachal Pradesh in the west to the western borders of Bhutan in the east. It is affiliated to the Himalayan group of Tibeto-Burman sub family and it is primarily spoken in Sikkim.

1.1 SPEAKERS STRENGTH

In the Census of 1901 altogether 7,481 people speaking Gurung language lived in India that came down to 82 in 1961 census. The last published speaker's strength of Gurung in census, appeared in 1961 and presented in the table. After 1961 census, there is no final data for Gurung language since as the decision of Govt. of India, the language spoken less than 10,000 speakers at national level do not qualify to appear publish census data.

India/State	Total	Male	Female
India	82	62	20
Sikkim	65	51	14

1.2 BILINGUALISM

Many ethnic communities (including tribals) are available in Sikkim. The majority of the people are from Nepalese stock (people speaking Nepali as their first language as well as second language). The Bhutias and the Lepchas occupy the second rank so far languages are concerned. So, Nepali, Bhutia and Lepcha are the three main languages of the state. In addition according to 2001 Census, Hindi, Sherpa, Tamang, Rai, Bengali, Urdu, Tibetan, Punjabi, Malayalam, Assamese, Maithili, Marathi, Oriya English, Tamil, Telugu, Manipuri have been recorded as Languages / Mother tongues in Sikkim.

Nepali is spoken by the majority of the population and is the lingua franca of Sikkim. English and Nepali are the medium of instruction in educational institutions. Hindi is becoming popular for communication between different communities. So, it is our experience that the Gurungs are equally bilinguals in Nepali, Hindi etc. Since Nepali is the lingua franca and English is the medium of instruction, Gurungs are bilingual in Nepali and English.

1.3 SOCIOLINGUISTIC SETTINGS

The 'Gurungs' are known as fighting community. Earlier the word 'Gorkhali' was used to indicate the Gurungs who are reported to be scattered in all the districts of Sikkim. The Gurung are the people who formed the backbone of Gurkha regiments in British army along with Magar people. As reported the Gurungs are mainly divided into two groups 'Chaar Jaat' (four clans) and 'Solo Jaat' (sixteen clans).

These two groups are distinctly two endogamous units. Gurungs prefer and practice cross-cousin marriages. In the marriage rule it is endogamy at the community level and exogamy at the sub-clan level.

The Gurung language has many dialects. Most of the Gurungs are bilinguals in Nepali. They use Tibetan script for writing. Among themselves they communicate each other in Gurung only while with others they use either Nepali or Hindi.

Gurungs are generally Hindu by religion. But a few of them have adopted Buddhism.

Gurungs are concentrated mainly in south and west districts.

The Gurungs have their own oral tradition folklore and folk tales. Both men and women participate in folk songs.

The present population of Sikkim comprises of Nepali, Bhutia, Lepcha and plainsmen those who have come from other states of Indian Union. The Gurungs are one of the best fighting tribes of Nepal. Their old home is a tract of country between the Bheri and Marsyandi rivers. In modern times they have spreaded all over Nepal and also to Darjeeling district in West Bengal and in Sikkim. Speakers of Gurung have also been recorded from Assam (Grierson, 1901).

The Gurung people had developed a good relation with the Limbus and they jointly have extended trade relation with the Lepchas. Finally they settled down in West Sikkim along with the Limbus.

All tribes have their own culture, language and religion. Gurungs are also no exceptions to this. The Gurungs called themselves, "Tamu" in their language and the language is called "Tamu kye". Gurungs have their own culture, religion, custom and rituals from birth to death. "Gantu", a variety of dance is one of the most divine dances. Gurungs are Hindu by religion.

Gurungs migrated Sikkim, who lost their connection with reference Gurungs, are slowly learning their custom, tradition, culture and language by generation. Indian census also shows some picture of Gurung language.

Gurung is declared as an official language of Sikkim in the year 1995. December 30th is Gurung New Year. The present Government of Sikkim has undertaken a project for the development of Gurung language along with Lepcha, Bhutia, Limbu etc. In the process, Government is appointing translators for translation works in their language in order to improve and develop their language. Sikkim Regional Language Development committee has been formed drawing members from different linguistic communities for promoting and development of languages with the objectives:

- (1) to celebrate "Regional Language Day" every year
- (2) to bring integrity and common harmony among the various regional languages of Sikkim.
- (3) to make efforts for pioneering and advocating regional languages in every institution and

(4) to maintain amicable relationship among all the communities living within the state of Sikkim and approach for help to all the communities / associations / organization, if it is necessary.

There is a Gurung Language Association, a private cultural organization, promoting their language by introducing Gurung language in different private schools. The Government of Sikkim from 2002 onwards has introduced this language in the Government schools as first language up to 6th standard in 10 schools. They are also giving an effort in the translation work (from and into Gurung language). There is no programme in All India Radio as well as Television as such in Sikkim. But sometimes, the cultural programme is organized and telecasted by the local television.

1.4 REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Grierson (1909: 1967 reprinted) collected a version of the parable of the prodigal son as a text and a list of standard words and phrases from Nepal Darbar in Gurung language. On the basis of these, Grierson has prepared a grammatical sketch of Gurung language. After that Yogendra Yadava and Warren W Glover (1999) have compiled some articles on Nepalese Linguistics. One such article has been presented by Warren Glover that is “how we observe Dasain: a procedural discourse in Gurung” and that is based on Nepal based Gurung language. No other work is available in Gurung language.

Below is the grammatical description of the Gurung language based on the data collected from Informants during 1998 and 2008. The informants are Shri Megraj Gurung, Shri Pradeep Gurung and Smt Padma Gurung.

2. PHONOLOGY

2.1 PHONOMIC INVENTORY

Gurung phonemic inventory consists of Segmental and Suprasegmental phonemes.

2.1.1 SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

Gurung has 5 vowels and 30 consonants

Vowels

	Front	Back
High	<i>i</i>	<i>u</i>
Mid	<i>e</i>	<i>o</i>
Low		<i>a</i>

Consonants

1. S U P	Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
	vl vd	vl vd	vl vd	vl vd	vl vd	vl vd	vl vd
Stop R	<i>p b</i>	<i>ṭ ḍ</i>		<i>T D</i>	<i>c j</i>	<i>k g</i>	
A asp.	<i>ph</i>	<i>th dh</i>		<i>Th Dh</i>	<i>ch</i>	<i>kh gh</i>	
S F E G M		<i>s</i>					<i>h</i>
Nasal	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>			<i>M'</i>	<i>M</i>	
G asp.	<i>mh</i>						
Lateral			<i>l</i>				
N asp.			<i>lh</i>				
Trill T			<i>r</i>				
Semivowel	<i>w</i>				<i>y</i>		

2.1.2. SUPRASEGMENTAL PHONEMES

In Gurung, length is not available in the language. Nasalisation is phonemic.

<i>kõba</i>	‘bitter’
<i>khõya</i>	‘when’
<i>syõ</i>	‘river’
<i>gyã</i>	‘road’
<i>sũ</i>	‘mouth’
<i>rũ</i>	‘horn’

2.2 PHONEMIC DESCRIPTION AND DISTRIBUTION

Vowels in Gurung can be classified and described from three dimensions namely 1) Height of the tongue 2) Tongue position and 3) Lip position. The three-way classifications of vowels given following types of vowels in Gurung at phonemic level.

1. High front unrounded vowel [i]
2. High back rounded vowel [u]
3. Mid high front unrounded vowel [e]
4. Mid high back rounded vowel [o]
5. Low back unrounded vowel [a]

Contrasting pairs of vowels are given below. Contrasts of vowels are given on the basis of

1. Height of the tongue
2. Tongue position
3. Lip position

Contrasting pairs (Vowels)

/i/ and /e/

/ mhi/	‘person’
/ me /	‘cow’

/ riMyo /	‘long’
/ redoba/	‘get up’

/u/ and /o/

/nuba/	‘tall’
/nowar/	‘cat’
/mhu/	‘sky’
/mho/	‘brother-in- law’

/ a / and / e /

/ krase /	‘head’
/ kre/	‘back’
/ kla gaDi /	‘bullock cart’
/ khebadhĩ/	‘school’

Contrasting pairs (Consonants)

/p ~ph/

/pa/	‘liquor’
/phya/	‘feather’

<i>/p~b/</i>	<i>/pa/</i>	‘liquor’
	<i>/pho/</i>	‘belly’
	<i>/piba/</i>	‘give’
	<i>/biba/</i>	‘say’
<i>/k ~ kh/</i>	<i>/korsã/</i>	‘chilly’
	<i>/khebadhĩ/</i>	‘school’
	<i>/keba/</i>	‘purchase’
	<i>/khoba/</i>	‘come’
<i>/g ~ gh/</i>	<i>/gi/</i>	‘seven’
	<i>/ghri/</i>	‘one’
<i>/m ~M /</i>	<i>/mie/</i>	‘eye’
	<i>/Ma/</i>	‘five’
<i>/M ~ M’/</i>	<i>/Ma/</i>	‘five’
	<i>/M’e/</i>	‘breast’
<i>/T ~ D/</i>	<i>/cukuTi/</i>	‘some’
	<i>/chioDe/</i>	‘vice’

2.3 MAJOR ALLOPHONIC DISTRIBUTION

A phonetic description of these vowel phonemes with their allophones are presented below

/i/ is the high front unrounded vowel has two allophones */I/* and */i/*

- [*I*] lower high front unrounded vowel occurs in the final position followed by a lateral consonant

[<i>kI</i>]	<i>/kli/</i>	‘snow’
[<i>phalI</i>]	<i>/phali/</i>	‘foot’
[<i>kyu khũ:li</i>]	<i>/kyu khũ:li/</i>	‘well water’
[<i>ban̥tui golI</i>]	<i>/ban̥tui goli/</i>	‘bullet’

- [*i*] occurs elsewhere initially

<i>/iyo/</i>	‘hand’
--------------	--------

medially	/mih/	‘fire’
	/miɽc/	‘nephew’
	/thihã/	‘sun’
finally	/nagi/	‘dog’
	/krõi/	‘crab’
	/mri/	‘wife’
after doubling	/alli/	‘younger brother’
	/palli/	‘leg’
	/Talilli/	‘lily’

/e/ is the mid high front unrounded vowels. It has two allophones [E] and [e]

[E] mid low front unrounded vowel occurs after lateral consonant.

[lE]	/le/	‘tongue’
[lEi]	/lei/	‘moon’

[e] occurs elsewhere

medially	/mey/	‘tail’
	/kaheba/	‘late’
finally	/aghe/	‘elder brother’
	/kre/	‘back’

/a/ is the low back unrounded vowel, has two allophones [A] and [a]

[A] unrounded higher mid central vowel occurs between the consonants of first syllable

[pAMra]	/paMra/	‘wheel’
[lAba]	/laba/	‘do’
[prAba]	/praba/	‘walk’

[a] occurs elsewhere

/bla/	‘mango’
/Thapari/	‘garden’

/o/ is the mid high back rounded vowel. This is not having allophones

/reMyo/	‘long’
/kroba/	‘wean’
/osũ /	‘first’
/choba/	‘fat’

/ u / is the high back rounded vowel. This is not having allophones.

/mhu/	‘sky’
/yum/	‘stone’
/d <u>h</u> uba/	‘lean’
/nuba/	‘tall’
/t <u>h</u> u/	‘friend’

2.4 DESCRIPTION AND DISTRIBUTION OF CONSONANTS

Contrast of consonant phonemes are shown on the basis of opposition for (a) aspiration (b) voicing and (c) voicelessness.

Consonants in Gurung are distributed initially, medially and finally. Aspiration is phonemic with stops, nasals and laterals.

/ p / is the voiceless bilabial stop occurring initially and medially.

initially	/pali/	‘leg’
	/pa/	‘liquor’
	/piu/	‘husband’
medially	/lõpu/	‘ant’
	/liprat/	‘tortoise’
	/Thapari/	‘garden’

/ph/ is aspirated voiceless bilabial stop occurring initially and medially.

initially	/phali/	‘foot’
	/phya	‘feather’
medially	/naphei/	‘ear’

/ b / is the voiced bilabial stop occurring initially and medially.

initially	/bilwat/	‘guava’
	/benDah/	‘brinjal’
medially	/pieba/	‘send’
	/pleba/	‘slip’

/ t / is the voiceless dental stop occurring in all the three places.

initially	/t̪a/	‘horse’
	/t̪ã/	‘loom’
medially	/nat̪o/	‘cock’
	/bilwat̪/	‘guava’

finally	/lipra <u>t</u> /	‘tortoise’
	/suwa <u>t</u> /	‘taste’

/th/ is the aspirated voiceless dental stop occurring initially and medially.

initially	/thimhi/	‘monkey’
	/thu/	‘friend’
	/thuba/	‘spit’
medially	/Tethba/	‘to put’
	/suth <u>e</u> ba/	‘shout’

/d/ is the voiced dental stop occurring initially and medially.

initially	/daur <u>ḍ</u> /	‘fly’
	/deiba/	‘run’
medially	/koh <u>d</u> ar/	‘bamboo’
	/Tal <u>d</u> i/	‘gum’

/dh/ is the aspirated voiced dental stop occurring initially and medially.

initially	/dhal/	‘stone’
	/dhuba/	‘ban’
	/dhĩ/	‘house’
medially	/bha:r bandhiyu mhi/	‘potter’
	/sī <u>d</u> hu/	‘tree’
	/kheba <u>d</u> hĩ/	‘school’

/T/ is the voiceless retroflex stop occurring in all the three places.

initially	/Tal <u>ḍ</u> i/	‘gum’
	/Tah/	‘flower’
medially	/maTi/	‘lip’
finally	/sīkhaT/	‘bed’
	/morT/	‘moustache’
	/koT/	‘hill’

/Th/ is the aspirated voiceless retroflex stop occurring only initially.

initially	/Thikan/	‘smooth’
	/Thĩ/	‘heart’
	/Thonba/	‘stab’

/D/ is the voiced retroflex stop occurring initially and medially.

initially	/Dupdiba/	‘sink’
medially	/benDah/	‘brinjal’
	/narDiba/	‘tired’
	/kla gaDi/	‘bullock cart’

/k/ is the voiceless velar stop occurring initially and medially.

initially	/koe/	‘cloth’
	/ku:/	‘chest’
	/kre/	‘waist’
	/key/	‘work’
medially	/nuku/	‘nose’
	/khebakolamai/	‘student’
	/kikiba/	‘sweat’

/kh/ is the aspirated voiceless velar stop occurring initially and medially.

initially	/kharji/	‘neck’
	/kholo/	‘baby’
	/khabal/	‘whose’
medially	/ekhū/	‘grease’
	/sikhāT/	‘bed’
	/phokhre/	‘hungry’

/g/ is the voiced velar stop occurring initially and medially.

initially	/gyā/	‘road’
	/gi/	‘liver’
medially	/thāga/	‘fish’
	/nagi/	‘dog’

/gh/ is the aspirated voiced velar stop occurring initially and medially.

initially	/ghri/	‘one’
	/ghumḍi/	‘swing’
medially	/hiughin/	‘earth’
	/nagha/	‘morning’

/h/ is voiceless glottal fricative occurring in all the three places.

initially	/hohyai/	‘break’
	/huiba/	‘call’
medially	/Thaha/	‘flower’
	/TahaTaho/	‘vegetable’
finally	/koh/	‘blood’

/c/ is the voiceless palatal stop occurring in all the three places.

initially	/cami/	‘daughter’
	/coba/	‘fat’
medially	/laicam/	‘eclipse’
finally	/ric/	‘niece’
	/miTc/	‘nephew’

/ch/ is the aspirated voiceless palatal stop occurring initially and medially.

initially	/choba/	‘graze’
	/chepiba/	‘money lender’
medially	/pachai kiba/	‘old man’
	/macha:/	‘banana’

/j/ is the voiced palatal stop occurring initially and medially.

initially	/jiu/	‘body’
	/jama/	‘frock’
medially	/caja/	‘salt’
	/kharji/	‘neck’

/jh/ is aspirated voiced palatal stop occurring initially and medially.

initially	/jhaM/	‘creeper’
	/jhya/	‘window’
	/jhaba/	‘answer’

/s/ is the voiceless alveolar fricative occurring initially and medially.

initially	/sīdhu/	‘tree’
	/soba/	‘chilly’

medially	/namsyo/	‘fog’
	/namsio/	‘cloud’
	/yōsī/	‘claw’

/m/ is the bilabial nasal occurring in all the three places.

initially	/mih/	‘fire’
	/mri/	‘wife’
	/ma:la/	‘garland’
medially	/namsio/	‘cloud’
	/came/	‘daughter’
	/jama/	‘frock’
finally	/laicam/	‘eclipse’
	/nam/	‘guts’

/mh/ is the aspirated bilabial nasal occurring initially and medially.

initially	/mhu/	‘sky’
	/mhi/	‘man’
	/mheya/	‘milk’
medially	/thimhi/	‘monkey’
	/hiyubamhi/	‘theft’

/M’/ is the palatal nasal occurring initially and medially.

initially	/M’a/	‘milk’
	/M’iuba/	‘cold’
	/M’e/	‘breast’

/M/ is the velar nasal occurring in all three places.

initially	/Ma/	‘five’
	/Myoi/	‘saw’
	/Mi/	‘we’
	/Myuba/	‘cold’
medially	/aMi/	‘not’
	/reMo/	‘far’
finally	/pluM/	‘wean (a child)’
	/choM/	‘south’

/n/ is the dental nasal occurring in all the three places.

initially	/nisũ/	‘second’
	/namsio/	‘cloud’
	/na/	‘rain’
medially	/ponar/	‘prest’
	/kaina/	‘storm’
finally	/khain/	‘air’
	/Thin/	‘heart’

/l/ is the alveolar lateral occurring in all the three places.

initially	/lai/	‘leaf’
	/lĩba/	‘tasty’
	/lei/	‘moon’
medially	/kli/	‘snow’
	/alli/	‘younger brother’
	/panlo/	‘forest’
finally	/dhal/	‘stone’
	/jhyal/	‘window’

/lh/ is the aspirated alveolar lateral

initially	/lho/	‘pash’
	/lhõba/	‘games’
	/lhochar/	‘festival’

/r/ is alveolar trill

initially	/ri/	‘woman’
	/ric/	‘niece’
	/ra/	‘goat’
medially	/krase/	‘head’
	/krõi/	‘crab’
	/ṭaurõ/	‘fly’
finally	/sar/	‘star’
	/Thãr/	‘mountain’

/w/ is the bilabial semi vowel

initially	/wale/	‘from’
	/wiba/	‘show’
medially	/bilwat/	‘guava’
	/th <u>ew</u> a moTar/	‘bus’

/y/ is the palatal semi vowel

initially	/yosi/	‘claw’
	/yori/	‘finger’
medially	/iyo/	‘hand’
	/piya/	‘wing’

2.5 CLUSTERS

Vowels

Gurung has cluster of vowels like -ai-, -au-, -ia-, -iu-, -ui-, -oe -ao, -ie, -ei, -oi. These clusters of sequences generally occur in the medial and final position.

medially	-ai-	/mais/	‘darkness’
	-au-	/taurõ/	‘fly’
	-ia-	/miamru/	‘blind’
	-iã-	/piãla/	‘bridegroom’
	-iu-	/siur/	‘sea’
	-ui-	/kuisar/	‘wealth’
finally	-ie	/mie/	‘eye’
	-ei	/lei/	‘moon’
	-oi	/krõi/	‘crab’
	-oe	/koe/	‘cloth’

Consonants

A sequence of two identical or non-identical sound is called cluster. Gurung has clusters of two consonants, which occur both in the initial and medial position but the occurrences of three consonant clusters are very limited cluster occur in disyllabic and polysyllabic words.

Initial two consonant clusters

kl-	/kli/	‘snow’
-----	-------	--------

<i>kr-</i>	<i>/krõi/</i>	‘crab’
<i>sy-</i>	<i>/syõ/</i>	‘river’
<i>pr-</i>	<i>/prisyo/</i>	‘bride’
<i>mr-</i>	<i>/mri/</i>	‘wife’
<i>bl-</i>	<i>/bla/</i>	‘mango’
<i>ml-</i>	<i>/mla/</i>	‘paddy’
<i>br-</i>	<i>/bruba/</i>	‘touch’
<i>pl-</i>	<i>/plũ/</i>	‘worm’

Medial two consonant clusters

<i>-ms-</i>	<i>/na:msio/</i>	‘cloud’
<i>-nb-</i>	<i>/dhanbade/</i>	‘Island’
<i>-sy-</i>	<i>/prisyo/</i>	‘bride’
<i>-ll-</i>	<i>/alli/</i>	‘younger brother’
<i>-mr-</i>	<i>/miamru/</i>	‘blind’
<i>-pr-</i>	<i>/liprat̪/</i>	‘tortoise’
<i>-rj-</i>	<i>/kharji/</i>	‘neck’
<i>-nD-</i>	<i>/benDah/</i>	‘brinjal’
<i>-rs-</i>	<i>/korsan/</i>	‘chilly’
<i>-lw-</i>	<i>/bilwat̪i/</i>	‘guava’
<i>-ld-</i>	<i>/Taldi/</i>	‘gum’
<i>-nb-</i>	<i>/kanba/</i>	‘bitter’
<i>-rb-</i>	<i>/charba/</i>	‘bright’
<i>-My-</i>	<i>/piMya/</i>	‘green’
<i>-rg-</i>	<i>/urgya/</i>	‘yellow’
<i>-rt-</i>	<i>/part̪ava/</i>	‘divorce’
<i>-mb-</i>	<i>/romba/</i>	‘swell’
<i>-p̪d-</i>	<i>/Dup̪di/</i>	‘sink’
<i>-mn-</i>	<i>/simnoi/</i>	‘split (wood)’
<i>-r̪d-</i>	<i>/ur̪di/</i>	‘fly’
<i>-rD-</i>	<i>/narDi/</i>	‘tired’
<i>-nl-</i>	<i>/minla/</i>	‘joke’
<i>-nn-</i>	<i>/khannir/</i>	‘where’
<i>-rp-</i>	<i>/tarpan/</i>	‘mirror’

2. 6. SYLLABLE

A word in Gurung consists of one or more syllables upto four syllabic words are realised. The syllable classification of words in Gurung is as follows

Monosyllabic
Disyllabic
Trisyllabic
Tetrasyllabic

Among the above types, disyllabic words have more frequency of occurrence than the other types.

Mono Syllabic Words

CV	<i>sa</i>	‘soil, tooth’
	<i>na</i>	‘rain’
	<i>lho</i>	‘pash’
	<i>mhi</i>	‘person’
CVC	<i>mih</i>	‘fire’
	<i>siM</i>	‘wood’
	<i>ric</i>	‘niece’
	<i>key</i>	‘work’

Disyllabic Words

In disyllabic words, Gurung has the (C) VC- (C) VC structure.

V-CV	<i>a-ghe</i>	‘elder brother’
	<i>a-ma</i>	‘mother’
	<i>i-yo</i>	‘hand’
	<i>o-sũ</i>	‘first’
V-CVC	<i>a-chab</i>	‘bad’
VC-CV	<i>al-li</i>	‘younger brother’
	<i>as-yõ</i>	‘maternal uncle’
CVC-CVC	<i>nam-sio</i>	‘cloud’
	<i>lip-raṭ</i>	‘tortoise’
	<i>ben-Dah</i>	‘brinjal’
CV-CV	<i>Tha-ha</i>	‘flower’
	<i>lĩ-ba</i>	‘tasty’
	<i>pĩ-bi</i>	‘blue’

Trisyllabic Words

CV-C V-CV	<i>cu-ra-Ta</i>	‘smoke’
	<i>li-wa-ri</i>	‘spine’
	<i>ṭha-pa-ri</i>	‘garden’
CV-CVC-CV	<i>yu-kur-na</i>	‘always’
CVC-CVC	<i>bil-waṭ</i>	‘guava’
	<i>mim-rob</i>	‘light’
CVC-CV-CV	<i>ḍhar-ba-ni</i>	‘mirror’

Tetra syllabic Words

CCV-CV-CVC-CVV	<i>khe-ba-kol-mai</i>	‘student’
----------------	-----------------------	-----------

3. MORPHOPHONEMICS

Most of the morphophonemic rules refer to addition of a sound or deletion of a sound. Plural marker is deleted when number is added to the noun.

1. Loss of plural marker

Plural marker /-mai/ > Ø, when it is preceded by numerals.

<i>Mila</i>	<i>mhimai</i>	->	<i>Mila</i>	<i>mhi</i>	'two cows'
two	cow+pl.		two	cow+Ø	

2. Plural marker /-mai/ > /-ye/ when it is preceded by a nasalized vowel.

mai > -ye / nasalization-

<i>kõ</i>	+	<i>mai</i>	>	<i>kõye</i>	'clothes'
<i>mã</i>	+	<i>mai</i>	>	<i>mãye</i>	'kisses'

3. Loss of /i/

The phoneme /i/ is deleted when it is preceded by the nasalized vowel.

<i>dhĩ</i>	+	<i>ir</i>	>	<i>dhĩr</i>	'in house'
house		loc.			

4. Loss second syllable in the first word

<i>tiya</i> + naga	>	<i>tinaga</i>
today+ morning		

<i>pana</i> + naga	>	<i>panaga</i>
tomorrow+ morning		

5. Loss of last -m in a word while adding negative marker a- before the word

a- + cham	>	acha	'do not eat'
a- + yam	>	aya	'do not go'

4. MORPHOLOGY

4.1 NOUN MORPHOLOGY

The following is the details of the Noun Morphology of Gurung language.

4.1.1 WORD FORMATION

A word may consist of one morpheme, that is, base or root. Some words may consist of more than one morpheme in which it is either a base and one or more suffixes or it may be a combination of two /more words, that is, a compound word. Examples of some nominal bases are:

/lho/	‘pash’
/panar/	‘forest’
/siur/	‘sea’
/namsio/	‘cloud’

Word classes in Gurung, which are established on morphological and syntactic criteria are: Noun, Verb, Noun Attributes, Adverbs, Connectors and Particles. Noun and verb may be established purely on morphological criteria while the rest of the word classes such as Attributes, Connectors and Particles etc. are established on syntactic criteria.

Pronoun forms a sub class of nouns because it takes substantives case markers. It may be followed by Substantives and Pronouns behave syntactically as subject, direct object, indirect object etc.

<i>Ma</i>	+	<i>lai</i>
I	+	acc.case mark.

/Malai/ ‘to me’

Adjectives precede the noun they qualify. Numerals precede the noun they qualify.

<i>chyoba</i> small	<i>kolo</i> child	‘the small child’
<i>sōla</i> three	<i>nagi</i> dog	‘three dogs’
<i>Mi</i> two	<i>achyaba</i> adjective	<i>nasa</i> noun
		‘two bad villages’

4.1.2 NOUN

Nouns are those, which are taking case suffixes or number suffixes.

<u>dhĩ</u>	‘house’
<u>dhĩ</u> + <i>mai</i> noun + pl. <i>dhĩmai</i>	‘houses’
<u>dhĩ</u> + <i>ir</i> noun+dat. <u>dhĩr</u>	‘to home’

Number

Gurung language has two numbers that is, singular and plural. Singular denotes one which is unmarked.

/nawar/	‘cat’
/d <u>hĩ</u> /	‘house’
/me/	‘cow’

Plural is marked with *-mai* and *-ye* ‘many’ and *-jaga/-chau* ‘all’. If plural is denoted by numerals it will not take any plural marker.

<u>dhĩ</u> - <i>mai</i>	‘houses’
<i>aba</i> – <i>mai</i>	‘fathers’
<i>nagi</i> – <i>jaga</i>	‘dogs’
<i>kõ</i> - <i>ye</i>	‘clothes’
<i>nabu</i> - <i>chau</i>	‘eggs’
<i>Mala</i> – <i>me</i>	‘two cows’
<i>sõla</i> – <i>nagi</i>	‘three dogs’

Gender

Gurung language is having natural gender. Genders become distinctive by the use of suffixes. For example, for male gender /-*bokya*/, /-dho/, /-darhya/ and for female /-*mama*/, /-*me*/, /-*murli*/ are the suffixes used after the noun .

Masculine

<i>mayum</i>	‘man’
<i>cha</i>	‘son’
<i>ra</i> + <i>bokya</i>	‘he goat’
<i>pho</i> + <u>d</u> arkya	‘male deer’

Feminine

<i>mri</i>	‘wife’
<i>rimai</i>	‘lady’
<i>ra + mama</i>	‘she goat’
<i>pho + murli</i>	‘female deer’
<i>jha + me</i>	‘daughter’

Inanimate nouns are coming under common gender. There is no gender marker. It is semantically predictable.

<i>/dhĩ/</i>	‘house’
<i>/theb/</i>	‘book’
<i>/klanuba/</i>	‘cart’
<i>chal</i> <i>tapar</i>	
her(gen) basket	‘her basket’
<i>chal</i>	<i>mihi</i>
her	eyes
	‘her eyes’
<i>chamai</i>	<i>dhĩ</i>
their	house
	‘their house’

Case

Cases are a category of suffixes which establish syntactic relationship between nouns and verbs. In Gurung, there are six distinctive case suffixes denoting nominative, accusative, dative, genitive, locative and ablative.

Nominative Case

All noun stems whether singular or plural occurring freely without an overt case suffix are said to be nominative. If it is a human –ti is added to the subject.

<i>nagi + mai</i>	<i>chyoam</i>	
Dog + pl.	barks	‘Dogs bark’
<i>ramati</i>	<i>deba</i>	<i>ki</i>
Ram	book	bought
		‘Ram bought book’
<i>kiti</i>	<i>go</i>	<i>kwi pri</i>
you	a song	sing
		‘You sing a song’

The noun ‘nagimai’ has occurred without any case suffix. It functions as the subject or as an agent to the verb ‘chyoam’. It is in the nominative case relation.

Accusative Case

Accusative case suffix denotes the direct object of the verb. It has only one suffix – *lai*.

<i>the+mai</i>	<i>Malai</i>	<i>Moi</i>	
you+pl.	me (acc.)	see	‘You(pl.) see me’

Dative Case

The dative case denotes the recipient of the object of the verb and gives the meaning ‘to’ or ‘for’. The case marker is –*r*.

<i>par + -r</i>	<i>kho</i>	
field + dat.	come	‘Come to field’

Genitive Case

The genitive case denotes possession of whatever the following noun denotes. –*l* is the genitive case marker.

<i>cha-l</i>	<i>tapar</i>	
she+gen.	basket	‘Her basket’

Locative Case

Locative case is formed by the addition of the locative case marker /-ir/ with noun

<i>Mala</i>	<i>chami</i>	<i>Thaphar +ir</i>	<i>mu</i>	‘My daughter is in the garden’
my	daughter	garden + loc.	is	

<i>kiyola</i>	<i>chamai</i>	<i>dh̃r</i>	<i>mu</i>	‘Your sons are in the house’
your	son(pl)	house+loc	is	

Ablative Case

The ablative case denotes the place from which an action starts. The case suffixes are /-wale/ and /-li/

<i>lāpamai</i>	<i>sīdhu –wale</i>	<i>Tie</i>	‘The leaves fall from the tree’
leaves	tree – from	fall down	

<i>Ma</i>	<i>nasai – li</i>	<i>pana</i>	<i>khal tum</i>
I	village from	tomorrow	come+shall
‘I shall come from the village tomorrow’			

4.1.3 PRONOUN

A pronoun is a word, which substitutes the noun and it can take a number marker and case marker like the nouns. But gender marker is not used. Pronoun can be inflected for all persons while a noun is always inflected in the third person.

Gurung has the following pronouns:

- a) Personal pronoun
- b) Demonstrative pronoun
- c) Interrogative pronoun
- d) Reflexive pronoun
- e) Indefinite pronoun

Personal Pronoun

The personal pronouns in Gurung are distinguished for three persons and two numbers. Gender distinction in pronoun is absent.

Person	Singular	Plural
First Person	<i>Ma</i> 'I'	<i>Mi</i> 'we'
Second Person	<i>the</i> 'you'	<i>thema</i> 'you'
	<i>ki</i> 'you(elder)'	<i>kimai</i> 'you(pl)(elder)'
	<i>kyo</i> 'you(hon.)'	<i>kyomai</i> 'you(pl.) (hon.)'
Third Person	<i>cha</i> 'he, she, it'	<i>chamai</i> 'they'

Demonstrative Pronoun

The demonstrative pronominal forms in Gurung are /*chu*/ 'this' and /*cha*/ 'that' indicates proximate and remoteness respectively.

<i>chu</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>ya</i>	
this	cow	is	'This is cow'

<i>cha</i>	<i>Mai</i>	<i>theb</i>	<i>ya</i>	
that	my	book	is	'That is my book'

If the number marker occurs with the demonstrative pronouns, it is added to both the attribute and the noun

<i>thema</i>	<i>chamai</i>	
they (pl)	son + pl	'Their sons'

Interrogative Pronoun

Interrogative pronouns of Gurung are /to/ 'what' /khabai/ 'whose'

<i>ki</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>chaimo</i>		
you	what	eat		'What do you eat'

<i>cha</i>	<i>khabai</i>	<i>toh</i>	<i>ya?</i>	
that	whose	horse	is	'Whose horse is that?'

Reflexive Pronoun

The pronouns are formed by adding '-ti' with the nominal base

<i>chu</i>	<i>Ma+ti</i>	<i>lai</i>	
this	my+self	make+pl.	'I made it myself'

Indefinite Pronoun

Following are the few examples of indefinite pronoun. These pronouns do not refer to any definite person or thing but to person or thing in general.

<i>tã</i>	-	'everyone/everything'
-----------	---	-----------------------

<i>tã</i>	<i>char</i>	<i>yai</i>	
everything	there	go+pas.ten	'Everyone went there'

<i>tã</i>	<i>mro yai</i>	
everything	seen	'Everything see'

<i>toi</i>	-	any/anything
------------	---	--------------

<i>char</i>	<i>toi</i>	<i>mu?</i>	
Is	there	anything?	"Is there anything?"

<i>khabade</i>	-	anybody
----------------	---	---------

<i>chu</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>khabade</i>	<i>laba</i>	<i>khai</i>	
this	work	anybody	do	can	'Anybody could do this work'

4.1.4 ADJECTIVE

An adjective is a word which qualifies a noun and precedes a noun in the construction.

<i>chãba</i>	<i>kolo</i>	
small	child	‘The small child’

<i>targya</i>	<i>to</i>	
white	horse	‘The white horse’

<i>sõla</i>	<i>nagi</i>	
three	dogs	‘Three dogs’

A numeral when added in the adjectival phrase it precedes the adjective

<i>Mi</i>	<i>achawa</i>	<i>nasa</i>	
two	bad	village	‘Two bad villages’

<i>Mi</i>	<i>chawa</i>	<i>nasa</i>	
two	good	village	‘Two good villages’

Further a demonstrative pronoun when added to the qualified adjectival construction, it occurs in the beginning of the construction.

<i>chumayum</i>	<i>kolomai</i>	<i>Mi</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>sõ</i>	
these	child+pl	two	or	three	
‘These two or three children’					

Classification of Adjective

There are two types of adjectives - qualitative and quantitative

Qualitative

Adjectives which attribute quality to the noun are called qualitative adjective.

<i>chawa</i>	<i>mayã+mai</i>	
good	boy+pl	‘The good boys’

<i>piMya</i>	<i>lapo</i>	
green	leaf	‘Green leaf’

Quantitative

The adjectives which refer to the quantity of the nouns to which they are attributed, are quantitative adjectives.

<i>toi</i>	<i>mui</i>	
some	money	‘Some money’

<i>Mi</i>	<i>achab</i>	<i>nasa</i>	
two	bad	village	‘Two bad villages’

4.1.5 NUMERAL

Numerals are a sub class of nouns. Numerals are of two types namely cardinal numerals and ordinal numerals

Cardinal Numbers

/ghri/	‘one’
/Mi/	‘two’
/sõ/	‘three’
/pli/	‘four’
/Ma/	‘five’
/Tu/	‘six’
/gi/	‘seven’
/pre/	‘eight’
/ku/	‘nine’
/chiu/	‘ten’

From eleven onwards, the numerals are formed by compounding in which the first number would be the numeral expressing ‘ten’ and the second number would be any one of the cardinal numerals between 1 to 9. The numeral for ten is ‘chiu’. The compound numerals are from eleven to nineteen and these are as follows.

<i>chiu + ghri</i>	=	eleven
10 + 1	=	11
<i>chiu + Mi</i>	=	twelve
10 + 2	=	12
<i>chiu + sõ</i>	=	thirteen
10 + 3	=	13

Higher numerals are counted in tens

<i>pli</i>	+	<i>chiu</i>	=	forty
4		10		40
<i>Tu</i>	+	<i>chiu</i>	=	sixty
6		10		60
<i>gi</i>	+	<i>chiu</i>	=	seventy
7		10		70

Ordinal Numbers

Ordinal numbers are formed by the addition of the ordinal marker to the base of the cardinal numerals, ordinal marker is /-sũ/

/ghrisũ/	‘first’
----------	---------

/nhi <u>sũ</u> /	‘second’
/sõ <u>sũ</u> /	‘third’

Generally, the ordinal marker is the same for both animate and inanimate nouns. Though the numerals are available in their language, the Hindi numerals are used frequently by the Gurung speakers.

4.1.6 CLASSIFIER

In Gurung /-la/ is the classifier. It occurs with the cardinal numerals. The /-la/ functions as the indefinite article also.

<i>Mila</i> two +classifier	<i>nagi</i> dog	‘Two dogs’
<i>sõla</i> three+classifier	<i>nagi</i> dog	‘Three dogs’

4.2. VERB MORPHOLOGY

Verb is a class of words inflected for the categories of tense, aspect and / or mood. Verb stems may either be simple or complex.

A simple verb stem consists of only a root. A complex stem has a root followed by one or more derivational formative elements.

<i>kheba</i>	‘read’	<i>khe+ -ba</i>	‘to read’/reading
<i>Tĩba</i>	‘hit’	<i>Tĩ + -ba</i>	‘to hit’/ hitting
<i>theba</i>	‘keep’	<i>the + -ba</i>	‘to keep’/ keeping
<i>swieba</i>	‘swell’	<i>swie+ -ba</i>	‘to smell’/ smelling

Herein the simple stems /*khe*/ , /*Tĩ*/ , /*the*/, /*tera*to/ transforms to complex stems with addition of /-ba/ ‘to’

4.2.1 VERB

A verb in Gurung may be defined as a word that can be followed by tense – aspect-mood markers. The conjugation of verbs is relatively simple. There is no change for person or number. Verb has affirmative and negative forms, and also verb includes finite and non-finite forms.

4.2.1.1. FINITE VERB

Gurung has three moods- Indicative, Imperative and Suppositional. Finite forms are marked for tense – aspect – person which help formation of independent sentences.

Tense

Three tenses are available i.e., Present, Past and Future

Present Tense

The base alone is used as the present tense. In the following sentences the substantive verb is /-ya/. The suffix /-mu/, /-mo/ and /-m/ is the present habitual marker.

<i>chu</i> this	<i>nagi</i> dog	<i>ya</i> is	'This is a dog'
<i>Ma</i> I	<i>kaĩ</i> rice	<i>cha+mu</i> eat+pre.ten	'I eat rice'
<i>kolo</i> child	<i>kilai</i> you	<i>Myom</i> see	'The child sees you'
<i>cha ranas</i> he market	<i>ya+mo</i> go+pre.ten.		'He goes to Market'

Past tense

In the following sentences the past tense is indicated by the inflections of the substantive verb /-i/ and /-õ/

<i>cha</i> he	<i>kandhar</i> the hill+up	<i>ya+i</i> go+ past	'He went up the hill'
<i>ki</i> you	<i>khanirai</i> nowhere	<i>ayõ</i> find+past	'You found nowhere'

Future tense

In the following sentences suffixes of the future tense are /-tum/ and /-syo/. But generally the Gurungs do not make distinction between present tense and future tense in the formation. Hence Gurung language may be treated as having two tier tense system that is, past and non- past.

<i>ki:</i> you(sg.)	<i>yal</i> go	<i>tum</i> shall	'You(sg) shall go'
<i>cha khoibo</i> he mandir+to	<i>ya+syo</i> go+future.		'He will go to temple'
<i>Mi</i> we	<i>pana</i> tomorrow	<i>yal tum</i> go shall	'We shall go tomorrow'

Aspect

The category of aspect has three- way opposition depending on the state of action in terms of its occurrence over a period of time.

Habitual Aspect

The habitual aspect is marked by /-m/ suffixed to the verb base.

<i>niu</i>	<i>orthi-m</i>	
bird	fly	‘The birds fly’
<i>meṭi</i>	<i>Mai pi-m</i>	
cows	milk give	‘The cows give milk’

Durative or Progressive Aspect

It indicates action, which is limited in duration and is in progress and is marked by -mo for present progressive. /-mu /, /-Dila/ for the past progressive .

<i>me</i>	<i>rerina mu</i>	
cow	graze+progress	‘The cow is grazing’
<i>kolo</i>	<i>chara kuina mo</i>	
child	these sit progress	‘The child is sitting there’
<i>Mi</i>	<i>Tapri pri mu</i>	
we	note write+progress	‘We are writing a note’
<i>Ma</i>	<i>tã dinar roya mu</i>	
I	all the days sleep +past prog.	‘I was sleeping all the days’
<i>ki</i>	<i>khe -Dila-mula</i>	
you	read +past prog.	‘You(sg) were reading’

Mood

Mood expresses the attitude of the speaker in terms of the obligatory, necessity, desirability etc. The Modals generally co-occur with the tense auxiliary.

Mood of Obligation

Mood of obligation is expressed by the auxiliary /-tũm/. It follows the verb base in the construction.

<i>kiṭi</i>	<i>chu</i>	<i>bil</i>	<i>tũm</i>	
you	this	say	should	‘You should say this’

<i>Ma</i>	<i>khal</i>	<i>tum</i>	
I	come	+ should	‘I should come’

Necessity / Desiderative Mood

Necessity /Desiderative marker is /-mu/ which follows the verb modal base.

<i>Ma</i>	<i>toi</i>	<i>mui</i>	<i>maimu</i>	
I	some	money	want	‘I want some money’

<i>Ma</i>	<i>khaṭa</i>	<i>maimu</i>	
I	come+to	want	‘I want to come’

Dubitative Mood

It expresses doubt or uncertainty on the part of the speaker and is marked by the use of /-kham/

<i>chamaiti</i>	<i>Muil kham</i>	
they	ask+mood	‘They may ask’

<i>chu</i>	<i>tal</i>	<i>kham</i>	
It	happen + mood		‘It may happen’

Imperative Mood

The mood expresses command of the speaker in the imperative mood.

<i>Mai</i>	<i>dhĩ+ir</i>	<i>yath</i>	
my	house+to	go	‘Go to my house’

<i>Mai</i>	<i>theba</i>	<i>churi</i>	<i>bouth</i>	
my	book	here	bring	‘Bring my book here’

<i>yumar</i>	<i>phirvaith</i>	
stone	on step	‘Step on the stone’

Permissive Mood

The mood of the speaker expressing permission or wish is permissive mood.

<i>chamai</i>	<i>taM</i>	<i>khal+pin</i>	
them	all	come + per.mood	‘Let them all come’

Indicative Mood

The sentences, which express statements, have the indicative mood. It is unmarked.

cha Mai am ya
she my mother is 'She is my mother'

Ma nasar Tim
I village+in live 'I live in a village'

Interrogative Mood

The sentences expressing question are the interrogative mood.

kiti chu lal kham
you it can do 'Can you do it'

chamai dhĩr mu
they home+at are 'Are they at home'

Conditional Mood

Conditional mood is expressed by prefixing / *yadhi* /

yadhi ki bilan khaiye Mi chu chanj lam
if you in time come we examine this
'If you come in item we will examine this'

4.2.1.2 CAUSATIVE VERB

When the agent performs an action through another agent the verb is causative one. The second agent is realized as the object. Adding /-i/ to the intransitive or the transitive verb forms the causative verb.

chati Malai khabalai mui pin bi mu
she someone me rupees give make + caus.
'She is making someone to give money'

chamai toh dheiba bandie 'Their horse is made to run'
their horse run +to is made

Ma thalai dheiba bandie 'I am making the horse run'
I horse+pl run + to is making

4.2.1.3 NEGATIVE VERB

The form *a-* is prefixed to the verb which indicates negation conveying the meaning of ‘no’ / ‘not’. It is inflected for all persons and Negation is also expressed by the use of word /*aMi*/

<i>charkholi</i> loudly	<i>a-bido</i> negation+ <i>speak</i>	‘Don’t to speak loudly’
<i>Ma keylala</i> I work+to	<i>a-tu</i> negation+have	‘I do not have to work’
<i>Ma tiMi</i> I today	<i>a-khã</i> negation +coming	‘I am not coming today’
<i>cha aMi de chu</i> that not but this		‘Not that one but this’
<i>chu chabasai aMi</i> this eatable negation		‘This is not eatable’

4.2.1.4. Auxiliary Verb

The auxiliary verbs in Gurung are used in combination with other verbs and in the expression of state and the time of action the verbs.

<i>chari sōnla nagi ya</i> these three dog are	‘There are three dogs’
<i>cha yal tum</i> she go will	‘She will go’
<i>chaṭi niu seail kham</i> he bird kill may	‘He may kill the bird’

4.2.1.5. Compound Verb

The compound verbs include the first element is the nominal base and the second element is the verb base.

<i>sugar laba</i>	‘clean’
<i>ponba neba</i>	‘quarrel’
<i>theba pōba</i>	‘shout’

4.2.2 ADVERB

Adverbs are the classes of words, which are used to modify the meaning of the verb. These occur before the verbs and indeclinable. Semantically, Adverbs are categorized as Adverb of Place, Adverb of Time and Adverb of Manner.

Adverb of Place

<i>churi</i>	‘here’
<i>chari</i>	‘there’
<i>khanir</i>	‘where’
<i>mai</i>	‘below’
<i>chuli</i>	‘after’

Adverb of Time

<i>khoyo</i>	‘when’
<i>tiyã</i>	‘today’
<i>pana</i>	‘tomorrow’
<i>tel</i>	‘yesterday’
<i>maisar</i>	‘evening’
<i>khau</i>	‘who’

Adverb of Manner

<i>alohbaṭi</i>	‘helplessly’
<i>toyoli</i>	‘bravely’
<i>saintosi</i>	‘happily’

4.2.3. NON-FINITE VERBS

The nonfinite verbs in Gurung comprises of infinitive, verbal noun, gerund and participle.

Infinitive

The infinitive is expressed by adding ‘-ba’ suffix to the root.

<i>tĩ</i>	+	<i>ba</i>	=	to fall
<i>kuprat</i>	+	<i>ba</i>	=	to float
<i>plica</i>	+	<i>ba</i>	=	to flow
<i>rosa</i>	+	<i>ba</i>	=	to lean
<i>khlo</i>	+	<i>ba</i>	=	to play
<i>yaṭ</i>	+	<i>ba</i>	=	to shut
<i>tu</i>	+	<i>ba</i>	=	to spit

Verbal Noun

Adding the suffix /-ba/ to the root base, forms a verbal noun

<i>sai-ba</i>	‘dancing’
<i>cho-ba</i>	‘grazing’

4.2.4. CLITICS

Clitics are the bound morphemes, which do not take suffixes for tenses or cases, but are capable of taking another clitic. The clitics are of two kinds that is, free clitics and bound clitics. Free clitics are independent of context in their occurrences whereas bound clitics are context specific that is, these occur only with the demonstrative pronouns.

<i>chu</i>	‘this’
<i>cha</i>	‘that’
<i>chumai</i>	‘these’
<i>chamai</i>	‘those’

Here /u/ is the clitics which indicates proximate and /a/ represents the remote demonstratives.

4.2.5 PARTICLES

Particles have a functional meaning and these modify the nouns or the verbs. The particles may be defined as words or morphemes capable of occurring independently. Particles may be broadly classified into Interrogative Particles, Negative Particles, Affirmative Particles and the particles of particularization. Interrogative particles and negative particles have been dealt in the earlier sections. Both have functional meanings

Affirmative Particle is *ã* ‘yes’

ã *cha* *Mai* *chami* *ya* ‘Yes, she is my daughter’
yes, she my daughter is

Particles of Particularization

The substantive verbs *mo*, *mu* and *ya* are the particles specifying particularizations.

chu *nagi* *ya*
this dog is ‘This is a dog’

churi *Mi* *nawar* *mo*
here two cat are ‘Here are two cats’

churi *nawar* *mu*
here cat is ‘Here is a cat’

Voice

In the passive construction of Gurung, the suffix */-mu/* is added to the verb base

Active voice: *cha dewa khem*
 he book read ‘He reads a book’

Passive: *cu dewa chaṭi kheina+mu*
 a book he read + passive ‘A book is read by him’

5. SYNTAX

Gurung is a subject – object – verb language. It consists of noun phrase and verb phrase. Noun phrase functions as the subject. There can be no sentence without a predicate. Sometimes predicate itself may stand for a sentence. Sentences can be classified into different types according to their function and structure.

There are different types of sentences according to the functions

Declarative
Interrogative
Imperative
Negative
Causative
Co-ordination

5.1 DESCRIPTION OF TYPES OF SENTENCES

There are six types of Sentences realised in Gurung. They are the following

Declarative Sentences

It is a simple sentence, which has one subject and one predicate.

nagi+mai chyoam
dog + pl bark 'Dogs bark'

chumai Mai dhĩ+mai ya
these my house+pl are 'These are my houses'

Interrogative Sentences

In Gurung language, there are two types of interrogative sentences. One is yes/no questions and 'wh' type question sentence. Examples are given below:

Non-Wh Question Type

This type of interrogative sentence is indicated by changing the intonation of the sentence

ca kila chami wa?
she your daughter 'Is she your daughter?'

kila dhĩe a+ rei wa?
you house not get+pl. 'Have you got no house?'

Wh Question Type

This type of sentence is formed by addition of the interrogative particles in the sentence. It generally precedes the verb.

kila kolo mai khanir mu
your child+pl where are 'Where are your children?'

ki khanir Tim
you where live 'Where do you live?'

ki to lam
you what do 'What do you do?'

Imperative Sentence

Imperative sentence involves only the second person where the subject or the doer can occur optionally. The verb alone may indicate the imperative mood.

Mai klanu+r yath
my cart+to to go 'Go to my cart'

chu kath
it hold 'Hold it'

anuwath chu
break it 'Break it'

Negative Sentence

Gurung verbs being added with the negative marker /a-/ help formation of the negative sentences.

chaṭi lal a-kha
he it not – do 'He can not do it'

charkholi a-pon
loudly not + speak 'Do not speak loudly'

chaṭi kye alal atu
he work not +shall do 'He should not do the work'

Causative Sentences

Action pertaining to the subject and the indirect object is expressed through the causative sentences. The causative verb in their sentence constitutes the verb phrase.

Ma kilai khabaiṭi mui pin ki beinamu
 I someone money give you making
 ‘I am making someone give you money’

chemaiṭi ton dheiba bandi:
 their horse run +lo is made
 ‘Their horse is made to run’

Co-ordination Sentences

Co-ordination is a symmetrical relationship between the clauses and is independent one in meaning. The co-ordinating connectives are /ni/ ‘and’ and /i/ ‘or’ for conjunction and disjunction respectively. These bring about a co-ordinating relationship among two or more noun phrases or two or more independent clauses.

Mai agĩmai ni aghainmai dhĩ+r mu
 my brothers and sisters house-in are
 ‘My brothers and sisters are in the house’

churi ghri nawar ni nagi mu
 here one cat and dog are
 ‘Here is a cat and a dog’

char kheba kolomai Mi yai sō dhĩr yam
 there school boys two or three home + to go
 ‘These two or three boys go home’

5.2 DESCRIPTION OF PATTERN OF SENTENCES

In Gurung, the sentences are classified into the following groups according to their respective patterns.

Simple Sentence
 Complex Sentence and
 Compound Sentence

Simple Sentence

A simple sentence has only one subject and a predicate. In Gurung language sentences are of subject – object - verb pattern.

chu nagi ya
 this dog is ‘This is a dog’

cha khebadhĩr yam
 he school + to goes ‘He goes to school’

kolo chal Myom
child him see

‘Child sees him’

Complex Sentence

Complex sentence consists of a simple sentence which constitutes the principle or the main clause of the sentence and one or more subordinate clauses.

cha roynamu khoyã Ma chalai Myot yai
he sleep+p.cont when I him see + to go+ pas.ten
‘He was sleeping when I went to see him’

cha satyai osũ Ma kiyolo phrem
he might have gone before I them reach
‘He might have gone before I reach them’

Compound Sentence

Two or more simple sentences constitute a compound sentence. Each part of a compound sentence contains a subject and a predicate and thus constituting a separate clause. The two simple sentences in a compound sentence may be juxtaposed. In Gurung, these are connected with /ni/ ‘and’ which may remain understood as well. The process of conjoining may take place both in the nominal and verbal phrases or the co-coordinated sentences.

Mai pali pleyerabi ne Ma kuruyau ya
my foot slip + pas.ten and I fall down
‘My foot is slipped and I fell down’

khaby char ya khaby syoka ya
some new are some old are
‘Some are new, some are old’

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- | | | |
|-----------------------------------|------|--|
| Block, Bernard
and G. L Trager | 1942 | <i>Outline of Linguistics Analysis</i> , Linguistic Society of America, Baltimon, Md, |
| Census of India | 1991 | <i>District Census Hand Book, North, South East and West Districts</i> , Series 22, Sikkim Part XII – A & B. Published by Directorate of Census Operations, Sikkim |
| Census of India | 1961 | <i>Languages Tables</i> , Part II –c(ii), India, Vol. 1, The manager of Publications, Civil Lines, Delhi, 1964. |
| Grierson, G. A | 1909 | <i>Linguistics Survey of India, Himalayan Dialect and North Assam group</i> , Vol III, Part I, Motilal Banarashi Das.(reprinted. 1967) |
| Hockett C. F. | 1970 | <i>A course in Modern Linguistics</i> , New Delhi, Oxford & IBH publishing Co. |
| Nigam, R. C. | 1972 | <i>Language Handbook as mother tongues in Census</i> , Census of India – 1971 , Office of the Registrar General, India. |
| Singh, K.S. | 1993 | <i>Sikkim,(People of India Volume XXXIX)</i> Anthropological Survey of India, Calcutta and Sea Gull book,Calcutta |
| Varshney, R. L. | 1995 | <i>An Introductory Text book of Linguistics and Phonetics</i> , students store, Bareilly |
| Yadav Y.P and
W.W.Glover(eds) | 1999 | <i>Topics in Nepalese Linguistics</i> , Royal Nepal Academy, Kathmandu, Nepal |

GURUNG

TEXT

“khaili yom kaga siya-di ghri mlogya phuri”

“how hen crow kill-p.t one black snake”

chonbai s̥idhur-bai Tahl-bai chuwo ghri kaga
sprea banyan tree-of branches-of nest one crow

ni chal phresyo, ghri kaga yom Ti+ la. cha
and his wife one crow hen live+pas.ten the

chuwo+ n pli cuba phũ khabele cha+mae sewa
nest-in fous mall eggs great care+with their parents

la+ba cha s̥idhu -r khun ghri mlogya phuri
guard +pas.ten that tree-in hallow-of. one black snake

khabele. Kaga+mae bele Miba yukurna
greatly crow+pl. greatly fear+pas.ten very time

kaga yom phũ pi-ba. cha phuri chuwo+ r
crow hen eggs lay + pas.ten the snake nest+to

khai ba ni chaba+mula
crawl+pas.ten and eat +pas.ten

“yade mlogya phuri Mai phũ cha chu bela
if black snake my eggs this time eats up

ni Ma chu s̥idhur+bai Ma a-Ti-ba Mi
and I this tree+of anylonger refused +to live we

khantoi chuwo bandi+syo” mrisyolai mayulai bie
somewhere nest build+must mother bird husband said

“Mi syombai churi Tiba+mula. Ma Mai
we a long time here live+pas.ten I my

<i>dhĩ</i> home	<i>sunya</i> desert+to	<i>bandi</i> bear	<i>a+kha</i> not + can	<i>chali</i> and	<i>khanṭa</i> elsewhere
<i>Tiba</i> to live	<i>aya”</i> go	<i>kagati</i> crow	<i>bie.</i> say+pas.ten	<i>chamai</i> they	<i>khoyan ponba+mu,</i> talk +pre.ten. cont
<i>chade</i> while	<i>ghri</i> a	<i>theba+ponba+mu</i> hiss+pr.cont.	<i>key</i> sound	<i>thie</i> just	
<i>Thikan</i> hear+pas.ten	<i>chamai</i> them	<i>Mai.</i> below	<i>chamai</i> they	<i>rai</i> know+p.t	<i>to kye ja</i> what sound meant
<i>chamai</i> they	<i>alohbati</i> helplessly	<i>kuba</i> sit+pas.ten	<i>chamai</i> their	<i>chwo+r phũ</i> nest+ in egg	<i>thin</i> protect
<i>kosis laba.</i> try+p.cont.	<i>chu</i> the	<i>mlogya phuri</i> black snake	<i>krai</i> creep+pas.ten	<i>Tai</i> higher	<i>ni</i> and
<i>chuwo+n</i> nest +to	<i>cheTo</i> closer	<i>krai.</i> creep+it	<i>chaliso</i> then	<i>ṭebaponba</i> loud sound	<i>ni</i> with
<i>new+mai</i> bird+pl	<i>nepa laba</i> strike+to	<i>khabal</i> hetried	<i>rego+ r</i> terror+in	<i>ordi.</i> flow+p.t	<i>mlogya</i> black
<i>phuri</i> snake	<i>ghri</i> one	<i>se</i> by	<i>ghri</i> one	<i>laidi</i> keep +pas.ten	<i>phũ lohoi</i> eggs swallow+pas.ten
<i>chamai</i> the parents	<i>alouli</i> slowly	<i>chuwo+n</i> nest+to	<i>khai,</i> come+pas.ten	<i>chamai</i> they	<i>chuwo+n</i> nest+in
<i>khoṭṭei</i> empty	<i>yoi.</i> find+would	<i>kagati bei”</i> crow say+pas.ten	<i>Ma</i> I	<i>ghri</i> a	<i>yolṭum</i> worry find
<i>chu</i> their	<i>achyab</i> murderous	<i>phuri+lai</i> snake+accu.	<i>saiba</i> to destroy		
“ <i>ki</i> you	<i>khaili</i> how	<i>nepa</i> ever	<i>chane</i> him	<i>balo nepa? chal</i> fight, his	<i>sun</i> string
<i>achab</i> so deadly	<i>mu”</i> is	<i>chal</i> his	<i>phresyo</i> wife	<i>aṭiṭie</i> despair+in	<i>bei</i> say +pas.ten
“ <i>Mai</i> my	<i>bayan,</i> dear,	<i>ki</i> you	<i>nu aladh</i> not worry	<i>Made</i> I	<i>ghri ṭhun yoi</i> one friend get+pas.ten

khau phuri le batho musaiba lagir kagaṭi bei ni
 who snake enough cunning to destroy crow say+pas.ten and

cha Misyo sīdhu ordi+yai khanir chal thumai
 he another tree+under flow off+pas.ten which his friend

shela ṭi+mula
 jackal live +pas.ten

khaili phuri yukurna
 how snake always

phū chaba+mula selaṭi thei khoya chaṭi bei
 eggs eatup+pas.ten jackal hear+pas.ten when he say+pas.ten

“*Mai thu khaua chyaba ni lu ya yukurna*
 my friend who cruel and greedy he always

achyaba ni balo toṭṭum Ma mihi
 bad and with meet+to I no fear

Mati jalan chalai saiba ghri upai yoi mu
 I already him destroy +to a plan think is

“*aei chu to ja Malai beidh kagaiti*
 oh it what that me say+pas.ten crow

bei, chaliso selaṭi kratharlei khugukhubulai, chal
 say+pas.ten then jackal overheard whispered his

thumailai phurilai saibag+ir to laba
 friend snake destroy+to what do+should

kaga khi chuwo+n li yai ni chal phresyolai chuṭan
 crow his nest+in. back to and his wife plane

bei “chule ghajin key” kagaṭi bei Mi saicheu lalṭum
 tell+pas.ten risky rather crow say +pas.ten we careful have + will

Ma Mai phū thenlaba lagir toi “nikye lal kham kaga
 I my eggs save+to anything do +will crow
yomṭi bei toilli
 mother say + pas.ten bravely

chaliso chamai mrudhin lagir ordi yai mrudhin
 so they kings palace towards flow+pas.ten off the palace

rego arela. chamai mrudhin pai tahpar ir ghri theba.
for no they palace+ in golden+in a big

raha mula khanir mruchahmhi madimula chamai Moi
pond approach+pas.ten where the royal ladies bath their golden

marron, hira ase ne agu ghana rahai chor
chain pearl necklaus and other jewellery pond edge

thei+mula. kaga yom mai ordi, ghri bala
lay +pas.ten crow hen down flow + pas.ten a chain

kie chal shur ni ordi Tonlai khonir
with her beak and flying start+pas.ten where

cha Tiba+mula s̄dhu bade. khoyo mrudhin
she live+pas.ten tree towards when palace

keylabamhiti mroi kaga lilidei maraichura chamai
guard + pl. see+pas.ten crow chased golden chain the

kaga+maili khunir chura Tiwai
crow+pl. hollow-in chain drop+pas.ten in

chu chamaite mroi. ghri keylaba+mai sindhu-r krei chuna
the they see+pas.ten one guards tree+to climb+pas.ten chain

yomu cha chal yo nor jhoi chura yomu cha
get+to he his hand hole in chain get+to he

mroi ghri mlogya phuri preriba+mula chu balo bhobaparei
see+pas.ten a black snake crawl+pas.ten these one hard stick

chai liba sewai ni cha mlogya phuri
his club kill+pas.ten and that black snake

siyai
die+pas.ten

kaga ni kaga yom cha s̄dhu
crow and crow hen that tree in

saitoribi Tie chaliso ni lo chyoba chaja phe
happilylive+pas.ten afterwards and many little baby have+pas.ten

-----X-----

NEWARI

S.GANESH BASKARAN

1. INTRODUCTION

The present study gives out the grammatical sketch of Newari language spoken in Sikkim state based on the data collected at the time of field investigation during November 1999 to January 2000.

1.1 FAMILY AFFILIATION

According to Grierson (1909: Vol. III) Newari Language belongs to the Non-Pronominalized Himalayan group of Tibeto-Burman sub family. As per the subsequent classification by Paul Benedict the Newari (in Sikkim) belongs to the “Bahing-Vayu” branch of Tibeto-Burman sub family and Newari shares similarities to both Bahing and Khambu under the mentioned branch. [Benedict: 1972]

1.2. LOCATION

According to Grierson (1909, p-221) “The Newars were the ruling race in Nepal before invasion of the Gurkhas and still they constitute the largest section of the inhabitants.” The inhabitants of Katmandu are to a great extent Gorkhas. In Patan, Bhatgaon and most of the smaller towns of Nepal the Newars form the bulk of the population. The number of Newars outside the valley is small and most of them returned from Darjeeling and Sikkim.

1.3. SPEAKER’S STRENGTH

So far as Indian Census is concerned the Newari is majorly concentrated in sikkim. According to 1961 Census of India Vol.-I part. II (ii) language Tables p-169 the Newari language speakers are distributed in the following states. Since Newari is returned by less than 10000 speakers it could not qualify to appear in the language list in the last four Censuses from 1971 to 2001.

	Total	Male	Female
India	284	188	96
Bihar	20		20
Maharastra	6	1	5
West Bengal	111	70	41
North East Agency	4	4	
Sikkim	143	113	30

[The bilingualism data is not available in Vol. I part II-c(ii) Language Tables of 1961 Census.]

1.4 SOCIOLINGUISTIC SETTING

Newars are a trading community. From their history and tradition it is believed that the present Newars originated from a number of ethnic groups, namely, the 'Abhiras', the 'Kirates', the 'Lichhawis', the 'Vaishya Thakuris', the 'Karnatakas' etc. The Newars have migrated to Sikkim from eastern part of Nepal. In their original homeland the Newars had six-tiers of occupational groups. But this six-tier group system has been abolished among the Newars after their immigration into Sikkim. And all the Newars call themselves Pradhans only.

The primary occupation of the Newar community is trade along with agriculture. The subsidiary occupations are weaving, carpentry etc. at present.

Though Newar people are having their own language known as Newari but they use Nepali also for the purpose of communication both at home and outside home.

The co-existence of Buddhism and Hinduism forms the base of religion in Newar community and the predominant trait in Newar religion is animism.

At present the Newars are concentrated in all the districts of Sikkim.

The sociolinguistic setting of Newari can be explained on the extent of its use as mother tongue and the extent of use as other tongue in the different levels.

Newari as mother tongue is used in different levels like home, kin and community. The use of mother tongue is related in three ways in descending order of generation, that is, parent ego children in the home and extra kin situation. Thus in the domain of locality the mother tongue is also in use. In the parent-ego-children relationship the parents invariably interact in the mother tongue with the children and also with the aged people. Since the children of these days are exposed to other languages through education most often their speech is mixed with Nepali and with English. The use of mother tongue is more between the aged people and among the middle aged whereas among the young the extent of use of mother tongue is comparatively less. Among the women the use of mother tongue is more in comparison to the men folk.

In the formal domains of Education, Administration, Judiciary and Mass media the role of Newari as mother tongue is evident in the oral communication level. In the domain of the Education in the rural areas the verbal interaction between the teacher and student and among the students in and outside the classroom in Newari only. The Newari people use Prachalipi and Ranjalipi scripts. The Newari language is taught upto VIIth standard in the rural and semi urban areas in Sikkim.

In the Administration although all written correspondences are through Nepali and English. Newari is used as the medium of the verbal interaction between staffs and the public in the rural and urban areas. The state Government imparts training to the officials in Newari language for smooth running of Administration and building up of a cordial relation with the Newari people.

In the level of Judiciary also Newari language is used in informal oral communication in the lower courts during the cross examination of the convicts by the Lawyers and the Judge. The social workers of the registered organisations interact with

both the parties of litigation in the lower courts in Newari and helped them to come to a possible settlement and to convince them.

In the domain of Mass media, Doordarshan and private television channels telecast folk musics and dramas in Newari language.

The Government of Sikkim encourages Newari people to continue their cultural programme in Newari on festive occasions. The local magazines are publishing the poems and stories. The Sikkim Government patronises preparation of dictionary and glossaries in Newari language and extends necessary financial aids to the welfare association of Newari for the purpose.

Thus, it is evident that though the Nepali and Hindi being the super imposed variety; control the formal domains of Newari as a mother tongue. Which also has a very important role in the sociolinguistic scenario of Sikkim state as a whole.

1.4. REVIEW OF EARLIER LITERATURE

According to LSI Vol. III page No: 214-221 the Newari language was used for literary purposes at early period. The oldest Newari manuscript as yet known was in the 14th century, but our knowledge about Newari literature is very limited. Grierson reports that the script used for Newari is an Indian one (Devnagari). It has been developed from the old Brahui alphabet. The standard words and phrases have been received from Nepal. The Pronunciation, Article, Noun, Gender, Number, Case, Post position, Adjectives, Numerals, Pronouns, Verbs, Verb substantives, Tense, Verbal Noun, Passive voice, Causative, Negative and order of words have been discussed.

The book “Topics in Nepalese Linguistics “ edited by Yogendra P.Yadava and Warren W. Glower, Royal Nepal Academy, Kathmandu, Nepal in 1999, includes two research papers “ On the Senses of the Newar conjunctive participle /-a/ “ written by E. Austin Hale and Kedar P Shrestha in pp 297-336 and the other is “Verb Agreement in Classical Newar and Modern Newar Dialects” written by Tej R. Kansakar in p. 421- 443.

2. PHONOLOGY

2.1 PHONEMIC INVENTORY

There are 5 vowels and 33 consonants identified as phonemes in Newari Language.

2.1.1 THE SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

Vowels

	Front	Low
High	<i>i</i>	<i>u</i>
Mid	<i>e</i>	<i>o</i>
Low	<i>a*</i>	

***The italicised /a/ actually represents the low front unrounded vowel /a/**

Consonants

	Bilabial vl. vd.	Labio dental vl. vd.	Alveolar vl. vd.	Retroflex vl. vd.	Palatal vl. vd.	Velar vl. vd.	Glottal vl. vd.
Stops	<i>p b</i>		<i>t d</i>	<i>T D</i>	<i>c j</i>	<i>k g</i>	<i>ʔ</i>
Aspirants	<i>ph bh</i>		<i>th dh</i>	<i>Th Dh</i>	<i>ch</i>	<i>kh gh</i>	
Fricatives		<i>f</i>	<i>s z</i>		<i>S'</i>		<i>h</i>
Nasals	<i>m</i>		<i>n</i>			<i>M</i>	
Laterals			<i>l</i>				
Trill/Flap			<i>r</i>	<i>R</i>			
Semi vowel	<i>w</i>				<i>y</i>		

Contrasting Pairs (vowel)

<i>/i~e/</i>	<i>imúca</i>	‘ant’
	<i>elá</i>	‘liquor’
<i>/i~u/</i>	<i>píra</i>	‘setting board’
	<i>pùsa</i>	‘lid’

/ o ~ a /	<i>kót</i>	‘coat’
	<i>hár</i>	‘necklace’
/ u ~ a /	<i>kùsa</i>	‘umbrella’
	<i>sǎnu</i>	‘box’
/ o ~ u /	<i>posú</i>	‘animal’
	<i>púsa</i>	‘lid’

Contrasting Pairs (Consonants)

/ p ~ b /	<i>pã</i>	‘guests’
	<i>bé</i>	‘ground’
/ p ~ f /	<i>pása</i>	‘friend’
	<i>féy</i>	‘air’
/ t ~ d /	<i>tál</i>	‘lake’
	<i>de</i>	‘heat’
/ T ~ D /	<i>Ta</i>	‘lock’
	<i>Dõ</i>	‘bull’
/ c ~ j /	<i>cakhũ</i>	‘bird’
	<i>já ra</i>	‘diahoria’
/ k ~ g /	<i>kála</i>	‘wife’
	<i>galá</i>	‘goitre’
/ ʔ ~ k /	<i>ʔá</i>	‘mango’
	<i>kã</i>	‘blind’
/ ph ~ bh /	<i>phí</i>	‘sand’
	<i>bhuRá</i>	‘old man’
/ th ~ dh /	<i>thà la</i>	‘utensils’

	<i>dhố</i>	‘jackal’
/ Th~ Dh /	<i>ThuTi</i> <i>ra Dhi</i>	‘stair case’ ‘carpet’
/ c~ ch /	<i>cucũM</i> <i>cha kũ</i>	‘flour’ ‘sparrow’
/ kh ~gh /	<i>khũ sĩ</i> <i>ghá</i>	‘brook’ ‘a kind of utensils used for keeping water’
/ s~ z /	<i>mosẽm</i> <i>mizã</i>	‘climate’ ‘male’
/s ~ S’/	<i>sutha</i> <i>S’ya</i>	‘down’ ‘pain’
/ k~ h /	<i>kã</i> <i>há</i>	‘blind’ ‘steam’
/ m~ n /	<i>mi</i> <i>ni</i>	‘man’ ‘two’
/m ~ M/	<i>ima</i> <i>kuMa</i>	‘eagle’ ‘chimney’
/ l ~r/	<i>lhõ</i> <i>ri kápi</i>	‘stone’ ‘plate’
/ D~R /	<i>káiDi</i> <i>páR da</i>	‘prisoner’ ‘curtain’
/ w~ y /	<i>wãh</i> <i>yahma</i>	‘teeth’ ‘dear’

2.1.2 SUPRASEGMENTAL PHONEMES

In Newari, there are two supra segmental features identified such as Tone and Nasalization.

Tone

Meaning distinction can be made by distinguishing the tone in a syllable. Generally the tone is marked on the vowel of the syllable. In Newari, there are three different Tones identified that is, rising, falling and level. Tone is phonemic in Newari.

<i>wa</i>	‘rain’
<i>wá</i>	‘grains’
<i>wà</i>	‘teeth’
<i>sì</i>	‘louse’
<i>sí</i>	‘fruit’
<i>si</i>	‘wood’
<i>nou</i>	‘star’
<i>nòu</i>	‘ash’
<i>nóu</i>	‘who cuts the nails’

Nasalization

Nasalization is phonemic in Newari. The vowels get colour of the nasal is called nasalization. Nasalized vowels are not identified in the initial position in Newari language.

/ i /	<i>sĩ</i>	‘wood’
	<i>búyĩ cha</i>	‘grass hopper’
/ e /	<i>supě</i>	‘cloud’
	<i>děmĩ</i>	‘snail’
/ a /	<i>pã</i>	‘relatives’
	<i>naikya</i>	‘coconut’
/ o /	<i>lõ</i>	‘cloth’
	<i>nhépõ sya</i>	‘ear ache’
/ u /	<i>kyũ</i>	‘darkness’
	<i>gũfa</i>	‘jungle pig’

2.2 PHONEMIC DESCRIPTION AND DISTRIBUTION

The Newari phonemes are described as per the manner and the point of articulation along with its distribution.

Vowels

/i/ high front unrounded short vowel occurs in all three positions

<i>imúca</i>	‘ant’
<i>phij</i>	‘foam’
<i>mi</i>	‘man’

/e/ mid high front unrounded short vowel occurs in all three positions

<i>elá</i>	‘liquor’
<i>chèMu</i>	‘leather’
<i>bhóye</i>	‘fist’

/a/ low front unrounded short vowel occurs in all three positions

<i>ajá</i>	‘grand father’
<i>pása</i>	‘friend’
<i>mísa</i>	‘female’

/o/ mid high back rounded short vowel occurs in all three positions

<i>onénu</i>	‘let’s go’
<i>poTTu</i>	‘parrot’
<i>mĩcó</i>	‘flame’

/u/ high back rounded short vowel occurs in the medial as final positions.

<i>kùsa</i>	‘umbrella’
<i>sanú</i>	‘box’

Consonants

/p/ voiceless bilabial stop occurs in the initial and the medial positions.

<i>pij</i>	‘foam’
<i>supé</i>	‘cloud’

/b/ voiced bilabial stop occurs in the initial and the medial positions.

<i>bě</i>	‘ground’
<i>labsa</i>	‘lightening’

/t/ voiceless alveolar stop occurs in all three positions.

<i>timí la</i>	‘moon’
<i>ta tá</i>	‘elder sister’
<i>hát pat</i>	‘rape’

/d/ voiced alveolar stop occurs in the initial and the medial positions.

<i>dami</i>	‘earth worm’
<i>baR dáli</i>	‘verandah’

/T/ voiceless Retroflex stop occurs in all three positions.

<i>Tu Tĩ</i>	‘leg’
<i>kwãTi</i>	‘pulses soup’
<i>biskúT</i>	‘biscuit’

/D/ voiced Retroflex stop occurs in all three positions.

<i>Dõ</i>	‘bull’
<i>TaDika</i>	‘tall’
<i>gamanD</i>	‘pride’

/c/ voiceless palatal stop occurs in the initial and the medial positions.

<i>cakũca</i>	‘bird’
<i>kíca</i>	‘dog’

/j/ voiced palatal stop occurs in the initial and the medial positions.

<i>jáki</i>	‘rice’
<i>kharbúja</i>	‘water melon’

/k/ voiceless velar stop occurs in all three positions.

<i>kipálũ</i>	‘shade’
---------------	---------

<i>makáh</i>	‘monkey’
<i>maník</i>	‘ruby’

/g/ voiced velar stop occurs in all three positions.

<i>gòMa</i>	‘cock’
<i>bonégu</i>	‘reading’
<i>jàg</i>	‘foundation’

/ʔ/ voiced glottal stop occurs in the initial position

<i>ʔ í</i>	‘saliva’
<i>ʔ á</i>	‘mango’

/ph/ aspirated voiceless bilabial stop occurs in the initial positions.

<i>phí</i>	‘sand’
------------	--------

/bh/ aspirated voiced bilabial stop occurs in the initial and the medial positions.

<i>bhá lu</i>	‘bear’
<i>níbhãh</i>	‘sunshine’

/th/ aspirated voiceless alveolar stop occurs in the initial and the medial positions.

<i>thố</i>	‘rice bear’
<i>suthá</i>	‘dawn’

/dh/ aspirated voiced alveolar stop occurs in the initial and the medial positions

<i>dhyóh</i>	‘god’
<i>bidhàwa</i>	‘widower’

/Th/ aspirated voiceless retroflex stop occurs in the initial and the medial positions

<i>Thukã’co</i>	‘mustard’
-----------------	-----------

khàThi ‘stick’

/Dh/ aspirated voiced retroflex stop occurs in the initial and the medial positions

Dhẽ ‘bed bug’
raDhi ‘carpet’

/ch/ aspirated voiceless palatal stop occurs in the initial and the medial positions

chakũca ‘sparrow’
manchá ‘chin’

/kh/ aspirated voiceless velar stop occurs in the initial and the medial positions

khwẽ ‘deaf mute’
bakhúnca ‘pigeon’

/gh/ aspirated voiced velar stop occurs in the initial position

ghú ‘mountain’
ghã ‘grass’

/f/ voiceless labiodental fricative occurs in the initial and the medial positions

féy ‘air’
gwáfey ‘cyclone’

/s/ voiceless alveolar fricative occurs in the initial and the medial positions

suthá ‘down’
misã ‘female’

/z/ voiced alveolar fricative occurs in the medial position

kazú ‘cashew nut’

/S'/ voiceless palatal fricative occurs in the initial and the medial positions.

S'ya ‘pain’
jyóS'i ‘astrologer’

/h/ voiceless glottal fricative occurs in all three positions.

halũ ‘turmeric powder’

<i>mahúte</i>	‘elephant driver’
<i>tupáh</i>	‘cannon’

/m/ bilabial nasal occurs in the initial and the medial positions.

<i>micó</i>	‘flame’
<i>taríma</i>	‘fathers’ brothers wife’

/n/ alveolar nasal occurs in all three positions.

<i>nau</i>	‘ashes’
<i>gǎnki</i>	‘eclipse’
<i>sabún</i>	‘soap’

/M/ velar nasal occurs in the medial and the final positions.

<i>khuMi</i>	‘lame’
<i>kuM</i>	‘wax candle’

/l/ alveolar lateral occurs in all three positions.

<i>lõ´</i>	‘road’
<i>palpasa</i>	‘lighterning’
<i>pal</i>	‘tent’

/r/ alveolar trill occurs in all three positions.

<i>ráDhi</i>	‘carpet’
<i>sèrgah</i>	‘sky’
<i>swor</i>	‘fever’

/R/ retroflex flap occurs in the medial positions.

<i>paRda ´</i>	‘screen’
----------------	----------

/w/ bilabial semivowel occurs in the initial and the medial positions.

<i>wa</i>	‘paddy’
<i>kwáfeye</i>	‘summer loo wind’

/y/ palatal semivowel occurs in all three positions.

<i>yakó sã</i>	‘hair in arm pit’
<i>ke yégu</i>	‘pea’
<i>mey</i>	‘tongue’

2.3 MAJOR ALLOPHONIC DISTRIBUTION

The occurrence of vowel phonemes are generally conditioned and get colour of the following and preceding phonemes in Newari. There is no exception for consonants also but it is very less number so far the allophone of consonant is concerned.

Vowels

/ i/ high front unrounded vowel has two allophones [I] and [i]

[I] lower high front unrounded short vowel occurs between consonants in the first syllable.

[pɪ̯ja] /pɪ̯ja/ ‘foam’

[mɪ̯zɑ́] /mɪ̯zɑ́/ ‘male’

[i] high front unrounded vowel occurs else where.

/ e/ mid high front unrounded short vowel has allophones [E], [A] and [e]

[E] mid low front unrounded short vowel occurs after the aspirated consonants

[khE] /khe/ ‘son’

[ch E] /ché/ ‘grand daughter’

[mhE] /mhé/ ‘garland’

[A] mid central unrounded short vowel occurs after fricative sounds

[fʌ̯ye] /foye/ ‘air’

[sʌ̯rgah] /sèrgah/ ‘sky’

[e] mid high front unrounded vowel occurs elsewhere

/ a/ low front unrounded short vowel has two allophones [a] and [a]

[a] low back unrounded short vowel occurs between consonants

[jeTab] /jeTàb/ 'father's brother'

[cakhú] /cakhú/ 'sparrow'

[a] low front short vowel occurs elsewhere

/o/ mid high back rounded short vowel has two allophones [O] and [o]

[O] mid low back rounded short vowel occurs after the bilabial and nasal consonants in the first syllable

[pO su] /pòsu/ 'animal'

[mOlézu] /molézu/ 'mothers' brothers' wife'

[o] mid high back rounded short vowel occurs elsewhere.

/u/ high back rounded short vowel has two allophones [U] and [u]

[U] lower high back rounded short vowel occurs between consonants.

[lU ti] /lùti/ 'ear lobe'

[sUtha] /suthá/ 'dawn'

[u] low back rounded short vowel occurs elsewhere.

Consonants

/n/ The alveolar nasal has two allophones [M'] and [n]

[M'] palatal nasal occurs before the palatal stop consonant.

[baM'ja] /bànjah/ 'hawker'

[gaM'ji] /gànji/ 'banyan'

[n] the alveolar nasal occurs elsewhere.

2.4 CLUSTERS

There are two types of clusters like vowels and consonant.

Vowels

There are five vowel clusters identified in Newari language. such as / *ou* , *ae* , *ui*, *ai* and *-ua* /. Vowel clusters generally occur in final position. These are exemplified below.

<i>nóu</i>	‘star’
<i>káe</i>	‘son’
<i>Thui</i>	‘cook’
<i>dhai</i>	‘elder brother’
<i>búa</i>	‘father’

Consonants

There are two types of consonant clusters realised in Newari language . Such as initial two consonant clusters and medial two consonant clusters.

Initial Two Consonantal Clusters

The semivowels/w/and/y /generally join with the consonants as a second member in the initial position and occasionally it occurs in the medial positions to make clusters.

<i>gw-</i>	<i>gwáfe</i>	‘cyclone’
<i>tw-</i>	<i>twa</i>	‘bat’
<i>khy-</i>	<i>kyo</i>	‘butter’
<i>kw-</i>	<i>kwáta</i>	‘bed room’
<i>sy-</i>	<i>syácu</i>	‘apple’

Medial Two Consonantal Clusters

- <i>nk</i> -	<i>gàñki</i>	‘eclipse’
- <i>rn</i> -	<i>púrñima</i>	‘full moon night’
- <i>lp</i> -	<i>palpasa</i>	‘lightening’
- <i>ny</i> -	<i>nonyása</i>	‘thunder’
- <i>md</i> -	<i>sàmdi</i>	‘in laws’
- <i>ml</i> -	<i>jumliya</i>	‘twin’
- <i>lp</i> -	<i>súlpya</i>	‘leach’
- <i>rp</i> -	<i>sàrpa</i>	‘snake’
- <i>mp</i> -	<i>bampúRkhi</i>	‘dwarf’
- <i>sp</i> -	<i>aspàtah</i>	‘hospital’
- <i>gw</i> -	<i>mikhág wo</i>	‘retina’

- nt -	<i>bánta</i>	‘vomit’
- kt -	<i>sùk ti</i>	‘dried fish’
- rch -	<i>bár cha</i>	‘bowl’
- rb -	<i>sarbàt</i>	‘fruit juice’
- tl -	<i>kètli</i>	‘kettle’
- nj -	<i>ganji´</i>	‘banyan’
- pl -	<i>Tòpli</i>	‘cap’
- lt -	<i>khàlti</i>	‘pocket’
- rs -	<i>pàrsi</i>	‘sari’
- sm -	<i>chàsma</i>	‘spectacles’
- rw -	<i>surwáh</i>	‘trousers’
- rd -	<i>pardá</i>	‘veil’
- lt -	<i>bálti</i>	‘bucket’
- Rd -	<i>baR dáli</i>	‘veranda’
- hkh -	<i>pàhkha</i>	‘wall’
- rm -	<i>bàrman</i>	‘banyan tree’
- nT -	<i>bhanTa</i>	‘brinjal’
- rp -	<i>khòr páni</i>	‘berry’
- mt -	<i>ramtoriya</i>	‘lady’s finger’
- ml -	<i>gàmla</i>	‘pot for plants’
- lk -	<i>hàlka</i>	‘light’
- nkh -	<i>sànkha</i>	‘doubt’
- ty -	<i>nayepìtya</i>	‘hungry’
- km -	<i>tàk mã</i>	‘medal’
- st -	<i>jàsta</i>	‘zinc’
- kk -	<i>yèkko</i>	‘much’

2.5 SYLLABLE

Mono Syllabic (open)

CV	<i>bé</i>	‘ground’
CVV	<i>nàu</i>	‘ashes’

Mono Syllabic (close)

CVC	<i>kéb</i>	‘garden’
CCVC	<i>gwáy</i>	‘moustache’
CCVC	<i>nhéy</i>	‘nose’

Disyllabic (open)

V-CV	<i>ajá</i>	‘grand father’
CV-CV	<i>khusì</i>	‘brook’
CV-CV	<i>supě́</i>	‘cloud’
CCV-CV	<i>gwá fe</i>	‘cyclone’
CCV-CV	<i>dhyaca</i>	‘mud’

Disyllabic (close)

CV-CVC	<i>molóh</i>	‘lightening’
CV-CVC	<i>góman</i>	‘cobra’
CVC-CVC	<i>biskúT</i>	‘biscuit’
V-CVC	<i>acár</i>	‘chutney’

Tri Syllabic (open)

CVC-CV-CV	<i>púrnìma</i>	‘full moon night’
CV-CVC-CV	<i>de pàlha</i>	‘left handed’
CV-CV-CV	<i>molézu</i>	‘mother’s brother’s Wife’

Tri Syllabic (close)

V-CV-CVC	<i>a rá men</i>	‘easy chair’
----------	-----------------	--------------

Tetra Syllabic (open)

CV-CV-CV-CV	<i>kisíyà wa</i>	‘tusk’
CV-CV-CVC-CV	<i>jará bànta</i>	‘cholera’
CV-CV-CVV-CV	<i>tuyupueda</i>	‘hail stone’

Tetra Syllabic (close)

CV-CV-CV-CVC	<i>tútipàtim</i>	‘toe’
--------------	------------------	-------

3. MORPHOPHONEMICS

The alternant of morphemes when they occur with various suffixes, phonological variations take place within the morpheme which is called morphophonemics.

Deletion

1) The main verb gets change when tense marker added with it; the last phone of the main verb and the first phone of the future tense marker are eliminated. Thus /soya/ + /-ne/ > soye 'will see'

soye 'see' -ne Future tense marker

2) When two nouns are happen to join some portion of the main noun is dropped. That is when /jyo/ 'astrology' and /S'i/ doer joining together to make another meaning 'astrologer' the phone /-y- / of the main verb is dropped.

Jyo means 'astrology'

S'i means 'doer'

When these two words join together it may be /JyoS'i/ listed it is /JoS'i/ for astrologer.

Alternation

1) When morphemes or group of morphemes occur to indicate the sense of plurality the following change has taken place in base morpheme.

wã > Ø when swã 'three' + -mha (classifier) + manu 'human being' > sómha manu 'three man'.

2) The main form of the noun /macha/ 'child' while adding with the plural suffix /-ta/ an alternation is taking place with the base noun.

ch > s
/macha-/ 'child' + -ta (plural suffix) > masta
/-ta/ 'the plural suffix'

3) The noun form is dropped when an adjectives /dokkã/ 'all' join with the prefix mha is used for human nouns .

The adjective /dokkã/ 'all' when joins to denote 'all men' the prefix used for human nouns /mha/ is added with the base noun /manu/ meant 'man'. On that

occassion the first syllable of the base noun /*manu*/ ‘man’ is dropped. To denote ‘all men’ instead to /*dokkã mha manu*/ it is realised that /*dokkã mha nu*/ for ‘all men’.

4. MORPHOLOGY

4.1.1 WORD FORMATION

Definition of Word

A simple word is defined as one, which is a free form and is capable of taking inflectional or derivational affixes. In Newari, a stem by itself can be a word for example /*kicha*/ ‘dog’ is a stem as well as a word, form like /*kicha ta*/ ‘dogs’ consisted of a stem and suffix /*kícha*/ ‘dog’ and /-*ta*/ ‘plural suffix’.

Word Classes

Word classes are established on the basis of morphological or syntactical grounds. Stem classes in Newari can be divided into different groups on the basis of the inflectional endings. Accordingly Newari words are divided into Nouns Pronouns, Adjectives, Verbs, Adverbs, Conjunctions, Particles and Post positions.

4.1.2 NOUNS

There are two types of nouns realised namely Animate and Inanimate . The animate nouns are realised by suffixing /-*mha*/ with the respective forms where as the Inanimate nouns are realised without the suffix /-*mha*/.

Animate Nouns

<i>mha mǎnu</i>		‘man (alive)’
alive man		
<i>bhí mha mǎnu</i>		‘good man’
good+alive+man		
<i>Tuyu mha</i>	<i>sála</i>	‘white horse’
white alive	horse	
<i>chamha</i>	<i>mǎnu</i>	‘one man’
one +alive	man	

Inanimate Nouns

<i>nàù</i>	‘star’
<i>sùrdyó</i>	‘sun’
<i>timíla</i>	‘moon’
<i>khàsù</i>	‘fog’
<i>phi</i>	‘sand’
<i>nya</i>	‘five’
<i>feye</i>	‘air’
<i>dhũ</i>	‘dust’

Nouns are further classified into two categories such as Simple and Derived.

Simple Nouns

A noun which is not derived from another or any other word class are called simple noun. It is further can be divided into two categories as Mass nouns and Count nouns.

Mass Nouns

<i>feye</i>	‘air’
<i>supě</i>	‘cloud’
<i>dhũ’</i>	‘dust’
<i>khàsú</i>	‘fog’
<i>chwápu</i>	‘ice’
<i>wah</i>	‘rain’
<i>phi’</i>	‘sand’
<i>mi</i>	‘fire’
<i>malah</i>	‘thunder’
<i>twépùda</i>	‘hail stone’

Count Nouns

<i>timíla</i>	‘moon’
<i>nàù</i>	‘star’
<i>sùrdyo</i>	‘sun’
<i>machá</i>	‘child’
<i>kaye</i>	‘son’
<i>gòMah</i>	‘cock’
<i>?ímuca</i>	‘ant’

Derived Nouns

These nouns are derived either from the Nouns or from the verbs

Nouns from Nouns

<i>kalà</i>	+	<i>kar</i>	=	<i>kalákar</i>	‘artist’
art	+	doer			
<i>jyó</i>	+	<i>S’i</i>	=	<i>joS’i</i>	‘astrologer’
astrology+		doer			
<i>fwó</i>	+	<i>gĩ</i>	=	<i>fwògĩ</i>	‘beggar’
begging+		doer			
<i>kàh</i>	+	<i>mi</i>	=	<i>kàhmí</i>	‘carpenter’
carpentry+		man			
<i>mharí</i>	+	<i>bànja</i>	=	<i>máhi bànja</i>	‘sweet maker’
sweet	+	seller			
<i>sar</i>	+	<i>kí</i>	=	<i>sàrki</i>	‘shoe maker’
shoe	+	maker			
<i>khú</i>	+	<i>mha</i>	=	<i>kumha</i>	‘potter’
pot	+	man			
<i>gwá</i>	+	<i>bànja</i>	=	<i>gwábànja</i>	‘panseller’
pan	+	seller			
<i>jyá</i>	+	<i>mi</i>	=	<i>jyàmi</i>	‘labourer’
work	+	man			

Nouns from Verbs

<i>fwó</i>	+	<i>gĩ</i>	=	<i>fwògĩ</i>	‘begger’
begging	+	doer			
<i>kayé</i>	+	<i>kàli</i>	=	<i>kayekalí</i>	‘broker’
brokery	+	doer			
<i>sikàr</i>	+	<i>rí</i>	=	<i>sikári</i>	‘hunter’
hunting+		doer			

<i>jya</i>	+	<i>mí</i>	=	<i>jyàmi</i>	'labourer'
work	+	man			
<i>chyá</i>	+	<i>mi</i>	=	<i>chyàmi</i>	'sweeper'
sweeping+		man			
<i>dho</i>	+	<i>bi</i>	=	<i>dhóbi</i>	'washer man'
wash	+	doer			

Number

The plurality is realised by suffixing both / -pĩ / or /- ta/ with the noun and pronouns. The singular number is unmarked.

Singular		Plural	
<i>sah</i>	'cow'	<i>sahta</i>	'cows'
<i>ché</i>	'house'	<i>ché ta</i>	'houses'
<i>káe</i>	'son'	<i>káepĩ</i>	'sons'
<i>jamíndar</i>	'land lord'	<i>jamíndárta</i>	'land lords'

aná nímha sàta du
there two+alive cow +pl vb
'There are two cows available'

wapĩ jígu sàta kha
those my cows are
'Those are my cows'

thóupĩ jígu chětá kha
those my house+pl. are
'These are my houses'

cháMu káepĩ á na du
your son+pl. there are
'Your sons are there'

jìgu swá mha káe ta du
 I have three+alive sons are
 'I have three sons'

jhi pĩ tránsleTorta kha
 we translator are
 'We are translators'

ipĩ jamíndár-ta kha
 they land-lords are
 'They are land-lords'

tho chó mha khícha kha
 this one+alive dog is
 'This is a dog'

chàMu káe á na du
 your son here is
 'Your son is here'

Gender

Gender in Newari is natural.

Male

mi 'man'
ája 'grandfather'
bùRa 'old man'
mizõ 'boy'
bahju 'gentleman'
sàmdhi 'son in laws' father'

Female

ma 'mother'
áji 'grand mother'
bùRi 'old woman'
miS'a 'girl'
mahzu 'mother in law'
sàmdhíni 'son in laws' mother'

Natural

Male

Female

<i>káé</i>	‘son’	<i>mhyae</i>	‘daughter’
<i>gòMah</i>	‘cock’	<i>khá</i>	‘hen’
<i>Dõ</i>	‘bull’	<i>sa</i>	‘cow’
<i>bhá tha</i>	‘husband’	<i>khá la</i>	‘wife’

Case

There are 9 cases in Newari. They are Nominative, Accusative, Instrumental, Dative, Genitive, Locative, Ablative, Sociative and Benefactive case.

Nominative Case

The nominative case is Unmarked

<i>kícha</i>	<i>bàu bau yàta</i>	‘Dog barks’
dog	bark pr.t.	
<i>wã</i>	<i>jígu káé kha</i>	‘He is my son’
he	my son is	

Accusative Case

The accusative case is realised by the suffix/ -yàta/, which occurs after the noun.

<i>wã</i>	<i>chakũca</i>	<i>yàta</i>	<i>kéku</i>
he	bird	case	hits
‘He hits the bird’			
<i>wóh</i>	<i>bishále</i>	<i>sarpã yàta</i>	<i>sya yéfu</i>
that	poisonous	snake-acc.case	kill to
‘That poisonous snake has to be killed’			

Instrumental Case

This case is realised by using the suffixes /-lõ/ and /-pĩ/

<i>wã</i>	<i>chuppĩ</i>	<i>sĩ</i>	<i>cha</i>
he	knife+with	wood	cut
‘He cut the wood with knife’			
<i>ji</i>	<i>chòsa lõ</i>	<i>chó sa</i>	

I pen+with write
 'I write with the pen'

Dative Case

This case is realised by the syffixes / -in/ and /-re/

jhippĩ mandí're wóne hé'ma
 we(pl) temple+to go+to must
 'We must go to temple'

jhippĩ chàrch-re wóne mástewa
 we +pl church+ to go +to want
 'We need to go to the church'

sarkárõ garíbinta dhéwa byu
 Govt. poor+ to +pl gives money
 'Govt. gives money to the poor'

Genitive Case

There are two different suffixes used to denote this case that is for first and second person pronoun the suffix / -gu/ is used and the suffix / -ya/ is used for the third person pronoun

tho jìgu chě kha 'This is my house'
 this I+case house is

chāgu chě hũ 'Go to your house'
 you +case house go

waya chě kha 'His houses'
 he + case house+pl

Locative Case

Generally Locative case is unmarked. It is decided on the basis of the emphasis given on the location. Sometimes /- ě / is used to denote location

jigu mhyě bári du
 my daughter garden+ in available

‘My daughter is in the garden’

<i>cha kũ</i>	<i>simáẽ</i>	<i>chõ</i>
bird	tree+on	sits
‘Bird sits on the tree’		

Ablative Case

This case is realised by the suffix /-yẽ/

<i>sima</i>	<i>ha</i>	<i>simáyẽ</i>	<i>kutu</i>	<i>wóh</i>
tree+leaf		tree+from	down	come
‘Leaves fall down from the tree’				

Sociative Case

This case is realised by the suffix /-napã/

<i>wa</i>	<i>wõya</i>	<i>bhau</i>	<i>napã</i>	<i>cho</i>
she	her	father	+with	live
‘She lives with her father’				

<i>wa</i>	<i>jinápã</i>	<i>jhyáya</i>
she	me with	working
‘She is working with me’		

<i>ji</i>	<i>wã</i>	<i>napã</i>	<i>bajár</i>	<i>wo’ne</i>
I	him+with		market	go+will
‘I shall go to market with him’				

Benefactive Case

This case is realised by the suffix /-yátá/ and /-yo làgi/.

<i>ji</i>	<i>jìmi</i>	<i>khé yàta</i>	<i>bakhã</i>	<i>chóya</i>
I	my	child+for	story	wrote
‘I wrote a story for my child’				

<i>sa yáta</i>	<i>ghẽ</i>	<i>hĩ</i>
cow +for	grass	bring

‘Bring grass for the cow’

khe yó làgi kami'j cha
son for shirt stich
‘Stich a shirt for child’

Post - position

The post positions are the words which occur always after the noun or noun phrase.

tho khabèr ji Tèlphó nonyúne yai gu
the message telephone+with work-done
‘The massage I got through telephone’

wãya khepĩ chẽ dúne du
his sons house inside+ available
‘His sons are available inside the house’

wã simà kóye dene
he tree + under sleeps
‘He sleeps under the tree’

jigú gáRi pakhé hu
my cart+near go
‘Go near to my cart’

4.1.3 PRONOUN

There are five types of pronouns identified in Newari Language namely Personal pronoun, Demonstrative pronoun, Indefinite pronoun, Interrogative pronoun and Reflexive pronoun.

Personal Pronouns

The personal pronouns are three that is, first personal, second personal and third personal. The first personal pronoun refers to the speaker, the second personal pronoun refers to the hearer and third personal pronoun refers to the person or object.

Person	Singular	Plural
Ist person	<i>ji</i> ‘I’	<i>jhi</i> ‘we’

IIInd person	<i>cha</i>	‘you’	<i>chipĩ</i>	‘you’(pl.)
--------------	------------	-------	--------------	------------

IIIrd.person	<i>wã</i> <i>tho</i>	‘he/ she’ ‘it’	<i>ipĩ</i>	‘they’
--------------	-------------------------	-------------------	------------	--------

ji jĩgu chẽ dúne du
I my house inside am
‘I am in my house’

jhi mé halé
we song sing
‘We sing a song’

chãgu khé thàna du
your+case son there is
‘Your son is there’

chipĩ chipĩ sa me hãli
you(pl) yourself song sing
‘You yourself sing a song’

wã tha dhamma kha
he tall is
‘He is tall’

wã simã kóye dyõ
she tree under sleeps
‘She sleeps under the tree’

tho cham khícha kha
this one+animal dog is
‘This is a dog’

ipĩ khícha ta kha
they dog+ pl. are
‘These are dogs’

Demonstrative Pronouns

There are two types of Demonstrative pronoun that is, Remote and Proximate.

Proximate Demonstrative Pronouns

tho chamha khícha kha
 this one+alive dog is
 ‘This is a dog’

thópĩ nimha kicha kha
 these two+alive dog+pl. are
 ‘These are two dogs’

Remote Demonstrative Pronouns

wáh chó mha kicha kha
 that one+alive dog is
 ‘That is a dog’

wápĩ jigú sàta kha
 those my cow+pl. are
 ‘Those are my cows’

Reflexive Pronouns

The Reflexiveness is realised by two forms such as /*thá mha*/ ‘myself’ for the first person singular and the suffix /-*sã*/ ‘self’ is used to denote the Reflexiveness as first person plural, the second person singular and plural, the third person singular and plural. The suffix /-*sã*/ is added with the respective pronominal form, which occurs after the particular pronoun.

ji thá mha me chòpu hále
 I myself song are sing
 ‘I myself sing a song’

jhi jhísã me chòpu hále
 we ourself song one sing
 ‘We ourselves sing a song’

cha chasã me chòpu háli
 you yourself song one sing
 ‘You yourself sing a song’

chipĩ chipĩ sã me chòpu háli
 you(pl.) yourself song one sing
 ‘You yourselves sing a song’

wa wāyēsā me chòpu hālì
 he himself song one sing
 ‘He himself sing a song’

wa wāyēsā me chòpu hālì
 she herself song one sing
 ‘She herself sing a song’

sa thosā pūkui kuttuwolla
 cow itself pond fell+down
 ‘Cow itself fell down in the pond’

ipĩ ipĩ sã pūkli kuttuwolla
 they themselves pond fell down
 ‘They themselves fell down in the pond’

Indefinite Pronoun

Indefinite pronouns are of two types Countable and Uncountable. These forms occur either before or after the noun or pronoun.

Uncountable

jíke bhatícha jākha
 I+have a little rice
 ‘I have a little rice’

dòkkã mhánu chánhu ci héma
 all man one+day die must
 ‘All man must die one day’

yèkka mizá màsta senó krikeT yéku
 most male child growned cricket like
 ‘Most of the young boys like cricket’

Countable

kàm bhàuchã yeMula yèku
 a few cats cold +water like
 ‘A few cats like cold water’

sàkalã thógu jàye màsta du

everyone their job busy is
 'Every one is busy for their work'

Interrogative Pronouns

In Newari , the question is made by separate forms which generally occurs after the noun or pronoun . In some cases it occurs before verb.

ji chú nòye
 I what eat+pr.t.
 'What shall I eat ?'

wã sú kha
 he who is
 'Who is he ?'

cha gawá le wáye ,
 you what+time come pr.t.
 'When will you come ?'

gathéyàna wãya báRe chú síla
 how him about what know+did
 'How did you know about him ?'

wã guli bàrsa dáta
 he how old is
 'How old is he?'

cha nyabálê ofis wayéta cháye libáigu
 you regularly office come+to why late
 'Why are you late to the office?'

cha miga gána wána
 you yesterday where go+p.t.
 'Where did you go yesterday?'

cha gugú safú máni
 you which book need
 'Which book do you want?'

4.1.4 ADJECTIVES

There are two types of adjectives identified in Newari language Qualitative and Quantitative adjectives. The adjectives precede the noun sometime it follows also specially in the predicative usage.

Qualitative Adjectives

hakúgu supáyě
dark cloud
'Dark cloud'

tu tuyumma sála
the white+alive horse
'The white horse'

tho tàkha daMu chě kha
It large house is
'It is a large house'

tho mhanú ka kha
this man blind is
'This man is blind'

wã bhí mha mizō mácha kha
he good+alive male+child is
'He is a good boy'

tho ballagu gã kha
It beautiful village is
'It is a beautiful village'

wã mizō mǎcha khayě kha
he male+child deaf is
'The male child is deaf'

wa bãla mha mísā kha
she beautiful woman is
'She is a beautiful woman'

Quantitative Adjectives

thàna *nímha* *bàucha* *du*
 here two+alive cat are
 ‘Here are two cats’

thùpĩ *jìgu* *nyà kha* *chêta* *kha*
 these my 5+vb house+pl are
 ‘These are my five houses’

Numeral

Two types of numeral systems are identified. These are cardinals and ordinals. The basic cardinal numerals from one to ten are monomorphemic. Eleven onwards are derived by compounding the basic cardinal numerals.

Cardinal Numerals

<i>chi</i>	‘one’
<i>ni</i>	‘two’
<i>swã</i>	‘three’
<i>pyã</i>	‘four’
<i>nya</i>	‘five’
<i>khú</i>	‘six’
<i>nhe</i>	‘seven’
<i>chya</i>	‘eight’
<i>gũ</i>	‘nine’
<i>jhi’</i>	‘ten’

For eleven, the number ten + one+ /-gu/ a unit form will be compounded, like wise other numerals are formed

jhi’ *cà* *gú* / *jhi’cagú* / ‘eleven’
 10 +one +classifier.

jhi’ +*ni* + *gú* / *jhi’ni gú* / ‘twelve’
 10+ 2 + class.

jhi’ + *swã* + *gú* / *jhi’swãugu* / ‘thirteen’
 10 + 3 + classifier

jhi’ + *khú* + *gú* / *jhi’khùgú* / ‘sixteen’

10 + 6 + classifier

jhí' + gũ + gu / *jhigũ gu* / 'nineteen'
10 + 9 + classifier

ni + gu / *ní'gu* / 'twenty'
2 + classifier

ni + ca gu / *ní'càgu* / 'twenty one'
2 + one + classifier

swi + gú / *swí'gu* / 'thirty'
3 + classifier.

swi + ca + gú / *swí'càgu* / 'thirty one'
3 + 1 + classifier.

To form the numerals thirty, forty, fifty, and etc the morphophonemes of three, four, five like *swi-*, *pi-*, *ne-*, respectively are added with the suffix */gu/*

pi' + gu 'forty'
4 + 10
ne + gu 'fifty'
5 + 10
chyá' + gu 'eighty'
8 + 10
gũ + gu 'ninety'
9 + 10

The Newari Language has its own numerals upto 100 , above hundred they use the numerals of Indo Aryan origin.

Ordinals

The use of ordinal is influenced by Hindi Language

pahè la 'first'
dásra 'second'
tésra 'third'

Fractions

There are three fractional numbers identified in Newari.

<i>cha kà'chi</i>	'quarter'
<i>bà'chi</i>	'half'
<i>cha màn' tya</i>	'one and a half'

Classifier

The classifier /-gu/ is suffixed with the cardinal stem for counting eleven, twelve and etc. as well as each unit of ten.

<i>ni</i>	'two'
<i>swa</i>	'three'
<i>jhi</i>	'ten'

<i>jhi'</i>	<i>ca</i>	<i>gu</i>	'eleven'	
10	+	one	+	classifier

<i>jhi'</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>gu</i>	'twelve'
10	+	2	+ classifier

<i>ni</i>	+	<i>gu</i>	'twenty'
two		classifier	

And for the numerals like twenty, thirty, forty, fifty, sixty etc. the classifier /-gu/ is used to denote the numeral 'ten' for example, the cardinal number / *ni*/ 'two' is prefixed with the classifier /-gu/ to denote twenty. Like wise other numerals are formed.

4.2 VERB MORPHOLOGY

4.2.1.1 FINITE VERB

Finite verb is a complete verb and shows the complete action done which are realised through the use of tense, person, gender and number markers.

<i>ji</i>	<i>nhínhi</i>	<i>za</i>	<i>nàya</i>
I	daily	rice	eat+ pr t.
'I eat rice daily'			

<i>sa</i>	<i>nhínhi</i>	<i>durú</i>	<i>byu</i>
cow	daily	milk	gives
'Cow gives milk everyday'			

<i>cakú' ta</i>	<i>bóh</i>
-----------------	------------

bird+pl fly
'Birds fly'

ca kũ simáyẽ chõ
bird tree+on sits
'Bird sits on the tree'

tho sĩ chá du
this wood hard is
'This wood is hard'

Tense

Verbs in Newari are marked morphologically for tense. The Newari verb shows three way opposition for tense. 1. Present 2. Past and 3. Future. The tense markers occur at the end of the verb. The substantive verb also function as present tense.

There are two forms used as substantive verbs that is /*kha*/ and /*du*/. These occur after the verb

tho cha mha kicha kha
this one + alive dog is
'This is a dog'

thàna ní ha bàu cha du
here two+alive cat are
'Here are two cats'

thòpi ní ha kicha kha
these two+alive dogs are
'These are two dogs'

ji jigu chẽ dùne du
I my house inside is
'I am inside my house'

jigu chẽ chika du
my house small is
'My house is small'

tho jìgu chě kha
 this my house is
 'This is my house'

tho nikhá chě ta kha
 this two+vb house+ pl. vb.
 'These are two houses'

Present Tense

The present time is realised by using the suffix /-ya/ with the verb and also realised by the zero morpheme.

khícha bàu bàuya
 dog to bark
 'Dog barks'

ji niní za nàya
 I daily rice eat+pr.t.
 'I eat rice daily'

sa niní durú byú
 cow daily milk gives
 'Cow gives milk every day'

sùrdyo suthé byó
 sun morning rises
 'Sun rises in the morning'

wã simã kóye dyo
 he free under sleeps
 'He sleeps under the tree'

ji thò wóya
 I today come
 'I come today'

Past Tense

The past time is realised by two suffixes /-na/ and /-la/ which occur with the main verb.

wã ʔá nála
 he mango eat+ p.t.
 'He ate mango'

kícha jí gu lyúne wála
 dog me besides come+p.t.
 'The dog come besides me'

sáh nyà na maka dhá na
 sound hear+p.t. child wake +p.t.
 'hearing the sound the child woke up'

ji wóne magú kha tára ji ma wó na
 I go had but I not go + p.t.
 'I had to go but I did not go'

wã bhutúli pihã wãna
 he kitchen+from out come+p.t.
 'he went out from the kitchen'

Future Tense

The future time is realised by the suffix/ -ne/ and / -ye/ which occur with the verb.

ji afis tak ka wóne
 I office upto go+f.t.
 'I shall go upto the office'

chu ji ʔána wóne
 shall I there go+f.t.
 'Shall I go there'

jipi samudaraye wone
 we sea +to go+f.t.
 'We will go to the sea'

kan he ji pikchòr sóye
 tomorrow I picture see+ f. t.
 'I will see the picture tomorrow'

Aspect

Progressive Aspect

In progressive Aspect there are three times identified namely present progressive, present perfect and past –perfect –progressive.

Present progressive

The present progressive time is realised by the suffix/ *-chó na/*, which is either prefixed or suffixed to the verb to denote the duration of the present progressiveness.

sa bùyì jaye chonakyo
cow field in grazing
'Cow is grazing in the field'

ji safú chóya chòna
I write writing
'I am writing'

machá chóna chòMu du
child sitting is
'Child is sitting'

Present Prefect Continuous Tense

ji safu chóya chòna gudú
I writing been have
'I have been writing'

Past Prefect Continuous Tense

ji safú chóya chònagu jú la
I write been had
'I had been writing'

Present perfect Tense

This aspect is realised by the suffix / *-gudu/*

ji pikcòr sóya gudú 'I have seen the picture'
I picture see + have

ji safú chóya gudú 'I have written the book'
I write have

Mood

There are four moods have been identified in Newari Language that is, Indicative, Imperative, Interrogative and Probability mood.

Indicative Mood

The indicative mood is realised as follows

<i>thò</i>	<i>chamha</i>	<i>kícha</i>	<i>kha</i>
this	one+alive	dog	is
'This is a dog'			

<i>wáh</i>	<i>chamha</i>	<i>kícha</i>	<i>kha</i>
that	one+alive	dog	is
'That is a dog'			

<i>ʔána</i>	<i>nímha</i>	<i>kícha ta</i>	<i>du</i>
there	two+alive	dog +pl	are
'There are two dogs'			

<i>thà ʔna</i>	<i>ní'mha</i>	<i>bàucha</i>	<i>du</i>
here	two + alive	cat	is
'Here is a cat'			

Imperative Mood

The command is realised through intonation.

<i>ʔána hũ</i>	'go there'
there go	

<i>thàna wa</i>	'come here'
here come	

<i>phé tu</i>	'sit down'
sit	

<i>dã</i>	'stand up'
stand	

tohó *thu* ‘break the stick’
 stick break
to *chyá*
 pot break
 ‘break the pot’

simã’ *kwo* *thu*
 tree cut
 ‘cut the tree’

khàpa *tyú*
 door close
 ‘close the door’

Interrogative mood

The Interrogation is generally made by separate forms like/ *chu*/ means ‘what’,
 /*S’ũ*/ ‘anyone’ and / *gùgu*/ ‘which’

chu *ji* ?*ána* *wóne*
 what I there go +f.t.
 ‘shall I go there ?’

S’ũ *skuláye* *dùla*
 anyone school+in available
 ‘any body is available in the school ?’

chànta *gùgu* *safú* *ma*
 you+pl. which book want
 ‘which book do you want ?’

Probability Mood

The mood of probability is expressed by suffixes like /-*fu* , -*yi*/ which occur after the verb.

ipĩ *so nyáne* *fu*
 they ask may
 ‘They may ask’

ji *thàna* *thou* *wá* *wàyi*
 I think today rain come+ may

‘I think today rain may come’

4.2.1.2 NON FINITE VERB

Infinitive

The non-finite verb is not conditioned by person and number of its subject. The infinitive marker is /-ta/ in Newari Language.

kháne jipĩ nya layeta samundráye wóne
tomorrow we fish catch+to sea+case go+will
‘tomorrow we will go to sea to catch fish’

wóh sarpã yata syáyeta duná gudu
that snake acc.case kill to plan have
‘I have a plan to kill the snake’

wó mah yata kayeta wãwóna
that chain acc.case. take +to hewent
‘he went to take the chain’

Gerund

A verb functions as a nouns. In Newari the gerund is formed by suffixing /-gu/ with the verb.

suthá bonègu jya bã la
morning reading habit better
‘reading in the morning is good’

sàla pakhẽ bwa wanéguya
early morning running exercisework
‘practicing exercise is good for health in early morning’

kayégu sikã biyigu bã la
receiving than giving better
‘receiving is better than giving’

Participle

A word which functions as an attribute to the words may be called Participle. In Newari the suffix /-a, -na / functions as a participle, which occurs with the verb.

láyē nyáse waná chōbála wa chāmo simha góman khàna
 road walk while noticed he one dead cobra saw
 ‘walking along the road, he noticed a dead cobra’
sáh nyá na màcha dhàna
 sound hearing child woke up
 ‘hearing the noise the boys woke up’

4.2.1.3 CAUSATIVE VERB

The action of cause is expressed by the suffix/ -ye/ in Newari Language which occurs with the main verb.

ji wāita mi hayè ke téne
 I her song sing+cause do+will
 ‘I will make her sing a song’

ji wāita wāsa nakáye chóya
 I her medicine eat+ made did
 ‘I made her eat the medicine’

4.2.1.4 NEGATIVE VERB

The negation is realised by the form / -ma/ which is prefixed with the verb substantive. The negative verb is also occur with the main verb.

ji thòM wóye makhú
 I today come not +vb. sub.
 ‘I do not come today’

ji’ke chùnhà madú
 I have anything not +sub. vb.
 ‘I have nothing with me’

imìta mayása tho da byú
 they not if it me give
 ‘If they do not like give it to me’

cháno maS’igu makú jí na masí’gu makú
 you not+know not me not know not
 ‘Neither you know nor I’

<i>ji</i>	<i>chànta</i>	<i>nhápa</i>	<i>gyúble</i>	<i>makhá na</i>
I	you +	before	time	not+see

‘I have never seen you before

<i>tho</i>	<i>jyá lagé</i>	<i>majú</i>
it	work+use	not+able

‘It is of no use’

<i>tho</i>	<i>náye</i>	<i>majú</i>
it	eat	not+able

‘This is not eatable’

<i>tho</i>	<i>ʔ la</i>	<i>tóne</i>	<i>majú</i>
this	water	drink	not+able

‘This water is not drinkable’

4.2.1.5 AUXILIARY VERB

The Auxiliary verbs are used to make distinction on the tense, mood, voice and etc. In Newari separate forms are used to denote the auxiliaries. The suffix/ *-ye*/ ‘can’ , / *héma*/ ‘must’ and / *yáye*/ ‘should’.

<i>cha</i>	<i>tho</i>	<i>jyáye</i>
you	it	do+can

‘You can do it’

<i>dokhã</i>	<i>mhá nu</i>	<i>chànhu</i>	<i>ci</i>	<i>hé ma</i>
all	men	oneday	die	must

‘All man must die one day’

<i>wã</i>	<i>jya</i>	<i>yáye</i>	<i>mo tyó</i>
he	work	should	not do

‘He should not work hard’

4.2.1.6 PASSIVE FORMATION

The passive voice is realised by the word / *pakhê*/ in Newari Language. The passive marker/ *pakhê*/ occurs after the noun or pronoun.

newã bakhõ' maijú kalpana pakhê hiléja yahá gùdu

newari story Mrs. kalpana by work done
 ‘The Newari story was translated by Mrs. Kalpana’

mari *ji* *pakhẽ* *nayála*
 bread I + by eat+ p.t.
 ‘The bread was eaten by me’

Degrees of Comparison

Two degrees of comparison have been identified that is the comparative and superlative degree. The word / *sikã*/ is used to denote ‘than’.

Comparative Degree

keyegu *sikã* *biyigu* *bala*
 receiving than giving better
 ‘Giving is better than receiving’

Mr. Baskaran *sikã* *Mr. Anand* *buddhimán*
 Baskaran than Anand wiser
 ‘Mr. Anand is wiser than Mr. Baskaran’

jigu *sahèr* *siliguri* *sikã* *tadaMu*
 my city siliguri than bigger
 ‘My city is bigger than siliguri’

Superlative Degree

The superlative degree is realised by using the indefinite adjective with the comparative marker.

jigú *jyètháye* *edward* *dakwã* *sikã* *táDi`ka*
 my office+in Mr. Edward all than tall
 ‘Mr. Edward is tallest in my office’

4.2.1.7 TRANSITIVITY

Transitive verb requires an object (expressed or implied) to complete its meaning. The effect of the action denoted by the verb falls on the subject.

Transitive Verb

<i>náyí</i>	‘eat’
<i>byú</i>	‘give’
<i>koĩ</i>	‘hit’

Intransitive Verb

A verb which does not take direct object is an intransitive verb.

<i>dyõ</i>	‘sleep’
<i>bwa</i>	‘run’
<i>kālha</i>	‘speak’
<i>S’yú</i>	‘know’
<i>dã</i>	‘Sland’
<i>wã</i> <i>dyõ</i>	
he sleeps	
‘He sleeps’	
<i>chakú</i> <i>ta</i> <i>bóh</i>	
birds + pl. fly	
‘Birds fly’	
<i>ji barõ</i> <i>ha chã</i> <i>góya</i>	
I fence jump over	
‘I jump over fence’	
<i>cha ku</i> <i>cho</i>	
bird sits	
‘Bird sits’	

4.2.2 ADVERB

Adverbs are classified into three groups in Newari such as Adverb of place, Adverb of manner and Adverb of time.

Adverb of Place

To denote Adverb of place the form occurs independently before the verb that is either substantive or main verb. These are / *pihã*/ ‘out side’ and / *tápakhẽ*/ ‘far’

<i>wa</i>	<i>bhutúli</i>	<i>pihã</i>	<i>wóna</i>
he	kitchen	outside	go +p.t.
‘He went outside kitchen’			

simã *lõya* *ukhé pàkhẽ* *du*

tree road upper side is
 ‘The tree is on that side of the road’

ji gãno tapàkhẽ du
 I village far is
 ‘I am far from the village’

jigú sargáh cóye du
 us sky above is
 ‘The sky is above us’

Adverb of Manner

The adverb of manner is expressed by different suffixes.

tasakõ ‘loudly’
safá yàna ‘neatly’
chí’sa khã’ ‘slowly’
bã’làkõ ‘neatly’

tas’ kô khã’ lha
 loud +ly speak
 ‘Speak loudly’

safá yàna chõ
 neat + ly write
 ‘Write neatly’

chí’sa khã nyáse hũ
 slow+ ly walk +do
 ‘Walk slowly’

chàMu sã bã’là kô chyó
 you haie neat +ly comb
 ‘Comb your hair neatly’

Adverb of Time

The adverb of time occurs either before or after the noun or pronoun .

kànhe ‘tomorrow’
thõy ‘today’

miga 'yesterday'

kànhè ji pikchòr Sóye
tomorrow I picture see +pr.t.
'I will see the picture tomorrow'

ji jhòM wóye makhú
I today come not vb.
'I do not come today'

wã míga wóla
he yesterday come p.t.
'he came yesterday'

ji gúble chànta nhápa makhána
I ever you(pl) before not+ seen
'I have never seen you before'

4.2.3 PARTICLE

There are three particles realised in this language namely, Connective particle, Correlative and Compulsive particle.

Connective Particle

/wáh/ 'and' and */tára/* 'but'

jigú túti chul húla wáh ji dóla
my foot slipped and I fall+p.t.
'My foot is slipped and I fall down'

ji wóne makú kha tára ji mowóna
I go f.t. had to but I not+go+ p.t.
'I had to go but I did not go'

Correlative Particle

The correlative particle occurs after the main verb.

cha gúlli bila ullihe ji káye

you howmuch give that much I take + will
 'I can take howmuch you give'

Compulsive Particle

The compulsive particle occurs after the main verb.

wõ jya yáye majú
 he work should not+do
 'He should not do this work'

ji wóne makú kha
 I go had to
 'I had to go'

cha jigú chě' wáye hema
 you my house in come must
 'You must come to my house'

4.2.4 ECHO FORMATION

A compound whose second member repeats the first with an initial consonant or syllable altered with the general meaning and the like. In Newari, the phoneme / -s / occurs as a second component and it gives out the meaning of 'etc'

<i>jàkhi</i> -	<i>sàkhi</i>	'rice etc'
<i>tarkári</i> -	<i>sarkári</i>	'vegetable etc'
<i>mhànu</i> -	<i>sànu</i>	'man etc'
<i>mácha</i> -	<i>sácha</i>	'child etc'
<i>jabjí</i> -	<i>babjí</i>	'curry etc.,'
<i>khára-</i>	<i>sána</i>	'food etc.,'
<i>dhál</i>	<i>sál</i>	'pulses etc.,'

4. SYNTAX

Newari is a subject + object + verb SOV language . Newari sentence consists of a noun phrase which functions as the subject and a predicate phrase . There can be no sentence without a predicate sometimes predicate itself may stand for a sentence

<i>phé tu</i>	‘sit down’
<i>dǎ́</i>	‘stand up’

5.1 ORDER OF WORDS IN SENTENCES

The order of words in Newari is subject + object + verb

<i>wǎ</i>	<i>sí́</i>	<i>cha</i>	‘He cuts the wood’
he	wood	cuts	
<i>sa</i>	<i>ghá yě</i>	<i>náh</i>	‘Cow eats the grass’
cow	grass	eats	
<i>wǎ</i>	<i>chakṹ</i>	<i>yàta kéku</i>	‘He hits the bird’
he	bird +case	hits	

5.2 DESCRIPTION OF TYPES OF SENTENCES

There are six types of sentences realized namely Affirmative, Imperative, Interrogative, Negative, Causative and Co-ordinate sentences.

Affirmative Sentences

<i>sur dhiyo</i>	<i>suthe bo</i>	‘Sun rises in the morning’
sun	morning rises	
<i>ji</i>	<i>nini za naya</i>	‘I eat rice daily’
I	daily rice eat	

Imperative Sentences

The command is realised by rising tone of the verb.

<i>ʔána</i>	<i>hũ</i>
there	go
‘Go there’	

thàna wa
 here come
 ‘come here’

Interrogative Sentences

The Interrogative is generally made by separate forms like/ *chu*/ means “what” sometimes the intonation of the sentence is also used to denote the question

chu ji ʔána wóne
 what I there go+f.t.
 ‘Shall I go there?’

S’ũ S’uláye dula
 anyone school+in available
 ‘Any body is available in the school’

Negative Sentences

The negation is realised by the form / -ma/ which is prefixed with the verb substantive . The negative verb is also used with the main verb.

ji thòM wóye makhúgu
 I today come not+vb.
 ‘I do not come today’

Causative Sentences

The action of cause is expressed by the suffix/ -ye/ in Newari which occurs with the main verb.

Ji wãita me haye`ke téne
 I her song sing+cause do+will
 ‘I will make her sing a song’

ji wãita wása nakáye chóya
 I her medicine eat+made did
 ‘I made her eat the medicine’

Coordinative Sentences

The coordination is a process to form a full sentence. The particles conjunctions are used to form a coordinate sentence.

jigú tuti chul hula wáh ji kuttuwolla
 my foot slipped and I fell down
 'My foot is slipped and fell down'

chẽ hu wáh lihã' wo
 home go and back come
 'Go home and come back'

wáh nya makú tara nonya
 that fish not but this fish
 'Not that fish but this fish'

5.3 DESCRIPTION OF PATTERNS OF THE SENTENCES

There are three patterns of the Newari sentences, Simple, Compound and Complex.

Simple Sentence

A sentence which has one subject and one predicate form is called simple sentence.

sur dhiyó suthé bo
 sun morning rises
 'Sun rises in the morning'

ji niní za naya'
 I daily rice eat
 'I eat rice daily'

cakhũ' ta boh
 birds fly
 'Birds are flying'

tho mhánu kã kha
 this man blind is
 'This man is blind'

ɔ̀ana hu
 there go
 ‘Go there’

dã
 ‘Stand up’
dòna di S’a
 stand please
 ‘Stand up please’

wã ana madu
 he where not + available
 ‘He is not available’

chu ji wáyeS’a
 what I come+ may
 ‘May I come there?’

chú cha tho Mayaifu
 can you this do+can
 ‘Can you do this work?’

Compound Sentence

Two main clause sentences are joined to denote a single sentence with the help of the particles are called compound sentences.

che hũ wáh lihã wo
 house go and back come
 ‘Go home and come back’

ji wóne magúkhe tára ji mowóna
 I go+f.t. had but I not +go+p.t.
 ‘I had to go but I did not go’

Complex Sentence

One main clause and one or more than one subordinate clauses jointly make a single sentence called complex sentence.

lõ'ye nyáse wána khõ bále wã chamó sìmhã góman khána
road walk while noticed he one dead cobra saw
'Walking along the road, he noticed a dead cobra'

wã wóla yadi jipĩ dàbli wóne phai makhú
he come if we threat go f.t. can not
'Even if he comes, we can not go'

wã wógu kanDáye ji khã lha ye
he comes in case I talk + will
'In case if he comes I will talk to him'

nithoM bhã lagú khána ji pihã wóna
today fine seems I out went
'Weather being fine I went out'

sáh nyána machá dhána
sound heard child waked up
'Hearing the sound, the child woke up'

BIBLIOGRAPHY & REFERENCES

Acharya K.P.	1983	<i>Lotha Grammar</i> , C.I.I.L. Grammar Series No.10
Benedict, Paul K.	1972	<i>Sino-Tibetan: A conspectus</i> . J.A.Matisoff(Ed.)
B.Bernard and G.L. Trager	1972	<i>Outline of Linguistic Analysis</i> , New Delhi Oriental Books, Reprint Corporation.
Giridhar. P.P.	1980	<i>Angami Grammar</i> , Mysore, CIIL Grammar Series No.1
Grierson, George Abraham.	1967	<i>Linguistic Survey of India. Vol. III Part –I Tibeto-Burman Family, Himalayuan Dialects, North Assam Groups</i> , Delhi, Motilal Banarasidas.
Jones, Daniel,	1960	<i>An Outline of English Phonetics</i> , Cambridge, England w. Heffner and Sons Ltd.
Mahapatra, B.P. & et.al	1989	<i>The Written Languages of the World: A Survey of the Degree and Modes of Use</i> . Government of India, New Delhi and Laval University Press, Canada.
Y.P.Yadav and W.W.Glower	1999	<i>‘Tonal contrasts in Sherpa’ in Topics in Nepalese Linguistics</i> , Royal Nepal Academy, Kathmandu.
Census of India	1961	<i>Language Tables, Vol.I part II-C(ii)</i> , Governemnt of India, Delhi
Census of India	1981	<i>Population by language/mother tongue, C-7 Tables, Part IV B(I)</i> , Government of India, Delhi
Census of India	1991	<i>Language Tables, Vol.I part II-C(ii)</i> , Governemnt of India, Delhi
Census of India	1991	<i>Bilingualism and Trilingualism, Table C-8 Part IV B (i) (b)</i> , Governemnt of India, Delhi

NEWARI

TEXT

gate yàna kwó wokhã hakú mha sàrpã yàta syáta
how crow-hen by black snake+case kill+p.t.

failé jùgu chagú barmáya kachá ye chà mha kwó wo
spreading a banyan tree branch one crow and

wóya kalá choláchõ gu jùla
his live p.t.
Among the spreading branches of a banyan tree lived a crow and his wife.

ñimí swáhye pyàMa chichídaMu khẽ la guRíyàta wóya mabàu nã
there nest four little eggs which there parents that

tasákã katákah palã biyà chóna .
great care guarded p.t.
In the nest were four little eggs which were guarded with great care.

wóh simákhàya chagú hótayé chamhá sarpã sũ khàna kwóhta
that tree-trunk one hole one snake who see crow

tasákan gyánachòna chòMu jùla
greatly feared live p.t.
In a hollow of that tree trunk lived a black snake whom the crows feared greatly.

misá kwó nã khẽ thopatikã sàrpã sulúwóya swáhye
she crow egg-laideach tree snake slowly nest

duhgu nayáchoMu jùla
reside eat live p.t.
Every time the crow hen laid her eggs the snake crawled up to the nest and ate them up

yedi hána thàthe yána sarpǎ́ khě nàla dhá sa jitho simáyě
 If again little this snake egg eat it I + this tree+on

chóne he makhúta
 now live wont live
 If the black snake eats up my eggs this time also, I will refuse to live in this tree any longer.

jhí sǎ jhi gú swáh megútha sayé hedayéke mǎli” misá kwó nǎ
 we our nest another tree make should she crow her

thá bathá yàta dhàla
 her husband told
 We must build our nest somewhere else, said the mother bird to her husband.

jhipĩ thàna chóna chonágu yèk ko dàyé dhùn kála jĩ wakúchiya
 we have been living long since already I bear

jigú chě yàta totah nèithá sayé chóna wóne mafú kwó nǎ dhàla
 my house+to desert elsewhere live go donot crow that said
 I can't bear to desert my home and go to live elsewhere said the crow

ipĩ khà thána chòMu takáy ʔimi koyé sǎ́ sàrpǎ ya fwá sáh tala
 they while talking sometime their beneath snake's hiss sound heard
 While they were talking they heard a hissing sound just below them.

imi sǒ siláki wo sáh chukháh dhàka
 they knew that sound what was
 They knew what the sound meant.

ipĩ láchar júya thàngu khyě téyèta pàhbiya swáb choná
 they helplessly being their eggs protect
 They sat helplessly in their nest trying to protect their eggs.

hàkugúmha sarpǎ sulǔ́ swáhya
 black snake slowly nest

pakhě́ chóye wa napǎ wóla alé
 toward high up and near came

fwa sá pikána wã jangra tayéta jùk ke swála
 hissing sound with he birds strike Tried
 Then with a loud hiss he tried to strike the birds who flew away in terror.

jhaMata gyána bwóya wóna chagàh chagàh yána
 birds feared they went away one one by

hakúmha sarpã khêta ghutína
 black snake eggs swallowed
 One by one the black snake swallowed the eggs.

má bau áh won khàli jui
 parents now they empty nest

dhùnkala juidhaká bãn láka siyá
 be rightly leaving knew

dukhí manã swahyẽ lyáhã wóla
 sorrow heart nest back came
 The parents came back sadly to their nest knowing well that they would find it empty.

kwo nã dhá la “ji tho gyánapùmha sarpã
 crow the said I this scarred snake

yáta jhwáyayègu chapú lã mále he máh”
 to kill+ to one way have to find
 The crow said, I must find a way to destroy this murderous snake.

cháo gathé yàna woh napã hwái wa wányaiigu gàthe
 you how that fight he his biting how

gyánapú kàla nã atèchá ya dháta
 deadly black snake dispersed said
 How can you ever fight him? His sting is so deadly, said his wife in despair.

cháyé atecháyé mǎu jigú priye
 why worry not my dear

jigú chàmha chalákh mha pásá du wõ
 my one clever friend is who

<i>wóh</i>	<i>bishále</i>	<i>sàrpã</i>	<i>yatá</i>	<i>syá yèfu</i>	<i>athé</i>
that	poisonous	snake	to	kill	by
<i>dhayá</i>	<i>won</i>	<i>mèMu</i>	<i>simã</i>	<i>pàkhe</i>	<i>bwó la</i>
saying	that	another	tree	toward	flew

Do not worry, my dear, I have got a friend who is cunning enough to destroy the most poisonous of snakes, said the crow, and off he flew.

<i>gukílya</i>	<i>kóye</i>	<i>woyé</i>	<i>yàhmha</i>	<i>pása</i>	<i>Dhõcha</i>		
which	under	his	best	friend	Jackal		
<i>jula</i>	<i>gyaye</i>	<i>mate</i>	<i>jĩ</i>	<i>wóyàta</i>	<i>syáyègu</i>	<i>chàgu</i>	<i>gwósa</i>
lived	worry	not	I	him to	killed	one	plan
<i>matí</i>	<i>tayé</i>	<i>dhùnágu</i>					
thought	already	planned					

To a friend, Jackal, which lived under a tree .When the Jackal heard he said, I have already thought of a plan to destroy him.

<i>oh</i>	<i>dáh</i>	<i>dhále</i>	<i>won</i>	<i>chú</i>	<i>kha</i>	<i>kwó</i>	<i>nã</i>	<i>dhála</i>	<i>alé</i>
we	tell	that	what	matter	crow	the	said	then	
<i>dh nõ'na</i>	<i>sunã'</i>	<i>tàye</i>	<i>dhaká</i>	<i>gyágyã</i>	<i>chúsah</i>				
jackal	anyone	heard	might	by fearing	whispered				
<i>nã</i>	<i>sarpã'</i>	<i>yàta</i>	<i>syáyèta</i>	<i>chuyáyè mha</i>					
snake	to	kill	something	should					

Then the Jackal fearing he might be over heard whispered to his friend what he should do to destroy the snake.

<i>dhakã'</i>	<i>pása</i>	<i>mésta</i>	<i>dhála</i>	<i>kwo</i>	<i>bwòya</i>	
her	friend	to	told	crow	flew	
<i>tháh</i>	<i>kalá</i>	<i>tháya</i>	<i>lihã</i>	<i>wóla</i>	<i>wo</i>	<i>gwósaya</i>
his	wife	place	back	come	and	plan

The crow flew back to his wife and tolod her about the plan.

baré *woyàta* *dhála* “*tho* *tasàkã*
about to her told it why

gyá nàpu *kwó nã* *dhã’la*” *jhipĩ* *tasà kã*
risky crow the said me very

hoS’iyár *jùì ma*
cheerful should be
It is rather risky, said the crow. We will have to be very careful.

Ji *ji`gu* *khẽ tayéta* *ràchya*
I my egg+ to protect

yayéta *yáye” ma* *kwó nã* *mágyàsẽ* *dhála*
what ever to do mother crow bravely said
I will do any thing to save my eggs said the mother bird bravely.

alé *ipĩ* *dhéya* *jujú ya* *layéku* *pàkhẽ*
so they country king palace fowards

bwóya wóna *ipĩ* *chòMu* *simã wo* *layéku*
flew they lived free that palace

yèk ko *tapágu* *majúla*
too far away not
So off they flew towards the palce of the King of the country.

ipĩ *layè kúya* *kyá bayá* *chàgu* *tadhàMu*
they palace garden one big

pukhùti *thyéna* *gàna* *layáku ya* *mistá*
pond reached where royal ladies

mohlúya *imìsõ* *khàna*
bathing they saw
They approached a big pond in the palace where they saw the royal ladies having a bath.

imìsõ *thágu* *lũya matah* *motiya* *mantá* *wo*
they their gold chain pearls necklaces a

<i>memégu</i>	<i>tísata</i>	<i>pukhú</i>	<i>sithé</i>	<i>toTa</i>
other	jewellers	pond	edge	laid

They laid their golden chains and pearl necklaces and other jewellery on the edge of the pond.

<i>ma jhaMaboyá</i>	<i>kūta wóya</i>	<i>mhu túchõ la lū́ya</i>
mother	flying	came-down mouth beak the

<i>mah jóna</i>	<i>búlũ</i>	<i>táh</i>	<i>chòMu</i>	<i>simã pakha bwóbgu</i>
gold chain+carry	slowly	where	live	tree towards flew

The mother bird came down and picked the golden chain in her beak and started flying towards the tree where she lived.

<i>jàba</i>	<i>láyèkúya</i>	<i>pah lách na</i>	<i>kwana</i>	<i>lúy mah káya bwógu</i>
when	palace	guard	crow	gold chain carry flew

<i>khána</i>	<i>ipĩso</i>	<i>thahgú</i>	<i>bhaláta</i>
saw	they	their	sword

When the palace guards saw the crow carrying gold chain took up their swords and chased it.

<i>jwóna</i>	<i>wo</i>	<i>kwóya</i>	<i>pichá yàta</i>	<i>imĩsõ</i>	<i>wo</i>	<i>mah</i>
holding	that	crow+to	followed	they	that	male

<i>kwó nõ</i>	<i>simáyẽ</i>	<i>chágu</i>	<i>hotáye</i>	<i>kurkúgu</i>
crow	tree	one	hole	dropped

<i>khà na</i>	<i>wo màh</i>	<i>kayéta</i>	<i>chá mha</i>	<i>páhlah</i>
saw	that chain	to take	one	guard

<i>simá</i>	<i>chóye</i>	<i>galá</i>	<i>gathé wõ</i>	<i>mah</i>
tree	up	climbed	when he	chain

<i>likáyeta</i>	<i>tháhgu</i>	<i>lhádùne</i>	<i>chóla</i>
to take out	his	hand	put

They saw the bird dropping the chain in the hole , and one guard climbed by the tree to get the chain. As he put his hand inside the hole

<i>wõ</i>	<i>nakú mha</i>	<i>S'arpã</i>	<i>chá mha</i>	<i>kúli china</i>
he	black	snake	one	curl

<i>chòMu</i>	<i>khá na</i>	<i>wõ chathũ</i>	<i>bhálã</i>
reside	saw	he once	club

<i>kayéku</i>	<i>baláye</i>	<i>woh</i>	<i>hakú mha</i>	<i>sarpã ya</i>
strike	while	that	black	snake's

<i>aúta</i>	<i>wóla</i>
end	came

He saw a black snake curled up there . With one hard stroke of his club he killed it and that was the end of the black snake.

<i>woh</i>	<i>dhũnka</i>	<i>imísõ</i>	<i>yèk ko</i>	<i>màsta</i>
afterwards		they	many	little

<i>kwo</i>	<i>dayèka</i>	<i>kwó wo</i>	<i>wóya</i>	<i>kalá</i>	<i>wo</i>
crow	had	crow and	his	wife	that

<i>simáyě</i>	<i>sukhĩ</i>	<i>chóna</i>
in tree	happily	lived

The crow and the crow hen lived in that tree happily after wards and had many little baby crows.

-----X-----

MANGARI

S. GANESH BASKARAN

1. INTRODUCTION

The present study gives out the grammatical sketch of Mangari language spoken in Sikkim state based on the data collected at the time of field investigation during March 2000.

1.1 FAMILY AFFILIATION

According to Grierson (1909: Vol. III) Mangari Language belongs to the Non-Pronominalized Himalayan group of Tibeto-Burman sub family. As per the subsequent classification by Paul Benedict Mangari (in Sikkim) belongs to the “Himalayan” group of “Tibetan –Kanauri (a.k.a. Bodish-Himalayish)” branch of Tibeto Burman sub-family. [Benedict: 1972]

1.2 LOCATION

“The name of the tribe sometimes spelt Magar and sometimes Mangari. The Mangari form is used commonly in Darjeeling (West Bengal). The Mangars are one of the fighting tribes of Nepal like the Gurungs, Sunwars and Khas, they belong to the group known as mukhya that is chief. The old home of the Mangars are the central and lower in the western part of Nepal. They are now found over most parts of Nepal and in India they are scattered in Darjeeling and other districts of West Bengal, Sikkim and also in Assam especially in Naga Hills”.

1.3 SPEAKERS’ STRENGTH

According to the last appeared Census data on Mangari (i.e. 1961) speaker strength is given below

India / State/U.T.	Total	Male	Female
India	1136	616	520
Assam	495	267	228
Maharastra	1	-	1
West Bengal	557	306	251
Andaman and Nocobar Island	1	1	-
North East Frontier Agency	22	21	1
Sikkim	60	21	39

[The bilingualism data is not available in Vol. I part II-c(ii) Language Tables of 1961 Census.]

1.4 SOCIO LINGUISTIC SETTINGS

Magar is popularly known as 'Mangaris' in Sikkim. The 'Mangaris' were one of the three dominant and militant communities of Nepal along with Chettries and Gurungs. Like Gurungs they also formed the backbone of Gurkha regiments in British Army. Their original homeland was in Western Nepal from where they had migrated to Eastern Nepal and finally came to Sikkim.

The Mangari community is divided into a number of exogamous and patrilineal groups, like Pulami, Ala, Kepchake, Guranga etc. The main function of the groups is to regulate marriage alliances. Each of these groups is having one or more *Gotras*. Community endogamy and *Gotras* exogamy are in practice among the Mangaris who accepts cross – cousin marriage. Adult marriage is the rule. Marriage is of two types viz. (i) mangni biha (marriage by negotiation) and (ii) chori biha (marriage by elopment). Monogamy is common but polygamy is also allowed.

Land is the main resource of the Mangari community and they practice terrace cultivation. Hunting and gathering are also among their traditional occupations. Though agriculture is their main occupation. They are ready to accept any kind of occupation.

The Mangaris speak in their own Mangari mother tongue at home but outside their group they communicate in Nepali mostly. The script is used by them for writing the language.

In Sikkim they are mainly concentrated in south and east districts.

The Mangaris have a rich tradition of folk songs, folklore and folk tales.

As a mother tongue Mangari is used both in home and extra home domains. In home and extra kin situation the use of mother tongue is related in three ways in descending order of generation, that is, parent ego children. Since the children of these days are exposed to other languages through education most often their speech is mixed with Nepali and with English. That is why the use of mother tongue is more among the aged and the middle aged people. Whereas among the young extent of use of mother tongue is comparatively less. Among the women the use of mother tongue is more comparison to the men folk.

In the domain of Education the role of Mangari is evident in the oral communication level. So, far as the verbal interaction between the Mangari teacher and students inside and outside the classroom is concerned. Mangari is taught upto the Primary level in the schools, were Mangari is taught as a subject, there Mangari is found both in oral and written extend. Mangari people use the script called "*akhaRa*"

In the Administration although all written correspondences are through Nepali and English. Mangari is used as the medium of the verbal interaction between the Mangari officers and staffs. The state Government imparts training to the officials in Mangari language for smooth running of Administration and building up of a cordial relation with the Mangari people.

In the level of Judiciary also the use of Mangari language is restricted among the community people in the informal oral communication.

In the domain of Mass media, the folk music, riddles and stories in Mangari language are telecast in Gangtok by doordarshan and private television channels time to time as a part of promoting their culture.

The Government of Sikkim encourages Mangari people to continue their cultural programme in Mangari in respective festive occasions. The local magazines like Sikkim Herald publishing the poems and stories in Mangari language along with translated works. The Sikkim Government patronises preparation of dictionary and glossaries in Mangari language and extends necessary financial aids to the welfare association of Mangari for the purpose of promoting the language.

In the Assembly also the legislative members with the Mangari background are allowed to express their view through Mangari language and versions simultaneously get translated into Nepali language to make it legible for non- Mangari speakers. Thus, it is evident that though the Nepali, being the superimposed variety controls the formal domains, but as a mother tongue Mangari also has a very important role in the sociolinguistic settings of the Sikkim state as a whole.

1.5 REVIEW OF LITERATURE

So far the earlier literature on Mangari language is concerned mention may be made about the following. Under the heading 'MĀGARI' a sketchy grammar of Mangari language has been given by Sir George Abraham Grierson in Linguistic Survey of India Vol. III Part. I (1909: pp. 206-211), where pronunciation, Article, Noun, Gender, Number, Case, Post Positions, Adjective, Particles, Numerals, Pronouns, Verb substantives, Tense, Verbal noun, Participles, Causative and Negative verbs have been discussed along with the order of words in Mangari. A research paper on *MORPHOPHONOLOGICAL RULES IN MANGAR* is given by Mr. Subhadra Subba Dahal in the book "Topics in Nepalese linguistics" edited by Y.P. Yadava and W. W. Glover, Royal Nepal Academy in 1999.

2. PHONOLOGY

2.1 PHONEMIC INVENTORY

As per the filed data the Mangari language has got 33 phonemes. Of which 5 are vowels and 28 are consonants. These phonemes can be classified into two types according to its sonority that is Segmental and Supra segmental phonemes

2.1.1 SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

Vowels		
	Front	Back
High	<i>i</i>	<i>u</i>
Mid	<i>e</i>	<i>o</i>
Low	<i>a*</i>	

***The italicised /a/ actually represents the low front unrounded vowel /a/**

Consonants

	Bilabial		Labio dental		Alveolar		Retroflex		Palatal		Velar		Glottal	
	vl.	vd.	vl.	vd.	vl.	vd.	vl.	vd.	vl.	vd.	vl.	vd.	vl.	vd.
Stops	<i>p</i>	<i>b</i>					<i>T</i>	<i>D</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>g</i>		
Aspirants	<i>ph</i>	<i>bh</i>					<i>Th</i>		<i>ch</i>	<i>jh</i>	<i>kh</i>	<i>gh</i>		
Fricatives			<i>f</i>		<i>s</i>	<i>z</i>			<i>S'</i>				<i>h</i>	
Nasals		<i>m</i>				<i>n</i>					<i>M</i>			
Laterals/Asp						<i>l</i>								
Flap/Tap						<i>r</i>	<i>R</i>							
Semi vowel		<i>w</i>								<i>y</i>				

2.1.2 Nasalisation is the only suprasegmental feature realized in mangari language.

In Mangari all the vowels get nasalised and nasalisation is phonemic.

<i>/ĩ/</i>	<i>sĩ</i>	‘death’
	<i>koĩchi</i>	‘scissors’
	<i>mig ĩja</i>	‘gum’

/ ẽ /	<i>ghẽrua</i>	‘spider’
	<i>bẽla</i>	‘dish’
	<i>jwẽi</i>	‘sister’s husband’
/ ă /	<i>mijăn</i>	‘hip’
	<i>Tăm</i>	‘wheat’
	<i>migãtho</i>	‘ankle’
/ õ /	<i>minhõwaM</i>	‘nostrill’
	<i>gõ dum</i>	‘island’
/ ũ /	<i>MigũRa</i>	‘knee’
	<i>Mũ ki</i>	‘sit’

Contrasting Pairs (vowels)

/ i~e /	<i>im</i>	‘house’
	<i>en</i>	‘law’
/ e~a /	<i>en</i>	‘law’
	<i>ar</i>	‘canopy’
/ o ~ a/	<i>sokki</i>	‘sweet’
	<i>garTi</i>	‘answer’
/ o~ u /	<i>Thor</i>	‘ox’
	<i>Tuga</i>	‘star’

Contrasting Pairs (consonants)

/ p~b /	<i>piraDi</i>	‘current’
	<i>barap</i>	‘ashes’
/ T~D /	<i>Takor meTok</i>	‘spittoon’
	<i>Dainelak</i>	‘right side’
/ c~ j /	<i>cer</i>	‘diahorea’
	<i>ja</i>	‘clay’
/ k ~g /	<i>konya</i>	‘bachelor’
	<i>gur</i>	‘dust’

/p~ph/	<i>piraDi</i> <i>pherkhi</i>	‘current’ ‘sun shine’
/b~bh/	<i>baRop</i> <i>bhalya</i>	‘ashes’ ‘cock’
/T~Th/	<i>Tuga</i> <i>Thor</i>	‘star’ ‘ox’
/c~ch/	<i>cer</i> <i>chumpak</i>	‘diahorea’ ‘darkness’
/j~jh/	<i>ja</i> <i>jhirluM</i>	‘clay’ ‘hailstone’
/k~kh/	<i>konya</i> <i>khon</i>	‘bachelor’ ‘daughter in law’
/g~gh/	<i>gur</i> <i>ghichin</i>	‘dust’ ‘bat’
/ph~f/	<i>pherkhi</i> <i>fer</i>	‘sun shine’ ‘ray’
/s~z/	<i>sisam</i> <i>miza</i>	‘sesame’ ‘child’
/s~S’/	<i>sisam</i> <i>bo S’ya</i>	‘sesame’ ‘apple’
/k~h/	<i>konya</i> <i>hajiklam</i>	‘bachelor’ ‘road’
/m~n/	<i>melap</i> <i>nini</i>	‘flame’ ‘son in law’s mother’
/m~M/	<i>ma</i> <i>Ma</i>	‘not’ ‘I’
/l~r/	<i>maklak</i> <i>jhirluM</i>	‘slope’ ‘hailstone’
/D~R/	<i>piraDi</i> <i>ciRa</i>	‘current’ ‘brook’

<i>/ w~ y /</i>	<i>warmi</i>	‘person’
	<i>yambu</i>	‘rain bow’

2.2 PHONEMIC DESCRIPTION AND DISTRIBUTION

Vowels

The Mangari language has five vowels. The description and distribution of the same is shown below.

/ i / high front unrounded short vowel occurs in all three positions.

<i>im</i>	‘house’
<i>piraDi</i>	‘current’
<i>juki</i>	‘defeat’

/ e / mid high front unrounded short vowel occurs in all three positions.

<i>en</i>	‘law’
<i>fer</i>	‘ray’
<i>gaMce</i>	‘tall’

/ a / low front unrounded short vowel occurs in all three positions.

<i>ar</i>	‘canopy’
<i>ragu</i>	‘lion’
<i>u sa</i>	‘medicine’

/ o / mid high back rounded vowel occurs in all three positions.

<i>osoki</i>	‘itch’
<i>mochoR</i>	‘mosquito’
<i>masTo</i>	‘women’

/ u / high back rounded vowel occurs in all three positions.

<i>u sa</i>	‘medicine’
<i>luM</i>	‘rock’
<i>tunchu</i>	‘seventy’

Consonants

The description and distribution of the consonants shown below.

/p/ voiceless bilabial stop occurs in all three positions.

<i>piraDi</i>	‘current’
<i>rapoT</i>	‘ground’
<i>berap</i>	‘ashes’

/b/ voiced bilabial stop occurs in the initial and the medial positions.

<i>boluM</i>	‘lime stone’
<i>Dēbu</i>	‘fog’

/T/ voiceless retroflex stop occurs in all three positions.

<i>Tuga</i>	‘star’
<i>baTis</i>	‘nephew’
<i>MeT</i>	‘cow’

/D/ voiced retroflex stop occurs in all three positions.

<i>Di</i>	‘water’
<i>jaDi</i>	‘swamp’
<i>thapoD</i>	‘state’

/c/ voiceless palatal stop occurs in the initial and the medial positions.

<i>cerk</i>	‘diarrhea’
<i>f i calah</i>	‘green colour leaf’

/j/ voiced palatal stop occurs in all three positions.

<i>ja</i>	‘clay’
<i>mĩja</i>	‘baby’
<i>deraj</i>	‘cup board’

/k/ voiceless velar stop occurs in all three positions.

<i>konya</i>	‘bachelor’
<i>wurki</i>	‘fly’
<i>kirik</i>	‘parrot’

/g/ voiced velar stop occurs in all three positions.

<i>gur</i>	‘dust’
<i>Digua</i>	‘duck’
<i>Tag</i>	‘hill’

/ *ph* / aspirated voiceless bilabial stop occurs in the initial position.

phicha 'green'

/ *bh* / aspirated voiced bilabial stop occurs in the medial positions.

bha lya 'cock'

/ *Th* / aspirated voiceless retroflex stop occurs in the initial positions.

Thor 'ox'

/ *ch* / aspirated voiceless palatal stop occurs in the initial and the medial positions.

chanja 'bride groom'
marchuli 'ant hill'

/ *jh* / aspirated voiced palatal stop occurs in the initial positions.

jhiriM 'hail stone'

/ *kh* / aspirated voiceless velar stop occurs in the initial and the medial positions.

khon 'daughter in law'
namkhan 'sun'

/ *gh* / aspirated voiced velar stop occurs in the initial positions.

ghichin 'bat'

/ *f* / voiceless labio dental fricative occurs in the initial and the medial positions.

fer 'ray'
misasferki 'breath'

/ *s* / voiceless alveolar fricative occurs in all three positions.

sim 'wood'
namsu 'air'
namas 'river'

/z/ voiced alveolar fricative occurs in the medial positions.

<i>miza</i>	‘child’
-------------	---------

/S'/ voiceless palatal fricative occurs in the initial and the medial positions.

<i>S'ali</i>	‘daughter in law’
<i>boS'ya</i>	‘apple’

/h/ voiceless glottal fricative occurs in all three positions.

<i>haTche</i>	‘boil’
<i>gyo hoT</i>	‘moon’
<i>miTah</i>	‘face’

/m/ bilabial nasal occurs in all three positions

<i>miT a h</i>	‘face’
<i>namsu</i>	‘cyclone’
<i>nam</i>	‘forest’

/n/ alveolar nasal occurs in all three positions.

<i>nini</i>	‘son in law’s mother’
<i>menket</i>	‘ear’
<i>migin</i>	‘liver’

/M/ velar nasal occurs in all three positions.

<i>Met</i>	‘cow’
<i>luMDal</i>	‘cave’
<i>boluM</i>	‘lime stone’

/l/ alveolar lateral occurs in all three positions.

<i>luM</i>	‘rock’
<i>maklak</i>	‘slope’
<i>sarel</i>	‘panther’

/r/ alveolar trill occurs in all three positions.

<i>rapoT</i>	‘ground’
<i>pira Di</i>	‘current’
<i>gur</i>	‘dust’

/ R / retroflex flap occurs in the medial and the final positions.

<i>ciRa</i>	'brook'
<i>mochoR</i>	'mosquito'

/ w / bilabial semi vowel occurs in all three positions.

<i>wokya</i>	'bed bug'
<i>miwuT</i>	'hand'
<i>chiw</i>	'dog'

/ y / palatal semi vowel occurs in the initial and the medial positions.

<i>yabu</i>	'rain bow'
<i>hya</i>	'farm land'

2.3 MAJOR ALLOPHONIC DISTRIBUTION

The five vowels and two consonants have the allophonic variations

Vowels

/ i / The high front unrounded short vowel has two allophones [I] and [i]

[I] The lower high front unrounded short vowel occurs between consonants

[<i>cIRa</i>]	/ <i>ciRa</i> /	'brook'
[<i>sIM</i>]	/ <i>siM</i> /	'wood'

[i] high front unrounded vowel occur elsewhere

/ e / The mid high front unrounded short vowel has two allophones [A] and [e]

[A] The mid central unrounded short vowel occurs between consonants

[<i>fAr</i>]	/ <i>fer</i> /	'ray'
----------------	----------------	-------

[e] it occurs elsewhere

/a/ The low front unrounded short vowel has two allophones [a] and [a]

[a] The low back unrounded short vowel occurs between the consonants

[namsu]	/namsu/	'cyclone'
[ahat]	/ahat/	'respect'

[a] it occurs elsewhere

/o/ The mid high back rounded short vowel has two allophones [O] and [o]

[O] mid low back rounded short vowel occurs between consonants

[wOrche]	/worche/	'bed bug'
[dIlyOu]	/dilyou/	'moss'

[o] occurs elsewhere

/u/ The high back rounded short vowel has two allophones [U] and [u]

[U] lower high back rounded short vowel occurs between consonants

[miTDUM]	/miTD uM/	'cliff'
[abU rUk]	/aburuk/	'ornaments'

[u] occurs elsewhere

Consonants

Two consonants have got allophones that is /n/ and /l/

/n/ The alveolar nasal has two allophones [M'] and [n]

[M'] The palatal nasal occurs before the palatal stop and semi vowels

[gaM'ji]	/ganji/	'bannian'
[guM'yu]	/gunyu/	'apron'

[n] occurs elsewhere

/l/ The alveolar lateral consonant has two allophones [L] and [l]

[L] The retroflex lateral occurs between vowels

[muLLa] / mulla/ 'raddish'

[l] occurs elsewhere

2.4 CLUSTERS

Two or more phonemes pronounced jointly called cluster. In Mangari both the vowel and consonant clusters are identified

Vowel Clusters

There are five vowel clusters identified that is / ui , ua, oi, ai and au/

<i>Dibui</i>	'fog'
<i>gharua</i>	'spider'
<i>boigan</i>	'brinjal'
<i>daine</i>	'arm'
<i>aule</i>	'malaria'

Consonant Clusters

There are two types of clusters identified in Magar language. The two member consonant clusters are realized in the initial and medial position. Among these, the medial two consonant clusters are frequent

Initial Two Consonant Clusters

<i>jw-</i>	<i>jwěi</i>	'sister's husband'(y)
<i>gw -</i>	<i>gwajako</i>	'birds'
<i>by -</i>	<i>byu</i>	'mouse'
<i>cy -</i>	<i>cyal</i>	'vulture'
<i>my -</i>	<i>myarkin</i>	'finger nail'
<i>Dy -</i>	<i>Dyabu</i>	'thumb'
<i>jy -</i>	<i>jya Than</i>	'rice bear'
<i>S'y-</i>	<i>S'yā</i>	'flesh'
<i>jy -</i>	<i>jyama</i>	'meal'
<i>hy -</i>	<i>hyami</i>	'farmer'
<i>gy -</i>	<i>gyacha</i>	'red'
<i>sy -</i>	<i>sya ki</i>	'dancer'
<i>sp -</i>	<i>spat</i>	'steel'

Medial Two Consonant Clusters

- ms-	<i>namsu</i>	‘air’
- MD -	<i>luMDal</i>	‘cave’
- TD -	<i>miTDuM</i>	‘cliff’
- mch -	<i>chumchak</i>	‘darkness’
- rl -	<i>jhirluM</i>	‘hail stone’
- nch -	<i>kancha</i>	‘heat’
- rb -	<i>chirba</i>	‘lightening’
- kl -	<i>maklak</i>	‘slope’
- ry -	<i>charcharya</i>	‘stream’
- rb -	<i>chirbã</i>	‘swamp’
- rm -	<i>barmiyã</i>	‘mankind’
- ny -	<i>konyã</i>	‘bachelor’
- nj -	<i>lenja</i>	‘boy’
- sT -	<i>masTo mija</i>	‘daughter’
- rD -	<i>goborDu</i>	‘dung bug’
- mk -	<i>namki</i>	‘smell’
- ly -	<i>gwabhalya</i>	‘cock’
- Ml -	<i>saMli</i>	‘cock roach’
- mr -	<i>namrah</i>	‘deer’
- Tl -	<i>paT laMi</i>	‘earth worm’
- Mb -	<i>laMburcha</i>	‘elephant’
- sy -	<i>Disyã</i>	‘fish’
- my -	<i>jimyã</i>	‘fly’
- sD -	<i>gõsDi</i>	‘honey’
- rk -	<i>miyer kin</i>	‘nail’
- rl -	<i>sarlã</i>	‘leopard’
- rj -	<i>forjache</i>	‘monkey’
- rbh -	<i>lirbha</i>	‘rhinoceros’
- rkh -	<i>loterkhe</i>	‘squirrel’
- ps -	<i>Dapsiya</i>	‘bug’
- nT -	<i>jonTomiza</i>	‘animal’ (‘young’)
- br -	<i>debrẽ</i>	‘left’
- nkh -	<i>punkhi</i>	‘birth’
- rk -	<i>Misasferki</i>	‘breath’
- rch -	<i>jhercha</i>	‘health’
- kch -	<i>lik che</i>	‘lazy’
- ks -	<i>mifokso</i>	‘lung’
- nh -	<i>minhep</i>	‘mucus (of nose)’
- ml -	<i>sumlu</i>	‘muscle’
- kk -	<i>bik ki</i>	‘pain’
- lD -	<i>DolDu</i>	‘ring worm’
-pr -	<i>lapro</i>	‘scap’
- rk -	<i>sarkoT</i>	‘shoulder’

- TT-	<i>MipiTTa</i>	'bile'
-pch -	<i>jepche</i>	'sweet'
- kD -	<i>MimikDi</i>	'tears'
- sy -	<i>misyak</i>	'tooth'
-Tk -	<i>usajyaTki</i>	'treatment'
-jy-	<i>usajyaTki</i>	'treatment'
-mj -	<i>namja</i>	'bag'
-mph -	<i>bamphok</i>	'blade'
- kch -	<i>chokche Disya</i>	'dried fish'
- rch -	<i>merche</i>	'butter'
- rp -	<i>churpi</i>	'cheese'
- tl -	<i>kitli</i>	'kettle'
- rk -	<i>birko</i>	'lid'
- mch -	<i>gyemche</i>	'pitcher'
- Ml -	<i>naMle</i>	'winnowing basket'
- ny -	<i>gunyu</i>	'apron'
- nT -	<i>ganTi</i>	'bell'
- km -	<i>chakma</i>	'belt'
- lm -	<i>bilma</i>	'dress'
- hr -	<i>muhroli</i>	'flute'
- sm -	<i>osma</i>	'mirror'
- rch -	<i>archa</i>	'needle'
- tr -	<i>majetro</i>	'shawl'
- Tb -	<i>kaTba rin</i>	'bed sheet'
- MT -	<i>siMTaMma</i>	'bench'
- rbh -	<i>arbha</i>	'courtyard'
- Rd -	<i>paRda</i>	'curtain'
- rz -	<i>marza</i>	'hut'
- pr -	<i>Dipri</i>	'lantern'
- rp -	<i>tirpal</i>	'tent'
- kch -	<i>lakcheja</i>	'threshing floor'
- TT -	<i>iTTa</i>	'wall'
-Tk -	<i>S'yaTaTki</i>	'farming'
- rr -	<i>sarroboigi</i>	'gardening'
- tm -	<i>kyutma</i>	'equipments'
- Tb -	<i>geT boT</i>	'bamboo'
- kr -	<i>bokra</i>	'barks'
- My -	<i>chaMyasar</i>	'marigold'
- kl -	<i>Dakla</i>	'straw'
- ks -	<i>TiksiM</i>	'teak tree'
- Mr -	<i>kaMra</i>	'basket'
- rT -	<i>ba rTol</i>	'hammer'
- km -	<i>rikma</i>	'printer'
- Mch -	<i>TeMche</i>	'bright'
- Mc -	<i>chuMce</i>	'dim'
- nk -	<i>sonka</i>	'doubt'

- Mm -	<i>maraM mo</i>	‘happiness’
- ml -	<i>mamla</i>	‘case’
- Rch -	<i>muhaRche</i>	‘innocent’
- rg -	<i>swarga</i>	‘heaven’
- Tk -	<i>soTki</i>	‘rise’
- Mj -	<i>boluMja</i>	‘lime’
- Ts -	<i>kaT sora</i>	‘firm’

2.5 SYLLABLE

Up to four syllable words are identified in Magar language. Generally the two syllabic words are more frequent

Monosyllabic (open)

CV	<i>Di</i>	‘water’
CCV	<i>mhe</i>	‘fire’
CCV	<i>byu</i>	‘mouse’

Monosyllabic (close)

VC	<i>os</i>	‘dew’
CVC	<i>noM</i>	‘sky’
CVC	<i>nam</i>	‘forest’

Disyllabic (open)

CV - CV	<i>ciRa</i>	‘brook’
CVC - CV	<i>namsũ</i>	‘cyclone’
CV - CVV	<i>Di bui</i>	‘fog’

Disyllabic (Close)

CV- CVC	<i>miDuM</i>	‘clilf’
CV - CVC	<i>janok</i>	‘earth’
CCV - CVC	<i>gyohaT</i>	‘moon’
CCV- CVC	<i>gwaMan</i>	‘hen’

Trisyllabic (open)

CV-CV-CV	<i>piraDi</i>	‘current’
CV-CV-CVV	<i>Diliyou</i>	‘moss’
CVC-CV-CV	<i>saMliya</i>	‘grand son’

Trisyllabic (close)

CVCC-CV-CVC
CV-CV-CVC

doMsnabik
maja luM

‘new moon night’
‘pebble’

Tetrasyllabic (open)

CV-CV-CV-CV
CVC-CV-CV-CV

memeTuka
masTomija

‘comet’
‘daughter’

Tetrasyllabic (close)

CV-CV-CVC-CVC
CV-CV-CVC-CVC

baRajilum
bamachukaT

‘snow’
‘fifty one’

3.MORPHOPHONEMICS

The alternants of morphemes when they occur with the various kinds of suffixes, phonological variations which take place within a morpheme called morphophonemics. In Magar, most of the morphophonemic rules refer to deletion, alternation and metathesis.

Deletion

1. When the negation is prefixed to the verb stem the initial vowel of the verb stem is deleted

$ma + ale \longrightarrow ma\ ale > male$ 'not available'
ma 'not'
ale 'available'

Instead of / *maale* / for 'not available' it is realised as / *male* /

rah 'come'
ale 'present tense marker'
 $rah + ale \longrightarrow rah\ ale > rahle$ 'come'

Instead of / *rahale* / 'come' it is realised as / *rahle* /

2. When a noun is formed of two components with the suffixing of the noun with another noun the final syllable of the former noun component is deleted

$gwaja + jhol \longrightarrow gwajajhol > gwajol$ 'chicken soup'
gwaja 'chicken'
jhol 'soup'

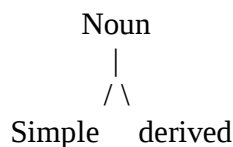
Instead of / *gwajajhol* / for chicken soup it is realised as / *gwajol* /

4.MORPHOLOGY

Morphology deals with the internal structure of words. It deals with the derivational and inflectional aspects of words. In Magar language, a simple word can be defined as one, which is pronounced with a potential pause before and after it. A word must contain at least one stem, which is a free form. In Magar, a stem can be defined as one, which is a free form and is capable of taking inflectional and derivational affixes. Stem classes in Magar; can be divided into different groups on the basis of the inflectional endings. The forms, which show identical inflectional behavior, can be called as form class. Accordingly the form classes divided into Nouns, Pronouns, Adjectives, Verbs, Adverbs, Conjunction and Postpositions.

4.1 NOUN

Nouns are of two types Animate and Inanimate. The Animate nouns are divided into Simple and Derived nouns. The simple nouns are further divided into mass and countable nouns



Simple Noun

A noun, which cannot be further divided that is a free form, is called Simple noun. It can be divided into two categories such as Mass noun and Countable noun.

Mass Noun

<i>namsu</i>	‘air’
<i>Dibu</i>	‘cloud’
<i>ja</i>	‘clay’
<i>os</i>	‘dew’

Count Noun

<i>naMkhan</i>	‘sun’
<i>mija</i>	‘baby’
<i>Tuga</i>	‘star’
<i>moi</i>	‘mother’
<i>gwaMen</i>	‘hen’

Derived Noun

Some nouns are derived from the noun and the verb

<i>abha + kasche</i>	<i>abha kasche</i>	‘artist’
art doer		
N + suffix		

<i>DuM + che+mi</i> gold + prepare+man	<i>DuMchemi</i>	‘gold smith’
N + vb + N		
<i>juma+ kas + che</i> sweet+prepare+do noun + suffix	<i>jumakasche</i>	sweet maker’
<i>bore+ ya</i> hunt+ do vb + suffix	<i>boreya</i>	‘hunter’
<i>hya + mi</i> work +man vb + doer	<i>hyami</i>	‘labourer’
<i>Me che</i> beg + doer vb + suffix	<i>Meche</i>	‘begger’
<i>Dasak + kas+cho</i> shoe + maker +vb	<i>Dasak kascho</i>	‘shoe maker’
<i>siT+ che+ barmi</i> clean+do+ man vb + vb + N	<i>siTchebarmi</i>	‘sweeper’

Number

The plural for non-human noun is marked by the suffix / - ko/ where as the /- kurik / is the form added with the nominal and pronominal forms to denote plurality.

Singular		Plural	
<i>im</i>	‘house’	<i>im ko</i>	‘houses’
<i>chiw</i>	‘dog’	<i>chiw ko</i>	‘dogs’
<i>Met</i>	‘cow’	<i>Met ko</i>	‘cows’
<i>mhar</i>	‘ant’	<i>mhar ko</i>	‘ants’

<i>Ma</i>	<i>letaM</i>	<i>nis</i>	<i>maja</i>	<i>imklio</i>
I	have	two	small	house+pl
'I have two small houses'				

<i>hokurik</i>	<i>chiwko ale</i>
those	dog + pl
'Those are dogs'	

<i>ise</i>	<i>nis</i>	<i>baRako</i>	<i>imko</i>	<i>ale</i>
these	two	big	house+	are
'These are two big houses'				

Gender

Gender formation in Mangari is not grammatical. There are two different forms for masculine and feminine.

Male		Female	
<i>ThoR</i>	'bull'	<i>neT</i>	'cow'
<i>len ja</i>	'husband'	<i>mahaja</i>	'wife'
<i>chanja</i>	'bride groom'	<i>bouja</i>	'bride'
<i>niba</i>	'son in law's father'	<i>nini</i>	'son in law's mother'

Sometimes / *masTo* /, / *len ja* / , / *Man* / are prefixed or suffixed with noun to distinguish between masculine and feminine nouns.

<i>masTo mija</i>	'female child'
<i>lenja mija</i>	'male child'
<i>chiw</i>	'dog, male'
<i>chiw Man</i>	'bitch'
<i>lenja</i>	'boy'
<i>masTo</i>	'girl'

Case

There are nine cases identified in the Mangari language they are Accusative, Dative, Instrumental, Genitive, Locative, Ablative, Associative and Benefactive case.

The Nominative case is unmarked

Accusative Case

This case is realized by the suffix /-ki/

mizoi naku ki DaMle
child you+case see+pr.t.
'Child sees you'

Ma naku ki DaMle
I you+case see+pr.t.
'I see you'

Instrumental Case

This case is realized by the suffix /-ai /

Ma siM+ara+ai chiya
I tree+saw+with cut
'I cut the tree with the saw'

Mai MeTki DaMa+ai DuMa
I cow+case stick+with beat+pr.t.
'I beat the cow with the stick'

Mai siM raM ai chiya.
I tree sickle with cut
'I cut the tree with the sickle'

Dative Case

This case is realised by the suffix /-aM /

ase kanun imaM rahale
she our house+case come+pr.t.
'She comes to our house'

Ma hiyaM nuMle
I field + to go+pr.t.
'I go to the field'

ase askuM lenja khaTa bariyaM nuwã /num niya
she husband with garden+to had gone
'She had gone to the garden with her husband'

Sometimes dative case is expressed without any marker

<i>hokarik</i>	<i>sipy khana</i>	<i>nuMle</i>
They	study centre	go+pr.t.
'They go to school'		

Genitive Case

This case is realised by the suffix - / kuM /.

<i>Ma</i>	'I'
<i>Mau</i>	'my'
<i>has</i>	'he'
<i>askuM</i>	'his/her'
<i>nokarikuM</i>	'their'

<i>Mo</i>	<i>lenja mija</i>	'My son'
my	boy	

<i>askuM</i>	<i>mikuTta/mihi</i>	'Her leg'
her	leg	

<i>hokarikuM</i>	<i>moi ko</i>	'Their mothers'
their	mother +pl	

Locative Case

This case is realised by the suffix / -eM /

<i>Ma</i>	<i>Mo</i>	<i>imeMle</i>
I	my	house+in
'I am in my house'		

<i>Ma</i>	<i>siMoM</i>	<i>pahiMaMle</i>
I	tree	branch+in
'I am on the branch of the tree'		

<i>M eT</i>	<i>hiyeM</i>	<i>chas na Mume</i>
cow	field+in	grass +ing
'Cow is grazing in the field'		

Ablative Case

This case is realised by the suffix /-*lekiM*/, it occurs with the noun

<i>arTum</i>	<i>lha</i>	<i>arTumlekiM</i>	<i>jhala</i>
tree	leave	tree+from	fall

‘The leaves of the tree fall from the tree’

<i>ase</i>	<i>jyoMa im</i>	<i>lekiM</i>	<i>nuMniya</i>
he	kitchen	room	from had gone

‘He had gone from the kitchen’

<i>namas</i>	<i>namlekiM</i>	<i>rahle</i>
rain	sky+from	falls+pr.t.

‘Rain fall from the sky’

Sociative Case

This case is realised by the suffix /-*khaTa*/

<i>Ma</i>	<i>Mouboi</i>	<i>khaTa</i>	<i>Mule</i>
I	father	with	to live

‘I live with my father’

<i>ase</i>	<i>askuM</i>	<i>lenja-khaTa</i>	<i>bariyaM</i>	<i>nuwã</i>
she	her	husband with	to garden	go+p.t.

‘She went to the garden with her husband’

Benefactive Case

This case is realised by the suffix /*kenaM*/

<i>Mai</i>	<i>Mouboyo</i>	<i>kenaM</i>	<i>naMrihi</i>	<i>rika</i>
I	father	sake	novel	wrote

‘I wrote the novel for the shake of my father’

<i>Mai</i>	<i>Moulaphou</i>	<i>kenaM</i>	<i>krikeT</i>	<i>gesle</i>
I	friends	sake	cricket	to play

‘I play cricket for the sake of my friend’

Post Position

The postpositions are differentiated from the case markers because they occur independently after noun/pronoun whereas the case suffixes cannot. The following are some of the post position listed below along with usage.

<i>miTak</i>	‘above’
<i>kherep</i>	‘near’
<i>numlek</i>	‘behind’
<i>maklak</i>	‘under’
<i>chewoM</i>	‘beside’
<i>miDDum</i>	‘top’
<i>Denam</i>	‘above’
<i>khaTwa</i>	‘together’ etc.

ase arTum maklakmisle
 he tree under sleeps
 ‘He sleeps under the tree’

gwaja arTuM miTak Mule
 bird tree above sits
 ‘Bird sits on the tree’

4.1.3 PRONOUN

There are five types of pronouns identified in Mangari language such as Personal Pronoun, Demonstrative Pronoun, Interrogative Pronoun, Indefinite Pronoun and Reflexive Pronoun

Personal Pronoun

The personal pronouns are three that is First personal, Second personal and Third personal. The first personal pronoun refers to the speaker, the second personal pronoun refers to the hearer and the third personal pronoun refers to the person or object other than the speaker and hearer

Person	Singular	Plural
Ist person	<i>Ma</i> ‘I’	<i>kan/kankuri</i> ‘we’
IInd person	<i>naku</i> ‘you(sl)’	<i>nakurik</i> ‘you (pl)’
IIIrd person	<i>ase</i> ‘he’ <i>has</i> ‘she’ <i>ise</i> ‘it’	<i>hokarik</i> ‘they’

Ma nakuki DaMle
 I you+case see
 'I see you'

kanai nakuki DaMle
 we you+case see
 'We see you'

nakoi Maki DaMle
 you me see
 'You (sg) see me'

nakurik kai DaMle
 you(pl) me see
 'You (pl) see me'

ase MaleTaM ra hale
 he to me near come+pr.t
 'He comes to me'

ase kanuM imaM ra hle
 she our house comes
 'She comes to our house'

ise khajus malak Disle
 it work not+do can
 'It is of no use'

Demonstrative Pronoun

The Demonstrative Pronoun is explained in Two-ways that is Proximate and Remote. The Proximate explains the situation of the object is in the visible Distance where as the Demonstrative Pronoun of Remote is explaining the remoteness of the object.

Proximate

isē jyache kura mahale
 this thing eatable not +is
 'This is not eatable'

ise nis baRako imko a le
 this+pl big house+pl are
 'These are two big houses'

Remote

hose lenja a le
that boy is
'That is a boy'

hose Disya ma ha le
that fish not is
'That is not fish'

hokori chiw a le
those dog are
'Those are dogs'

Interrogative Pronoun

The question is marked by separate markers in Mangari language

NakuM myer min hale
your name what is
'What is your name'

hose bharmiko sua le
that man who are
'Who are the men'

ise kuse chayam ale
this which season is
'Which season is this ?'

Indefinite Pronoun

The indefinite pronoun is expressed by suffixing / - *suro* / with the pronoun in Mangari

Nakurik suro nuMni Da Di rakni
you anyone go and water fetch
'Anyone of you go and fetch water'

Reflexive Pronoun

The reflexiveness is expressed by suffixing /- *nai* / in Mangari

Ma Malhanai liM liMle

I myself song sing
 'I myself sing a song'

kan kalhanai liM liM le
 we ourselvessong sing
 'We ourselves sing a song'

naku nakainai liM liM le
 you yourself song sing
 'You yourself sing a song'

nakurik nakai nai liM liM le
 you+plyourself song sing
 'You(pl) yourself sing a song'
ase asai nai liM liM le
 he himself song sing
 'He himself sings a song'

asei asai nai lhiM liM le
 she herself song sing
 'She herself sing a song'

Met laha nai Digo Mam kurhuwa
 cow itself well fall down
 'The cow itself fall down in the well'

4.1.4. ADJECTIVES

Adjective is an attribute to the noun. In Mangari the adjectives reflects both before and after the noun.

<i>secha</i>	<i>lenja</i>	
good	boy	'good boy'

<i>masTo</i>	<i>likcha</i>	
lazy	girl	'lazy girl'

<i>Descha le</i>	<i>barmi</i>	
fat+pr.t	man	'fat man'

<i>ise</i>	<i>im</i>	<i>baRa kole</i>	
this	house	large pl.pr.t.	
'This is a large house'			

4.1.5 NUMERALS

Both the cardinal and ordinal numerals are identified in Mangari language. The cardinal numerals are called primary numerals. The ordinals are called secondary. The Mangari has decimal numeral system. Basic cardinal numerals from one to ten. The other numerals are derived from compounding the basic cardinal numerals.

Cardinals

<i>kaT</i>	‘one’
<i>nis</i>	‘two’
<i>sum</i>	‘three’
<i>buli</i>	‘four’
<i>baMa</i>	‘five’
<i>Tu</i>	‘six’
<i>Tun</i>	‘seven’
<i>ke</i>	‘eight’
<i>ku</i>	‘nine’
<i>chu</i>	‘ten’

The first syllable of the numeral ten follows the cardinal numbers respectively upto nineteen. To count the cardinals twenty, thirty etc., the second syllable part of the cardinal number ‘ten’ follows.

<i>chukaT</i>	‘eleven’
<i>chunis</i>	‘twelve’
<i>chusuM</i>	‘thirteen’
<i>chubuli</i>	‘fourteen’
<i>chubarMa</i>	‘fifteen’
<i>chuTu</i>	‘sixteen’
<i>chuTun</i>	‘seventeen’
<i>chu ke</i>	‘eighteen’
<i>chu ku</i>	‘nineteen’
<i>nischu</i>	‘twenty’
<i>nis chu kaT</i>	‘twenty one’
<i>nischu nis</i>	‘twenty two’
<i>nis chu sum</i>	‘twenty three’
<i>sum chu</i>	‘thirty’
<i>sum chu kaT</i>	‘thirty one’
<i>sum chu nis</i>	‘thirty two’
<i>buli chu</i>	‘forty’
<i>buli chu kaT</i>	‘forty one’
<i>buli chu nis</i>	‘forty two’
<i>baMa chu</i>	‘fifty’
<i>baMa chu kaT</i>	‘fifty one’
<i>Tuchu</i>	‘sixty’
<i>Tu chu kaT</i>	‘sixty one’

<i>Tu chu nis</i>	‘sixty two’
<i>Tunchu</i>	‘seventy’
<i>kechu</i>	‘eighty’
<i>kuchu</i>	‘ninety’
<i>bhoM</i>	‘hundred’
<i>bhoM kaT</i>	‘hundred one’
<i>waM</i>	‘one thousand’
<i>DaM waM</i>	‘ten thousand’
<i>liwaM</i>	‘one lakh’
<i>kiwaM</i>	‘crore’

Ordinals

The ordinal numerals are expressed by the suffix */-era /* or */-sera /* added with the cardinal numerals of the variants

<i>ogera</i>	‘first’
<i>nisera</i>	‘second’
<i>sumera</i>	‘third’
<i>bu li sera</i>	‘fourth’

Fractions

The basic numerals that is; cardinal numerals are also suffixed to denote the fractions. Fractional numerals are mostly borrowed from Indo-Aryan sources, may be from Nepali.

<i>kat pauwa</i>		‘quarter’
<i>adha ser</i>		‘half’
<i>sum pauwa</i>		‘one third’
<i>kaT</i>		‘one’
<i>kaT ser</i>	<i>kaT pauwa</i>	‘one and a quarter’
one +suffix	one +quarter	
<i>kaT ser adha</i>		‘one and a half’
one+ suffix	$\frac{1}{2}$	

4.2 VERB- MORPHOLOGY

4.2.1.1. FINITE VERB

It is a complete verb and shows the complete action done which is realised through the use of tense, person, gender and number markers with the stem

Mai aski DaMle
I him see+pr.t.
'I see him'

Ma hola nuM le
I there go+pr.t.
'I go there'

Ma ila rahle
I here come+pr.t.
'I come here'

Tense

Structurally there are two tenses realized in Mangari language. The Past and Non-Past. The Non-Past covers both the present and future tense.

Past Tense

The past time is realized by the suffix / -wa and -nya /

asai mǎchak Mo Mu wa
he patience+much show+p.t.
'He showed much patience'

asai gwaja saT a
he bird kill +p.t.
'He killed the bird'

poTTo hilche ban na nya
whole money spend +p.t.
'The whole money was spent'

jaburu kaijaT naM imko kuruh wa
earthquake due to house collapse p.t.
'Due to earthquake houses were collapsed'

asai im au miDDum lekiM forju wa
he house top from jump p.t.
'He jumped from the top of the house'

Non Past Tense

Non-Past includes present and the Future Tense. The simple present time, habitual action, universal truth and the future time are realized by the markers / -le /. The distinction between present and the Future is not marked. The context determines the actual time

Mai naku ki DaMle
I you +case see+pr.t.
'I see you'

Ma hola nuM le
I there go+pr.t.
'I go there'

MeTayi yakai DuT yah -le
cow daily milk give+pr.t.
'Cow gives milk every day'

naMkhan gorak fer le
sun morning rise+pr.t.
'The sun rises in the morning'

nam kanuM Dhenam le
sky us above+pr.t.
'The sky is above us'

Ma kajus majaTle
I work not do pr.t.
'I don't do the work'

MoM imaM nuMne
my house+to go pr.t.
'Go to my house'

Ma aski liMche khasle
I her song made pr.t.
'I will make her sing a song'

asai sãTak jiya le
he mango eat +f.t.
'He will eat mango'

Aspect

There are two aspects realized namely Present continuous and Past perfect Tense

Present Continuous

The form / *man* / is suffixed with the main verb to denote the present continuous time

Met hyeMsyasna Mu mane
cow field +in graze +ing
'Cow is grazing in the field'

mija Tebl miTak Mumo Mu mane
child table on sit+ing
'Child is sitting on the table'

asai maiDanaM kuruMo Mu mane
he ground+ on lye +ing
'He is lying on the ground'

Ma siluk ma paDis na Mu mane
I story not read +ing
'I am not reading'

Past perfect

The past perfect tense is realized by the suffix *-liya* and *-niya*

Ma baza raM nuMna niya
I market +to go + p.t.
'I had gone to the market'

ase laMaM nuMna niya
he village go + had
'He had gone to the village'

Mood

Five moods are realized in Mangari namely Indicative, Imperative, Interrogative, Probability and Optative

Indicative Mood

Simple declarative sentence indicates this mood

kal kaTTa baRa ko goMche ale
kolkata large city+suffix
'Kolkata is a large city'

ase kaT imandar barmi ale
he one honest man+suffix
'He is a honest man'

Imperative Mood

The command is realised by the suffix / -ni /

Muni 'sit down'
ToMni 'stand up'
ghoni 'hold it'

nakun masTo mija argani
your daughter call+suffix
'call your daughter'

Interrogative Mood

The question is made by separate markers to denote the Interrogative mood. The question is realised before the verb or before the noun/pronoun.

naku Tise min kula liya
you yesterday where+ were
'Where were you yesterday?'

hijai Mou ogerlak ToMche
why me infront stand
'Why do you stand infront of me?'

Probability Mood

It expresses the probability of the action denoted by the verb. The probability to the action is realised by the auxiliary verb / *hyuk-* / means, may, can etc.

Ma rakhi hyukle
I come may+ f.t.
'I may come'

naku ise jaTki hyuk le
 you it do can +f.t.
 'Can you do it?'

Optative Mood

The mood which expresses the desire, is called optative mood. The suffix /-lu/ is realized which is generally occurs beginning of a sentence

lu ise awa kha siM
 let this art work do
 'Let us do this art work'

lu sarbari yeM nuiM
 let park to go
 'Let us go to the park'

4.2.1.2. NON FINITE VERB

Infinitive

The infinitive marker is / cha/

Ma asko ki usa jyacha khas le
 I her medicine eat+to make+f.t.
 'I shall make her to eat the medicine'

Ma asko ki lhiM cha khas le
 I her sing+to make+f.t.
 'I will make her to sing a song'

Verbal Noun

The verb function as a noun is called verbal noun The verbal noun is realised by the suffix / - ki / in Mangari language

asko krikeT geski jakle
 he cricket playing like+pr.t.
 'He is fond of playing cricket'

asai paDaisara yem biTa Diki jakle
 he read + by time spending likes
 'He likes to pass his time by reading'

Gerund

The gerund is realized by two different suffixes / -ki / and / -nona / in Mangari language.

cahã geski Daso
now playing stop
'Stop playing now'

Ma rilhiM paDiski jaknesele
I poem reading like+pr.t.
'I like reading poem'

gorak paDiski sechale
morning reading better
'Reading in the morning is better'

luk lekiM khernona liya
horse byrunning done
'The running was done by the horse'

Participle

The verb which partakes of the nature of both a verb and of an adjective called participle. In Mangari language suffix / -ra / is realised as a participle which occurs with the verb

krikeT gesa raasai jyera
cricket playing he health gained
'By playing cricket he gained good health'

halla sye ra lenja suwa
noise hearing boy woke-up
'Hearing the noise boys woke up'

4.2.1.3 CAUSATIVE VERB

The action of cause is realized in Mangari language by the suffix / -khas / which occurs with the main verb

Ma askoki usa jya cha khas le
I her medicine eat+to make+f.t
'I shall make her eat the medicine'

Ma aski lhiM lhiMcha khas le
 I her sing+to make+ f.t
 'I will make her sing a song'

4.2.1.4 AUXILIARY VERB

The auxiliary verb of can, may, should, are realised by separate words like
 / *hyũ* / 'may', 'can' / *paDle* / 'should', 'must'

Ma rakhi hyũ kle
 I come may
 'I may come'

naku ise jaTki hyũ kle
 you it do can
 'Can you do it?'

kan kurik chaDai miski parle
 we early sleep+to should
 'We should sleep early'

kan kurik ju ru maM Muki parle
 we meeting attend should
 'We should attend the meeting'

4.2.1.5 NEGATIVE VERB

The negation is expressed in the following ways by the use of /*ma*/, /*Mahale*/, /*nata*/ in Mangari language

Ma ma nu wa
 I not go +p.t.
 'I did not go'

Ma ma hrale
 I not + come pr.t.
 'I am not coming'

Ma na kuki senra ma DaM niya
 I you before not+ see+ time
 'I have never seen you before'

ise khajus ma log Disle
 it work not + use do
 'It is of no use'

hose Disya Mahale ManiyeM ise Disya ale.
 that fish not but this fish
 'Not that fish but this fish'

Transitive Verb

The verb which is used with a direct object called transitive verb.

DaMle 'see'
DuMle 'beat'
saTle 'kill'
yale 'give'

Mai nakuki DaMle
 I you+case see
 'I see you'

hasei chuwki DuMle
 he dog+ case beat+pr.t.
 'He beats the dog'

Intransitive Verbs

The verb which dose not take the direct object called

ToMki 'stand'
phorjoki 'jump'
bhuki 'fly'
kherki 'run'
geski 'play'
Muki 'sit'

Ma barmiTak phor juwa
 I fence+ over jump +p.t.
 'I jumped over the fence'

g waja bhurle
 bird fly
 'The birds fly'

4.2.2 ADVERB

Adverb is classified into three types Adverb of place, Adverb of manner and Adverb of time

Adverb of Place

The adverb of place is realised by separate forms or words in Mangari language

Ma ila rahle
I here come
'I come here'

Ma hola nuM le
I there go
'I go there'

arTum ajiklaMo alak paTTik laMo
tree that that side road
'Tree is on that side of the road'

Mau im Mau asiMo kherep le
My house my office near is
'My house is near my office'

Ma laMa lekhiM losle
I village from far +pr.t.
'I am far from the village'

hijai Mom agharlak ToM che
why me infront stand
'Why do you stand in front of me?'

chiw Mom minhulak raha
dog me behind came
'The dog came behind me'

ase Ma Moki kajus jaT le
he I under work do +pr.t.
'He works under me'

ramasitau nuMlak raha
Rama Sita after came
'Rama came after sita'

naku hola bahira chankhi *parle*
 you there outside should wait +pr.t.
 ‘You should be there outside’

Adverb of Time

Ma peyorak sarbariyeM nuMle
 I to tomorrow garden +to go +f.t.
 ‘I shall go to the garden tomorrow’

Ma aprim asim nuM le
 I day after tomorrow office go+f.t.
 ‘I will go to the office day after tomorrow’

Ma kaTniM nuMla fou imaMliya
 I day before friends house+had
 ‘I had been to my friend’s house day before yesterday’

Ma chiniMimaM nuM le
 I today house go +will
 ‘I will go home today’

Adverb of Manner

The adverb of manner is realised by the suffix */-ho /*

sarho chekni
 loudly speak
 ‘Speak loudly’

semho rikoni
 neat +ly write
 ‘Write neatly’

semjao michem koreT ni
 nicely hair comb +request’
 ‘Comb your hair nicely’

4.2.3 PARTICLE

The particles of Mangari is shown below

Ma nuMki poRnon ya
 I go had +to
 ‘I had to go’

asai kajus jaTki Ma poRnonya
 he work do + not should
 ‘He should not do the work’

imaM nuMni Da iesna rah ni
 home goand back come
 ‘Go home and come back’

hose Disya mahale monhyeM ise Disya ale
 that fish not but this fish
 ‘Not that fish but this fish’

4.2.4 ECHO FORMATION

Some of the Echo formation in Mangari are the following

<i>churu</i>	<i>suru</i>	‘rice etc’
<i>Di</i>	<i>si</i>	‘water etc’
<i>im</i>	<i>sim</i>	‘house etc’
<i>juche</i>	<i>suche</i>	‘sweet etc’
<i>chamal</i>	<i>samal</i>	‘rice etc’

5. SYNTAX

5.1 ORDER OF WORDS

The order of words in Mangari language is subject + object+ verb (SOV).

ase chuwki DuMle
he dog+case beat+pr.t.
'He beats the dog'

namas nam lekin rahle
rain sky+from falls +pr.t.
'The rain falls from the sky'

ase bazaraM nuwã
he marker+to gone
'He has gone to the market'

ase gwa jaki saT a
he bird +case kill+ed
'He killed the bird'

5.2 DESCRIPTION OF TYPES OF SENTENCES

There are five types of sentences are realized in Mangari language namely, Interrogative, Imperative, Negative, Causative and Co-ordinative

Interrogative Sentences

ise kuse Mum sa ale
this which season
'Which season is this?'

naku sen rah le
you when come
'When will you come?'

naku ise jaT ki hyu kle
you it do can
'Can you do it?'

Imperative Sentences

The command is realised by the suffix / -ni / which is suffixed with the verb

Muni 'sit down'
ToMni 'stand up'
ghoni 'hold it'

nakun masTo Mija argani
your daughter call+suffix
'Call your daughter'

Negative Sentences

The / -ma / and / -naTa / are the negative forms realised in Mangari language

Ma manu wa
I not go
'I did not go'

Ma ciniM ma hrale
I today not +come +pr.t.
'I am not coming'

Ma na kuki senra ma DaM niya
I you before not+ see+ time
'I have never seen you before'

ise kajus Mahale malag Disle
it work not + use do
'It is of no use'

hose Disya mahaleMohyaM ise Disya ale
that fish not but this fish
'Not that fish but this fish'

naTa nakuwai jaTle naTa Mai
neither you do+pr.t. nor I
'Neither you do nor I'

Causative Sentences

The action of cause is realised in Mangari language by the suffix / -khas / which occurs in between the main verb stem and finite form.

Mai haski usa jya che khas le
 I her medicine eat+to make+pr.t.
 'I shall make her eat the medicine'

Mai haski lhiMche khas le
 I her sing+to make+pr.t.
 'I will make her sing a song'

hasei goRaki kyer maM kyerche khas le
 he horse race run +to made
 'He made the horse to run'

Co-ordinate Sentences

A conjunctive particle which coordinates to make a complete sentence is called coordinate sentence

Ki rikMa ki siM rikMa jyaT le
 Either pen or pencil do +will
 'Either pen or pencil will do'

5.3 DESCRIPTION OF PATTERNS OF SENTENCES

There are three patterns of sentences in Mangari languages. They are Simple, Compound and Complex.

Simple Sentences

A sentence, which has one subject and one predicate called simple sentence. An Affirmative, Interrogative, Imperative and Negative sentences come under the simple sentence pattern

kan ila Thuna
 we here stop
 'We stop here'

semho rikni
 neat +ly write+Imp.marker
 'Write neatly'

Ma manuwa
 I not go +p.t.
 'I did not go'

Ma goki hyuk le
 I catch may
 'May I catch ?'

Compound Sentences

Two main clauses joined with the help of a particle like / *Da* / 'but' called compound sentence

hose Disya hoina Da ise Disya
 that fish not but this fish
 'Not that fish but this fish'

imaM nuMni Da lesna rahni
 to home go+Imp and back come +Imp.marker
 'Go home and come back'

Complex Sentences

When one main clause and two or more subordinate clauses joined to make a complete sentence is called complex sentence

Ma askoki nepali lhiM liMchei jache DaMa
 I he +case nepali song sing+ing when saw
 'I saw him when he was singing a Nepali song'

yeDi rel aber chana DenaM kaMhoki hyo kle
 train if late +time we+ catch can
 'If the train is late, we may catch it'

jabaMa askoki DaMa ase maiDanaM kuru MoMu manya
 when I he +case saw he ground on lay +ing
 'He was lying on the ground when I saw him'

Mai Mau jalmaDinha Da Ma ciniM manuwa
 I my net not+found so I today not go
 'I could not find my net so I did not go today'

BIBLIOGRAPHY

MANGARI

Acharya K.P.	1983	<i>Lotha Grammar</i> , C.I.I.L. Grammar Series No.10
Benedict, Paul K.	1972	<i>Sino-Tibetan: A conspectus</i> . J.A.Matisoff(Ed.)
B.Bernard and G.L. Trager	1972	<i>Outline of Linguistic Analysis</i> , New Delhi Oriental Books, Reprint Corporation.
Giridhar. P.P.	1980	<i>Angami Grammar</i> , Mysore, CIIL Grammar Series No.1
Grierson, George Abraham.	1967	<i>Linguistic Survey of India. Vol. III Part –I Tibeto-Burman Family, Himalayuan Dialects, North Assam Groups</i> , Delhi, Motilal Banarasidas.
Jones, Daniel,	1960	<i>An Outline of English Phonetics</i> , Cambridge, England w. Hefner and Sons Ltd.
Mahapatra, B.P. & et.al	1989	<i>The Written Languages of the World: A Survey of the Degree and Modes of Use</i> . Government of India, New Delhi and Laval University Press, Canada.
Stephen A.Watters.	1999	<i>'Tonal contrasts in Sherpa'</i> in <i>Topics in Nepalese Linguistics</i> , Royal Nepal Academy, Kathmandu.
Y.P.Yadav and W.W.Glower	1999	<i>Topics in Nepalese Linguistics</i> , Royal Nepal Academy, Kathmandu
Census of India	1981	<i>Population by language/mother tongue, C-7 Tables, Part IV B(i)</i> , Government of India, Delhi
Census of India	1961	<i>Language Tables, Vol.I part II-C(ii)</i> , Governemnt of India, Delhi
Census of India	1991	<i>Language Tables, Vol.I part II-C(ii)</i> , Governemnt of India, Delhi
Census of India	1991	<i>Bilingualism and Trilingualism, Table C-8 Part IV B (i) (b)</i> , Governemnt of India, Delhi

MANGARI

TEXT

goman kagai chicha bulki kuTTo jaTho saTa
hen crow black snake how killed
'How crow hen killed the black snake'

breTche arTuM migyeM lenja masTo umanya
spread tree among husband wife lived

Among the spreading branches of a banyan tree lived a crow and his wife..

gwajomhimaM buli oTa maja miru boilmoi Se chekhaTa Mosnanya
bird + nest four little-egg parents great-care guarded

In the nest were four little eggs, which were guarded with great care.

hose arTum dh õndroM kaT chicha bulMumiya hose
that tree trunk one black snake lived that

bulkTa kag DaliM birhi manya
snake+with crow very feared

In the hollow of that tree lived a black snake whom the crows feared greatly.

saDai beleM goman kagai mirhu rumanya Da bulai hose
every time crow + hen-egg laid and snake that

mihii mkiberdi yara jyamoyahaa
nest crowled ate

Every time the crow hen laid her eggs the snake crawled up to the nest and ate them up.

<i>yaDi</i>	<i>iDigbela</i>	<i>chech bulai</i>	<i>Mau mirhu jyamo yaha</i>
if	this time	black snake	my egg eat give

<i>dinaM</i>	<i>na ise</i>	<i>arTumaM</i>	<i>senra maMo le</i>
if	I this	tree	never not live

If this black snake eats up my eggs this time also, I will refuse to live in this tree any longer.

<i>kan kurik kanu</i>	<i>mihim aruTa waM</i>	<i>khaski parle</i>	<i>Diyara</i>	
we	our nest	another place	built	said

<i>gwajoumoi</i>	<i>lenjaki</i>	<i>Diyara</i>
bird- mother	husband	said

We must build our nest somewhere else,” said the mother to her husband.

<i>kankurik ila</i>	<i>Dalim</i>	<i>yaM agyer lekiM</i>	<i>Muche</i>
we	have	long time	lived

We have lived here a long time.

<i>Ma ise mihim</i>	<i>Daski mahyu kle</i>	<i>Da</i>	<i>arko mihi maM uMki</i>
I this house	desert not can	and	nest house live

<i>mahyukle</i>	<i>kagai Diya</i>
not + can	crow said

I can’t bear to desert my home and go to live elsewhere,” said the crow.

<i>Jaba horkurik</i>	<i>Maknana niya</i>	<i>horikbela</i>	<i>horkai</i>	<i>bulau sör</i>
When they	talking	while	they	snake hissing

<i>mākha</i>	<i>siya</i>
below	heard

While they were talking they heard a hissing sound just below them.

<i>horkaiTtaha</i>	<i>Dina</i>	<i>hyew</i>	<i>sorko ale</i>
they	knew	what	sound meant

They knew what the sound meant.

hokurik *bẽ sara* *chanaraloho* *imaM* *Muwa* *ra*
they helplessly their house sat and

mirhukĩ *aTchu ki laMan* *jaTa*
egg protect trying

They sat helplessly in their nest trying to protect their eggs.

chi chabul *Denam* *kalha* *Da* *imletaM* *kherap* *lẽtaM* *Taha*
black snake higher crept and house to closer reached

The black snake crept higher and closer to the nest.

oni *baRako* *sorkhaTa* *gwajaki* *gokĩ* *pagwa ja* *birhara* *burha*
there loud his sound bird try +toat +bird feared flew

Then with a loud hiss he tried to strike the birds who flew away in terror

kaT kaT jaTara *chichabulai* *poTTa* *mirhu* *mele ka*
one by one blake snake all egg swallowed

One by one the black snake swallowed the eggs

moiboi gwajako *mamaraM* *loho* *mihimoM* *lesa*
parents sadly there nest back

hokarikai *warah* *horkoM* *mihim* *morleM*
they well know they house empty

The parents came back sadly to the nest knowing fully that the house will be empty.

Di yara kagai *Diya Ma* *ise* *mas che* *bul* *saTcha* *lam* *pale*
seen crow said I this murderous snake destroy+to way find

I should find a way to kill this murderous snake.

kuTTa jaTna *naku* *hose KaTa* *pun le* *hochen* *mas che kata*
how + can you that +with fight his deadly

Dōkokche misyak hasew mahajai birihyara Diya
 sting his wife disappeared said

How can you ever fight with him? His sting is so deadly, said his wife in deapair.

sūrta majaTo MoM pyaro lafa Mou kaT warcha
 worry not +do my dear my friendmy one cunning

lafale yanchyo bisalu bulki saTcha kagai Diya Da
 friend this type poisonous snake destroy crow said and

bura ra arko arTum nuwã hola hochew
 flew another tree reached where his

pyaro lafa sila uman ya
 loving friend jackal lived

Do not worry my dear, I've got a friend who is cunning enough to destroy the most poisinuous of snakes, said the crow, and off he flew to another tree under which lived his dear friend, Jackal.

jaba silai siyaki kuTTo jaTno bulai saDhai
 cruel jackal heard how +the snake always

mirhu jamanya, hochai Diya
 egg ate up he + said

when the Jackal heard how the snake always ate up the eggs, he said

MoMlafa sukonirdai Da mascha khaTaisile habya
 my friend cruel and bad with will die greedy

Ma hoski saT che
 I him destroy

My friend, those who are cruel and greedy always meet with a bad end.

aTai *dewna isehi ale kagai Diya. hoTai sila behiya*
oh! tell it what is crow said then jacked feared

swera sya Dema ijaT na silai
overheard whispered sounds

Oh, do tell me what it is, said the crow. Then the jackal fearing he might be overheard, whispered to his friend.

lafa ki Diya kuTu jhaTara bulki saTki. kag bhurara hosew
friend said what that cruel snake destroy crow flew his

maja letaM nawāh horkoM kura baren Diya. ise breMche char le kagai
wife + from back there plan about said this rather risky crow

The crow flew back to his wife and told her about the plan. It is rather risky, said the crow.

Diya *kankuri ekda mai chanka chank parle*
said we very care full do

Ma MoM mirhu bacha De khi hipani jaT ki hyokle moigwa jai Diya
I my friend children do care can mother bird said

We will have to be very careful. I'll do any thing to save my eggs said the mother bird.

Da hokūrik liso muruM Mau im paTTik burara nuwā muruM im
and they country living palace towards flew palace

hoskurik Mū che arTum-lekiM lōsmaliya
they lived tree from far+not

So off flew towards the palace of the king of the country. The palace was not far from the tree where they lived.

hosku rik muruM imoM sar bariyo DigomaM Taha horkoi
 they palace garden pond approach

murumi naischai jaThe DaMa,
 royal lady bath +ing do pr.t.

They approached a big pond in the palace garden where they saw the royal ladies having a bath.

horkoi horkuM geyaw jhul moTi yohar Da aru abruk
 they their g chain pearl necklace and other jewelry

Digo mache waM Damanya
 pond its laid

They had laid their golden chains, pearl necklaces and other jewellery on the edge of the pond.

moigwaja bura mhaka nuwa, gewjhul meMeram umara
 mother bird flew down goldenchain mouth picked

The mother bird flew down and picked up a golden chain in its mouth.

bistari hokorik ūnche arTuM lak burki
 slowly they tree fly

Slowly flying towards the tree in which it lived.

Thala muruM mau pahardari DaMa gwaja gew jhul burchei
 start many people guards clubs, bird gold chain flying

nuMchei ohorikai loho haTiyar lara gwaja khe DDi ki Tala
 going they their club taking bird chased

When the palace guards saw the bird flying off with the golden chain, they took up their clubs and started chasing the bird

kaT *paherdar* *arTuMamkhalha* *jhul* *Donki* *jhul* *Donki*
 one guard Tree climbed chain to get chain to get

arTuMo *waMēn* *mihuT* *kaneM* *bul* *DaMa* *ase* *bulki* *sichei* *jaTno*
 tree hole had put snake saw he snake hand spoke

DuMa *Da* *bulki* *saTa* *ijaTnana* *chicha* *bulki* *Dum* *liya*
 hit and snake killed this way black snake lost end was

One of the guards climbed up the tree to get the chain. As he put his hand in side the hole to get the chain, he saw a black snake curled up there and with one hard stroke of his club he killed it and that was the end of the black snake.

kag *da* *goMan* *kagmaraM* *chai* *hosai* *arTuman* *mukhi* *Thala*
 Crow and hen children got tree started like

aThai *horkuM* *Dalim* *jaja* *kagko* *hora*
 and there Many children crow grown up

The crow and the crow hen lived in that tree happily afterwards and had many little baby crows.

-----X-----

SUNWAR

S. GANESH BASKARAN

1.INTRODUCTION

The present study gives out the grammatical sketch of Sunwar language spoken in Sikkim state based on the data collected during the field investigation from November 1999 to January 2000.

1.1 FAMILY AFFILIATION

According to the classification given by Grierson in Linguistic Survey of India Vol.III pt-I pp. 177 –181, 198 – 203, Sunwar is a non- pronominalised dialect of Himalayan Languages of Tibeto-Burman sub family of Tibeto-Chinese family. As per the subsequent classification by Paul Benedict the Sunwar (in Sikkim) belongs to the Bahing-Vayu group of Bahing branch of Tibeto Burman sub-family.

1.2 LOCATION

According to Grierson 1909 pp. 198- 204 , the Sunwars are a cultivating tribe of Nepal . Like the mangars, Gurungs and Khas are considered as belonging to the class called Mukhya or chief. Sunwars say that they are from the Western Nepal of Simurgah near Bara chati. On their wandering lastly they came to Chuplu on the Aikhukola river took possession of it Makwari raja Western ruler of Eastern Nepal Likhu khola and Khuntikhola are now the main settlement of the tribe in Nepal.

Though primarily Sunwars are inhabitants of Nepal but their existence is extended upto Sikkim , West Bengal (particularly Darjeeling District) beyond Assam etc. i.e. the territory of Nepal. The speakers strength of Sunwar as per Grierson's LSI is as follows:

Assam	259
Jalpaiguri	36
Darjeeling	4,425
Sikkim	545
	5,265

1.3 SPEARKERS' STRENGTH

According to the latest available Census data on Sunwar that is 1961 Census Vol. 2 pt .II c–(ii) Language Table page no. 178 ,The Sunwar speakers' strength is given below

	Total	Male	Female
India	297	155	142
Assam	19	19	
West Bengal	277	136	141
North East			
Frontier Agency	1		1

So far the information regarding Sunwar in the state of Sikkim is concerned a number of 644 speakers was recorded in 1951 Census. In 1961 Census no speakers' strength was recorded from Sikkim state. However 1971 onwards because of restriction (linguistic community having less than 10000 speakers at all India level is not appearing separately in the language list) the speakers strength of Sunwar is not available.

Since the Sunwar language is not appearing in Census following the above restriction so Bilingualism data in respect of Sunwar could not be available.

1.4 SOCIOLINGUISTIC SETTING

The Sunwars, also known as 'Mukhiyas', are a cultivating community in Sikkim. The Sunwars have three sub-groups viz. (i) Barathares, (ii) Dastharies and (iii) Jirels in hierarchic order. The community migrated to Sikkim from Simulgarh in western Nepal and Chaplu in east Nepal. The Sunwars follow exogamy at the clan level and endogamy at the community level. Monogamy is the usual practice, but polygamy is allowed especially in case of barrenness.

Though in earlier days the Sunwars had been a hunting community but at present the land is the main economic source of the Sunwars. Agriculture and working as agricultural labourers constitute their primary occupations. As a subsidiary mode they work as labourers in road construction.

In earlier times the Sunwars had a dialect as well as script known as "Koicha" which was once used by all 'Kirat' communities. But recently the Sunwars use the Nepali language in their daily life among themselves and out side. Sunwars use the script called "*kôitspres*".

The Sunwars follow Hindu rituals along with practicing their traditional religious practices. Formal education is encouraged for Sunwar boys and girls.

. In Sikkim Sunwars are mainly concentrated in the West district and few are scattered in the east and south districts too.

The Sunwars have their tradition of their own folklore and folk tales.

The sociolinguistic setting of Sunwar can be explained on the extent of its use as mother tongue and the extent of use as other tongue. The developmental activities taken

up for promoting the Sunwar language by the Government of Sikkim and through private enterprises may be considered for delineating the sociolinguistic situation around the Sunwars.

As a mother tongue Sunwar is used in home and community. The use of mother tongue is related in parent ego children in the home and extra kin situation. Thus in the domain of locality the mother tongue is also in use. In the parent-ego-children relationship, the parents invariably interact in the mother tongue with the children and also with the aged people. Since the children of these days are exposed to other languages through education most often their speech is mixed with Nepali and English. The use of mother tongue is more between the aged people and among the middle aged whereas among the young and between the young the extent of use of mother tongue is comparatively less. Among the women the use of mother tongue is more in comparison to the men folk.

In the formal domains of Education, Administration, Judiciary and Mass media the role of Sunwar is also realised in the oral communication level. In the domain of the Education in the rural areas the verbal interaction between the teacher and student and among the students in and outside the classroom is done in Sunwar only. The Sunwar language is taught up to 3rd standard in the village Primary Schools.

In the Administration although all written correspondences are done through Nepali and English, Sunwar is also used as the medium of the verbal interaction between staffs and the public in the rural areas. The state Government imparts training to the officials in Sunwar language for smooth running of Administration and building up of a cordial relation with the Sunwar people.

In the level of Judiciary also Sunwar language is used in informal oral communication. In the lower courts during the cross examination of the convicts by the Lawyers and sometimes the Judge, if he is a local person, also interacts with the local people in their respective language. The social workers of the registered organisations interact with both the parties of litigation in the lower courts in Sunwar and helped them to come to a possible settlement and to convince them.

In the domain of Mass media, Doordarshan and a private television channel telecast folk music in Sunwar language on festive occasions.

The Government of Sikkim encourages Sunwar people to continue their cultural programme in Sunwar in respective festive occasions. The local magazines like Sikkim Herald publishing the poems and stories. The Sikkim Government patronises preparation of dictionary and glossaries in Sunwar language and extends necessary financial aids to the welfare association of Sunwar for the purpose.

1.5 REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The Sunwar sounds and its Grammatical structures have been described by Sir Grierson in his Linguistic Survey of India.

2. PHONOLOGY

2.1 PHONEMIC INVENTORY

There are 33 phonemes in Sunwar language of which 28 are consonants and 5 are vowels. The suprasegmental phonemes are Tone and Nasalisation .

2.1.1 SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

Vowels

high	<i>i</i>	<i>u</i>
mid	<i>e</i>	<i>o</i>
low	<i>a*</i>	

*** The italicised /a/ actually represents the low front unrounded vowel /a/**

Consonants

	Bilabial vl. vd.	Labio dental vl. vd.	Alveolar vl. vd.	Retroflex vl. vd.	Palatal vl. vd.	Velar vl. vd.	Glottal vl. vd.
Stops	<i>p</i> <i>b</i>		<i>t</i> <i>d</i> <i>T</i>		<i>c</i> <i>j</i> <i>k</i> <i>g</i>		<i>ʔ</i>
Aspirants	<i>ph</i>		<i>th</i>	<i>Th</i>	<i>ch</i>	<i>kh</i>	
Fricatives		<i>f</i>	<i>s</i> <i>z</i>		<i>S'</i>		<i>h</i>
Nasals	<i>m</i>		<i>n</i>			<i>M</i>	
Laterals			<i>l</i>				
Flap/Taps			<i>r</i>	<i>R</i>			
Semi vowel	<i>w</i>				<i>y</i>		

Contrasting pairs (Vowels)

<i>/i~e/ riw</i>	‘husband’s brother’
<i>rew</i>	‘rain’
<i>ni</i>	‘two’
<i>ne</i>	‘nose’
<i>/e~a/ rew</i>	‘rain’
<i>daw</i>	‘like’
<i>kũwa</i>	‘pond’
<i>chu be</i>	‘sting bug’

/a~o/	<i>mama</i>	‘uncle’
	<i>goma</i>	‘mistress’
	<i>nakma</i>	‘new moon night’
	<i>re lmo</i>	‘hill’
/o~u/	<i>goma</i>	‘mistress’
	<i>phuma</i>	‘full moon night’
	<i>khitho</i>	‘shade’
	<i>phuiklu</i>	‘sock’

Contrasting pairs (consonants)

/p~b/	<i>pulu</i>	‘ashes’
	<i>busu</i>	‘owl’
/p~ph/	<i>pulu</i>	‘ashes’
	<i>phaSi</i>	‘air’
/t~d/	<i>tõ R</i>	‘beak’
	<i>du j</i>	‘chilly’
/t~th/	<i>temu</i>	‘ear wax’
	<i>themi</i>	‘daughter’
/t~T/	<i>tiche</i>	‘touch’
	<i>TõTom</i>	‘beaks’
/c~j/	<i>cila</i>	‘lightening’
	<i>jera</i>	‘arm’
/c~ch/	<i>caimi</i>	‘daughter-in-law’
	<i>charmi</i>	‘young woman’
/k~g/	<i>kãyi</i>	‘intestine’
	<i>gasu</i>	‘fog’

<i>/k~kh/</i>	<i>kola</i>	‘brook’
	<i>khitu</i>	‘darkness’
<i>/k~ʔ/</i>	<i>ka</i>	‘one’
	<i>ʔa</i>	‘he’
<i>/f~y/</i>	<i>fra</i>	‘wing’
	<i>yae</i>	‘leach’
	<i>faka</i>	‘half’
	<i>amaf</i>	‘parents’
<i>/s~z/</i>	<i>misal</i>	‘female child’
	<i>wōizal</i>	‘male child’
<i>/s~S’/</i>	<i>si</i>	‘wool’
	<i>S’or</i>	‘star’
	<i>saiM</i>	‘sky’
	<i>S’yer</i>	‘decendents’
<i>/k~h/</i>	<i>kola</i>	‘brook’
	<i>huwis</i>	‘blood’
<i>/m~n/</i>	<i>mi</i>	‘fire’
	<i>niS’i</i>	‘two’
<i>/m~M/</i>	<i>mi</i>	‘fire’
	<i>Ma</i>	‘fish’
	<i>kamso</i>	‘lean’
	<i>kaMta</i>	‘crab’
<i>/l~r/</i>	<i>lã</i>	‘path’
	<i>rew</i>	‘rain’

/r~ R/

S'or	'star'
tõR	'beak'

/w~y/

wais	'he'
yafe	'leech'

2.1.2 SUPRASEGMENTAL PHONEMES

Nasalisation

All the vowels get nasalized in the medial position except the high back rounded vowel /u/

<i>gĩl</i>	'cloud'
<i>gĩsa</i>	'district'
<i>brẽik</i>	'bank of the river'
<i>genãgen</i>	'giving'
<i>hõss</i>	'heat'
<i>hãga</i>	'branch'
<i>wõsal</i>	'baboon'
<i>wõfo</i>	'egg'

2.2 PHONEMIC DESCRIPTION AND DISTRIBUTION

The phonemic description and distribution of the vowels and consonants are shown below

Vowels

/i/ high front unrounded short vowel occurs in all three positions.

<i>imim</i>	'small'
<i>sariM</i>	'sky'
<i>ni</i>	'two'

/e/ mid high front unrounded short vowel occurs in all three positions.

<i>eiya</i>	'nine'
<i>themi</i>	'daughter'
<i>yafe</i>	'leech'

/a/ low front unrounded short vowel occurs in all three positions.

<i>amat</i>	‘parents’
<i>MasMa</i>	‘plan’
<i>bhagyu</i>	‘brother’swife’(elder)

/o/ mid high back rounded short vowel occurs in all three positions.

<i>ohas</i>	‘dung bug’
<i>pokhe</i>	‘earth quake’
<i>hopo</i>	‘king’

/u/ high back rounded short vowel occurs in all three positions.

<i>uRus</i>	‘dung bug’
<i>duj</i>	‘chilly’
<i>pulu</i>	‘ashes’

Consonants

/p/ voiceless bilabial stop occurs in all three positions.

<i>pulu</i>	‘ashes’
<i>kyerpiyã</i>	‘police’
<i>chaip</i>	‘bird ‘young’

/b/ voiced bilabial stop occurs in all three positions.

<i>bermõ</i>	‘cat’
<i>chebi</i>	‘bird’
<i>khab</i>	‘earth’

/ph/ voiceless bilabial stop occurs in the initial positions.

<i>phasi</i>	‘air’
<i>phecha</i>	‘wear’

/t/ voiceless bilabial stop occurs in all three positions.

<i>tuda</i>	‘thirst’
<i>S’watel</i>	‘rhinoceros’
<i>kot</i>	‘leather’

/d/ voiced alveolar stop occurs in all three positions

<i>duj</i>	‘chilly’
<i>bedra</i>	‘dead body’
<i>kad</i>	‘crow’

/th/ aspirated voiceless stop occurs in the initial and the medial positions

<i>thasla</i>	‘moon’
<i>khĩtho</i>	‘shade’

/T/ voiceless retroflex stop occurs in the initial and the medial positions.

<i>TõTom</i>	‘beaks’
<i>KaMTa</i>	‘crab’

/Th/ aspirated voiceless retroflex stop occurs in the initial and the medial positions

<i>Thicha</i>	‘touch’
<i>kiTho</i>	‘shade’

/c/ voiceless palatal stop occurs in all three positions

<i>cila</i>	‘lightening’
<i>sõci</i>	‘moustache’
<i>chãc</i>	‘grand son’

/ch/ aspirated voiceless palatal stop occurs in the initial and the medial positions

<i>charmi</i>	‘young woman’
<i>nãchã̃</i>	‘bright’

/j/ voiced palatal stop occurs in the initial and the medial positions

<i>jiz</i>	‘sweet’
<i>kuĩjil</i>	‘rickshaw’

/k/ voiceless velar stop occurs in all three positions

<i>kot</i>	‘leather’
<i>ge ki</i>	‘page’
<i>hoprek</i>	‘nib’

/kh/ aspirated voiceless stop occurs in the initial and the medial positions

<i>khoso</i>	‘bitter’
<i>pōkhe</i>	‘cave’

/g/ voiced velar stop occurs in the initial and the medial positions

<i>gil</i>	‘cloud’
<i>sigre</i>	‘hawk’

/ʔ/ glottal stop occurs in the initial and the medial positions

<i>ʔa</i>	‘he’
<i>baʔbo</i>	‘available’

/f/ voiceless labiodental friction occurs in all three positions

<i>fāya</i>	‘half’
<i>pufuil</i>	‘limestone’
<i>amaf</i>	‘parents’

/s/ voiceless alveolar fricative occurs in all three positions

<i>sariM</i>	‘sky’
<i>kāsmal</i>	‘dust’
<i>kagaus</i>	‘eleven’

/z/ voiced alveolar fricative occurs only in the medial positions

<i>hāzum</i>	‘black bee’
<i>phazbi</i>	‘powder’

/S/ voiceless palatal fricative occurs in the medial and the final positions

<i>moS’omb</i>	‘darkness’
<i>luS’</i>	‘dawn’

/h/ voiceless glottal fricative occurs in all three positions

<i>has</i>	‘weather’
<i>phoha</i>	‘motor car’
<i>malah</i>	‘need’

/m/ bilabial nasal occurs in all three positions

<i>mus</i>	‘floor’
<i>bermoka</i>	‘cat’
<i>kuchum</i>	‘dog’

/n/ alveolar nasal occurs in all three positions

<i>ne</i>	‘nose’
<i>manep</i>	‘deaf’
<i>khan</i>	‘mushroom’

/M/ velar nasal occurs in all three positions

<i>Maistik</i>	‘anus’
<i>koMla</i>	‘beetle’
<i>S’uM</i>	‘boat’

/l/ alveolar lateral occurs in all three positions

<i>lẽ</i>	‘tongue’
<i>kwãili</i>	‘leg’
<i>jilil</i>	‘oil’

/r/ alveolar trill occurs in all three positions

<i>ra</i>	‘body’
<i>bermoka</i>	‘cat’
<i>mor</i>	‘monkey’

/R/ retroflex tap occurs in the medial and final positions

<i>uRus</i>	‘dung bug’
<i>tõR</i>	‘beak’

/w/ bilabial semi vowel occurs in all three positions

<i>wais</i>	‘he’
<i>Swatel</i>	‘rhinoceros’
<i>aw</i>	‘brother’

/y/ palatal semi vowel occurs in initial and medial positions

<i>yiãgaus</i>	‘nineteen’
<i>piya</i>	‘head’

2.3 MAJOR ALLOPHONIC DISTRIBUTIONS

The vowel phonemes of the Sunwar generally get lowered in the inter consonantal positions.

Vowels

/ i / The high front unrounded short vowel has two allophones [I] and [i]

[I] The higher front unrounded short vowel occurs interconsonantly.

[cIla]	/cila/	‘lightening’
[gIl]	/gil/	‘cloud’
[huwIs]	/huwis/	‘blood’

[i] The high front unrounded short vowel occurs elsewhere.

/ e / The mid high front unrounded short vowel has three allophones.
[E] , [A] and [e] .

[E] The mid low front unrounded short vowel occurs between consonants

[rEw]	/ rew/	‘rain’
[bErmõ]	/ bermõ/	‘cat’

[A] mid central unrounded vowel occurs after the labio dental voiceless fricative.

[afAm]	/afem /	‘parents’
--------	---------	-----------

[e] The mid high front unrounded short vowel occurs elsewhere.

/ a / Low Front unrounded short vowel has two allophones [a] and [a] .

[a] Low back unrounded short vowel occurs between consonants.

[kUwa]	/ kuwa /	‘pond’
[kha b]	/ khab /	‘earth’

[a] Low front unrounded short vowel occurs else where.

/ o / mid high back rounded short vowel has two allophones. [O] and [o] .

[O] mid low back rounded short vowel occurs after the alveolar fricative consonant and after the labiodental semivowel.

[sŌr]	/ sōr /	‘star’
[wŌĩsal]	/ woĩsal /	‘boy’

[o] mid high back rounded short vowel occurs elsewhere.

/ u / high back rounded short vowel has two allophones. [U] and [u] .

[U] Lower high back rounded short vowel occur between consonants.

[chUbe]	/ chube /	‘sting bug’
[lUsbu]	/ lusbu /	‘worms’

[u] high back rounded short vowel occurs elsewhere.

2.4 CLUSTERS

Vowel Clusters

There are 6 vowel clusters found in Sunwar language (*ui, oi, ei, ia, ai and au*). All clusters found in the medial and the final position .

<i>phuĩklu</i>	‘rock’
<i>buRoi</i>	‘alive’
<i>yia~sum</i>	‘nineteen’
<i>eichu</i>	‘rat’
<i>khai</i>	‘boiled vegetable’
<i>tau</i>	‘son’

Consonant Clusters

There are three types of consonant clusters are possible in the Sunwar language, namely initial, medial and final two consonant cluster and final two consonant cluster .

Initial two consonant clusters:

jy-	<i>jyurfa</i>	‘lemon’
jy-	<i>jyo</i>	‘cold’
gr-	<i>gra</i>	‘eclipse’

<i>S'y-</i>	<i>S' yatuk</i>	'foam'
<i>ky-</i>	<i>kyas</i>	'goat'
<i>gR-</i>	<i>gRõ</i>	'horn'
<i>kl-</i>	<i>klato</i>	'hip'
<i>S' w-</i>	<i>S'watel</i>	'rhinoceros'
<i>fr-</i>	<i>frã</i>	'wing'
<i>gy-</i>	<i>gyen</i>	'diet'
<i>bR-</i>	<i>bRepcho</i>	'finger'
<i>py-</i>	<i>pyã</i>	'head'
<i>pr-</i>	<i>prek</i>	'tears' ,
<i>kR-</i>	<i>kRoi</i>	'tooth'
<i>kr-</i>	<i>krímj</i>	'black gram'
<i>My-</i>	<i>Myak</i>	'maize'

Medial two consonant cluster

<i>-ss-</i>	<i>gissari</i>	'comet'
<i>-sf-</i>	<i>fasfari</i>	'cyclone'
<i>-sm-</i>	<i>kasmal</i>	'dust'
<i>-fs-</i>	<i>mũfsep</i>	'hailstone'
<i>-km-</i>	<i>nakma</i>	'new moon light'
<i>-lm-</i>	<i>relmo</i>	'hill'
<i>-sl-</i>	<i>thasla</i>	'moon'
<i>-kl-</i>	<i>phuiklu</i>	'rock'
<i>-lkh-</i>	<i>phuilkhab</i>	'sand'
<i>-lS'-</i>	<i>alS'yal</i>	'childhood'
<i>-lf-</i>	<i>chelfu</i>	'fathers' sister'
<i>-rm-</i>	<i>chaharmi</i>	'maid'
<i>-lp-</i>	<i>khalpi</i>	'old woman'
<i>-sth-</i>	<i>pũsthum</i>	'short(man)
<i>-MT-</i>	<i>kaMTa</i>	'crab'
<i>-rb-</i>	<i>berbo</i>	'feather'
<i>-wk-</i>	<i>rawkirip</i>	'grass hopper'
<i>-gr-</i>	<i>sĩgre</i>	'hawk'
<i>-kp-</i>	<i>waikpo</i>	'jungle pig'
<i>-mj-</i>	<i>pumja</i>	'mane'
<i>-dr-</i>	<i>bedrã</i>	'dead body'
<i>-st-</i>	<i>pustum</i>	'dwarf'

-pch-	<i>bRepcho</i>	‘finger’
-ll-	<i>dello</i>	‘buttock’
-bl-	<i>tabla</i>	‘palm’
-ml-	<i>dĩmla</i>	‘sole’
-ks-	<i>kakso</i>	‘butter’
-rw-	<i>sorwak</i>	‘liquor’
-bj-	<i>kabjilil</i>	‘kerosene’
-sb-	<i>phasbi</i>	‘powder’
-ln-	<i>belna</i>	‘rolling pin’
-sw-	<i>oswãtk</i>	‘tea’
-ps-	<i>kĩpsur</i>	‘apro`n’
-Rw-	<i>maRwali</i>	‘crutch’
-rk-	<i>barko</i>	‘shawl’
-st-	<i>nistik</i>	‘bed sheet’
-sl-	<i>neslo</i>	‘story’
-pr-	<i>saprã</i>	‘flower’
-km-	<i>rukmeþ</i>	‘former’
-fr-	<i>khõfru</i>	‘garden’
-rf-	<i>jyurfa</i>	‘lemon’
-rb-	<i>burbo</i>	‘paddy plant’
-bt-	<i>tubtil</i>	‘black smith’
-mb-	<i>chembo</i>	‘goldsmith’
-mM-	<i>MãmMac</i>	‘grief’
-mt-	<i>mimtíp</i>	‘respect’
-re-	<i>syorlo</i>	‘telegram’
-pr-	<i>hoprek</i>	‘king dom’
-kr-	<i>toukra</i>	‘prince’
-nl-	<i>thanlãga</i>	‘temple’
-ft-	<i>taftil</i>	‘music’
-tn-	<i>wõitnil</i>	‘third’
-sg-	<i>Mosgaus</i>	‘fifteen’
-ts-	<i>Motsum</i>	‘fifty’

Final two consonant clusters

-mb	<i>kyerS'omb</i>	'darkness'
-ps	<i>gups</i>	'lion'
-rb	<i>sorb</i>	'lung'
-nc	<i>lanc</i>	'meal'
-rb	<i>sihorb</i>	'carpenter'
-lb	<i>ratulb</i>	'boatman'
-mz	<i>jĩrmz</i>	'acidity'
-kz	<i>rekz</i>	'sound'
-rs	<i>jurs</i>	'sour'
-kj	<i>suikj</i>	'blame'
-nj	<i>suhanj</i>	'doubt'
-sc	<i>kaĩsc</i>	'pain'

2.5 SYLLABLE

In Sunuwar four categories of syllabic words have been found out among which disyllabic words are very common.

Mono syllable (open)

CV	<i>mi</i>	'five'
CCV	<i>jyu</i>	'cold'
CVV	<i>wau</i>	'bear'

Monosyllabic (close)

VC	<i>aw</i>	'brothers' wife'
CVC	<i>gil</i>	'cloud'
CVC	<i>khík</i>	'ancestors'
CVC	<i>ʔal</i>	'baby'
CCVC	<i>S'yer</i>	'decendents'
CVCC	<i>wãrS'</i>	'friend'
CVVC	<i>mais</i>	'buffalo'
CCVC	<i>kyas</i>	'goat'

Disyllabic (open)

CV-CV	<i>phasi</i>	‘air’
CVC-CV	<i>thasla</i>	‘moon’
CV-CV	<i>rila</i>	‘rainbow’
CVVC-CV	<i>phuiklu</i>	‘rock’
V-CV	<i>awa</i>	‘husbands brother’
CCVC-CV	<i>syorlo</i>	‘telegram’

Di syllabic (close)

CCVC-CVCC	<i>kyeršomb</i>	‘darkness’
CVC-CVC	<i>mufsep</i>	‘hailstone’
CV-CVC	<i>sariM</i>	‘sky’
VC-CCVC	<i>als’yal</i>	‘child hood’
CV-CVVC	<i>mopaus</i>	‘cause’

Tri syllabic (open)

CVC- CV- CV	<i>gissari</i>	‘comet’
CV- CV- CV	<i>naboro</i>	‘sunshine’
V- CV- CV	<i>amoru</i>	‘family’
CV- CVC- CV	<i>chāharmi</i>	‘maid’

Tri syllabic (close)

CV- CV- CVC	<i>bulukap</i>	‘bank of river’
CCV- CVC-CVCC	<i>kRusul phelb</i>	‘shoe maker’
CVC- CVVC- CVC	<i>taskōip mis</i>	‘actress’
CVC- CVVC- CVVC	<i>taskōip wāis</i>	‘actor’

Tetra syllabic (open)

CV- CVC- CV- CV	<i>minuS’yaru</i>	‘desert’
VV- CV- CV- CV	<i>aūbakacha</i>	‘fathers brother’
CVVC- CVC- CV-CV	<i>buis rak machi</i>	‘white ant’

3. MORPHOPHONEMICS

The morphemes when they occur with various kinds of suffixes, phonological variations take place within the morpheme. The morphophonemics is concerned with those phonological variations. In Sunwar, the deletion of the vowel and consonants are found common in the form class of words.

- 1) The main verb /ni/ 'live' when join with the auxiliary verb /baʔbo/ 'available' a part of the auxiliary verb is dropped to denote a thing which is alive.

<i>ni</i>	'live'
<i>baʔbo</i>	'available'

To denote some thing alive, instead of /nibabo/ it is realised as /niba/ which means part of the auxiliary verb /ʔbo/ is dropped.

- 2) A noun form /khĩ/ 'house' when join with a locative case marker /min/ 'inside' a part of the case marker is deleted

<i>khĩ</i>	'house'
<i>min</i>	'in side'

to denote inside the house instead of /khĩ min/ it is realised the /khĩm/ therefore a part of the locative case marker /-in/ is dropped to denote "inside the house".

- 3) A noun which joins with the case suffix, a part of the case suffix is dropped. The morpheme /rawa/ 'tree' when joins with the locative case suffix /hatayar/ 'on' a part of the location case marker /hata/ is dropped to denote 'on the tree' therefore it is realised as /rawayar/ to denote 'on the tree'.

- 4) A verb when happend to join with the past tense suffix a part of the past tense marker is dropped alongwith aspiration.

The verb /tawa/ 'see' when happens to join with the past tense marker /-tho/ a part of the verb is dropped.

<i>tawa</i>	'see'
<i>tho</i>	'past tense marker'

Instead of /tawatho/ to denote 'saw' it is realised as /tawat/ which means the aspiration of the /t/ sound and the low front vowel /a/ is also dropped.

5) Part of the cardinal numerals are dropped when it happens to form the higher numerals above Ten.

In Sunwar the base cardinal numeral 'Ten' is realised as /*gausum*/ when it happens to form for the higher numeral 'Twelve' it is realised as /*nigaus*/. The form /*ni*/ meant 'two' and the part of the base numeral 'Ten' is /*gaus*/. But originally /*niS'ĩ*/ means 'two'. Therefore for the formation of twelve it may be /*nisĩgausum*/ instead it is realised as /*nigaus*/ the second syllable of the base numeral 'two' /*S'ĩ*/ and the part of the second syllable for the base numeral 'Ten' is dropped to form the higher numeral 'Twelve'

6) When the /*gausum*/ 'Ten' is added as an unit with the cardinal numeral to form higher numeral /*gausum*/ is gets shortend as /*gaus*/ and the prefixing numeral like /*chanisun*/ 'seventy' loses the original vowel /-i/. Thus *chani* + *gausum* > /*changaus*/ to denote 'seventy'

4. MORPHOLOGY

4.1.1 WORD FORMATION

A simple word is defined as one which is a free form and is capable of taking inflectional or derivational affixes. In Sunwar, a stem by itself can be a word. For example, form like /*khĩ*/ 'house' is a stem as well as a word. Form like /*khĩ puik*/ 'houses' is also a word in Sunwar consisted of a stem and suffix.

Accordingly Sunwar words are categorized both morphological and syntactical grounds. For example, nouns, pronouns, adjectives, verbs, adverbs, conjunctions and post positions. These word classes are also broadly grouped into two categories on the basis whether they are declinable and are indeclinables.

4.1.2 NOUN

Definition of a noun

A noun in Sunwar is defined on the morphological and syntactical grounds as follows.

a stem can take a number marker

<i>kyās</i>	'goat'
<i>kyāspuik</i>	'goats'

a stem can take a gender marker

<i>chach</i>	'grandson'
<i>chach am</i>	'grand daughter'

a stem can take a case marker or the post positions.

<i>paūki –re</i>	'from the village'
village+ from	

<i>khore + haiktave</i>	'over the fence'
fence + over	

a stem can be preceded or followed by the attributes such as adjectives and numerals.

<i>rimSo + wāisal</i>	'good boy'
good + boy	

<i>Tep + khĩ+ ka</i>	'a large house'
large+ house+ one.	

kuchum+ niS'i 'two dogs'
dog + pl (two)

In Sunwar language there are two types of nouns such as simple and derived noun.

Simple nouns

The noun which are not derived from another or anyother word class are called simple nouns. It is further divided into two categories that is mass nouns and count nouns. The simple nouns are countable whereas the mass nouns are not.

Mass Nouns

<i>gil</i>	'cloud'
<i>kasmal</i>	'dust'
<i>mi</i>	'fire'
<i>phuwa~</i>	'ice'
<i>rew</i>	'rain'
<i>puil khab</i>	'sand'
<i>wãk</i>	'water'
<i>phaS'</i>	'wind'
<i>phasi</i>	'air'
<i>pulu</i>	'ashes'
<i>S'yatuk</i>	'foam'
<i>jyur</i>	'current'

Simple noun (countable)

<i>S'or</i>	'star'
<i>phuilu</i>	'stone'
<i>rakmachi</i>	'ant'
<i>chebi</i>	'bird'
<i>kyas</i>	'goat'

Derived Noun

In Sunwar, the nouns can be derived also from the verb or from another noun. The suffixes are used to form the derived noun in two ways such as

- i) verb + suffix = noun
- ii) noun + suffix = noun

and these derived nouns are given below.

Verb + suffix = noun.

<i>wa + pherb</i> cloth+ stitch	<i>wapherb</i>	‘tailor’
<i>ge + paip</i> work + doer	<i>gepaip</i>	‘worker / labourer’
<i>raka + jyelp</i> hunt + doer	<i>rakajyelp</i>	‘hunter’
<i>sihor +leb</i> carpentry + doer	<i>sihorleb</i>	‘ carpenter’

Noun + suffix = Noun

<i>khufem + bo</i> garden + doer	<i>khufembo</i>	‘gardener’
<i>chem + bo</i> gold + maker	<i>chembo</i>	‘gold smith’
<i>buis + kurp</i> milk + sellor	<i>buiskurp</i>	‘milk man’
<i>ternak + muit</i> colour + paint	<i>ternakmuit</i>	‘ painter’
<i>kRusul + pheleb</i> shoe + maker	<i>kRusulpheleb</i>	‘shoe maker’

Number

In Sunwar, the plural number is realised by the suffix / - *puik* / which occurs with the noun. The numbers are realised by the numerals one, two , three , and four respectively . Which are suffixed with the respective nouns.

<i>kuchum puik</i> dog + pl ‘dogs bark’	<i>hoktem</i> bark + pr .t.
---	--------------------------------

<i>ʔan khĩ puik</i> their house+pl ‘their houses’

mekere kuchumka babo
 there dog+ one is
 ‘There is a dog’

kuchum kanu bermõka inas
 dog one+and cat + one available
 ‘There is a cat and a dog’

mekere khĩ Misi bam
 these house two are
 ‘ These are two houses’

mekere kuchum sã bam
 there dog three are
 ‘There are three dogs’

The masculine nouns are formed with / w- / and feminine nouns with / m- /

Masculine		Feminine	
<i>wãi s</i>	‘ male’	<i>mehas</i>	‘female’
<i>wos?al</i>	‘boy’	<i>miS'al</i>	‘girl’
<i>wãise</i>	‘husband’	<i>mise</i>	‘wife’
<i>chaiwa</i>	‘sister’s husband / son in law’	<i>chaimi</i>	‘daughter in law’

Besides these there are list genders.

Masculine		Feminine	
<i>a fo</i>	‘father ‘	<i>amo</i>	‘mother’
<i>siuw</i>	‘father in law’	<i>S'ĩmi</i>	‘mother in law’
<i>hazum</i>	‘daughter in law’s father’	<i>maM</i>	‘daughter in law’s mother’
<i>kad</i>	‘crow’	<i>kad poti</i>	‘hen crow’
<i>chach</i>	‘grand son’	<i>chacham</i>	‘grand daughter’

Gender

Nouns in Sunwar can broadly be divided into two groups such as, Animate and Inanimate. The animate nouns can be divided into human and non-human nouns. These nouns can further be divided into masculine and feminine. Generally, the feminine gender is realised by the phoneme / m / .

Masculine		Feminine	
<i>wāismur</i>	‘boy’	<i>Tomi</i>	‘daughter’
<i>wāise</i>	‘husband’	<i>mise</i>	‘wife’
<i>afo</i>	‘father’	<i>amo</i>	‘mother’
<i>wuwa bhalay</i>	‘cock’	<i>potim</i>	‘hen’

Case

There are nine cases realised in Sunwar language. They are Nominative, Accusative, Instrumental, Dative, Genitive, Locative, Ablative, Benefactive, and Sociative case. The dative case is realised by the context whereas other cases are realised by the suffix / prefix.

Nominative case

The nominative case is realised by the suffix / -am / followed by a transitive verb whereas in case of Intransitive verbs no nominative marker is realised.

<i>goʔ am</i>	<i>woisnu</i>	<i>tawata</i>
I	him	see+ pr.t
‘I see him’		
<i>goi khali</i>	<i>ʔalam</i>	<i>tawibo</i>
you+acc.case	child +noun case	see +pr.t
‘The child sees you’		

Nominative case (Intransitive verb)

<i>ʔa</i>	<i>cib bo</i>
he	fall + pr.t.
‘He falls’	
<i>rawa</i>	<i>tim-bo</i>
tree	fall-pr.t.
‘tree falls’	

chí-wo *bretnim*
 bird+pl. fly+ pr.t.
 ‘birds fly’

Accusative case

The accusative case has been realised by the suffixes / -*nu* / and / *khali* /

chib kali *ʔa* *apbo*
 bird + case he hit+pr.t
 ‘he hits the bird’

bermo nu *khucum* *hoba*
 cat+ acc.case dog bark+ pr.t.
 ‘cat barks at the dog’

go *ei* *taw inuM*
 I you see + pr.t.
 ‘I see you’

ʔa *syāra khali* *ruwem* *hatre naht* *yowobo nam*
 he horse+acc.case field everyday take +pr.t.
 ‘he takes horse to the field every day’

Ma puikim *ei khali* *tawinum*
 they you + acc see + pr. t.
 ‘they see you’

Instrumental case

The instrumental case has been realised by the suffixes / -*re* , and / < *em* /

gowim jel-re *waisnu* *tawoto*
 I wondow+ through him see + p.t.
 ‘I saw him through window’

go puik bikali kowkem *tuphik*
 we cow stick + with beat + prt.
 ‘We beat the cow with the stick’

Dative case

Dative case in Sunwar is unmarked .

goʔam dal lawe naM
I marke go pr. t
'I go to the market'

goʔam bazar lawnuM kaudit lainum
I changulake seeing sight see+ to go + p.t.
'I want to go to the changu lake for sight seing'

Genitive case

The genitive case is realised by the suffix / *a-* / for animate nouns. Where as the suffix / *-re* / for the inanimate nouns.

akhĩ eker baʔ bo
my house here is/ available.
'here is my house'

a af eker niba
my father have live + pr.t.
'my father lives here'

Locative case

The locative case is realised by the suffix / *-min* / and / *-em* /

go khĩmin chu
I house + in available
'I am in my house'

go ã phõhamin chu
I my cart + in available
'I am in my cart'

suka muru iskulem baʔ bo
anybody school+in available
'Any body is there in the school'

mekere juMem chibka baʔ bo
there nest+ in bird available
'There is a bird in the nest'

Ablative case

The ablative case is realised by the suffix /-re/

raware *sopro* *doknim*
tree+from leaves fall
'leaves fall from the tree'

go *paũkire* *hayu* *ei*
I village+from away am
'I am away from the village'

sariM re *rew* *ibo*
sky+from rain falls
'rain falls from the sky'

Benefactive Case

The benefactive case is realised by the suffix /-kali/

bikali *gãś* *pit*
cow+for grass bring
'bring grass for the cow'

alokali *bi* *buS'e* *gewo*
child+for cow milk give
'give milk for the child'

Sociative / Associative Case

The sociative case is realised by the suffix /-kat/ and /-nu/ occurs either before or after the pronoun.

mĩsnu *katmis* *silpamtas*
he with+her dance + p.t.
'he danced with her'

4.1.3 PRONOUN

There are five types of pronouns realised in Sunwar language namely, Personal pronoun, Demonstrative pronoun, Indefinite pronoun, Interrogative pronoun and Reflexive pronouns.

Personal Pronoun

The personal pronouns are three, that is, First Personal, Second Personal and Third Personal. The first personal pronoun refers to the speaker, the second personal pronoun refers to the hearer, and third personal pronoun refers to the person or object other than the speaker and the hearer.

Person	Singular	Plural
Ist.person	<i>go/gowim</i> 'I'	<i>go puik</i> 'we'
IInd. person	<i>ge/goi</i> 'you (sl)'	<i>ei/goino puik</i> 'you (pl)'
IIIRD.person	<i>ʔa /wāis</i> 'he' <i>miniS</i> 'she' <i>Me</i> 'it'	<i>me puik</i> 'they'
<i>go</i> I 'I sing a song'	<i>kūmsoka</i> song+ one <i>painuM</i> sing +pr.t.	
<i>go puik</i> we 'we sing a song'	<i>kūmsoka</i> song+one <i>painik</i> sing +pr.t.	
<i>goi</i> you 'which book do you want ?'	<i>tekho</i> which <i>juk</i> book <i>puine</i> want	
<i>ei</i> you(pl) people 'I see you people'	<i>murkali</i> people <i>go</i> I <i>tawinum</i> see + pr.t.	
<i>am</i> mango 'he eats mango'	<i>gurchi</i> he <i>waibo</i> eat	
<i>mepuik</i> they 'they eat mango'	<i>gurchi</i> mango <i>wai nim</i> eat+do	

Demonstrative Pronoun

The Demonstrative pronouns either of proximate or remote types are realised in two numbers that is singular and plural.

Singular	Plural
<i>mekho</i> 'this'	<i>meke</i> 'these'
<i>mekher</i> 'that'	
<i>mekho kuchumka baʔbo</i> this dog +one is 'this is a dog'	
<i>meke kuchuumpuik nami</i> these dog+ pl. are 'these are dogs'	
<i>mekher kuchum ka baʔbo</i> that dog + one is 'That is a dog'	

Indefinite Pronoun

The Indefinite pronouns are expressed in the following forms .

kalkatta-re ghumure murka ja so baht
calcutta+from office some one come+has.
'Some one has come from the calcutta office'

iskulem suka muru baʔbo
school in any person available
'Anybody is there in the school?'

Interrogative Pronoun

The interrogative pronouns are either adjectival or adverbial in nature in Sunuwar language.

su woʔisal num
who he is
'who is he?'

Reflexive Pronoun

The Reflexiveness is realised by the marker / *a man* / 'self'

go aman kumsoka painuM
I myself song+ one sing +pr.t.
'I myself sing a song'

go puik aman kumsoka painis
we ourselves song + one sing+ pr.t.
'we ourselves sing a song'

wais aman kumsoka painik
he himself song+one sing+ pr.t.
'he himself sings a song'

4.1.4 ADJECTIVES

There are two types of adjectives, they are qualitative and quantitatives in Sunwar. Generally adjectives precede and follow in Sunwar language .

Qualitative Adjective

gik sofe 'green leaf'
green leaf

buiS' syara 'white horse'
white horse

rimS'o waiŋs 'good boy'
good boy

Of course, in the predicative usage the adjective generally follows and precedes the noun,

mekhomur domuS'o bahat
this+ man fat is
'this man is fat'

meko darS'o puwki ka bahat
this village beautiful+one is
'this is a beautiful village'

ʔa rimS'o waisal baʔba
he good boy is
'he is a good boy'

Quantitative Adjective

In quantitative adjective the number follow the noun, that is adjectives follows the noun.

meker kuchum MiS'i nas
there dog two are
'there are two dogs available'

akoit Tep- khika bahat
it large+house+one is
'It is a large house'

Post-Position

The post position is realised by different forms. The forms occur after the noun.

chiw rawahatayer nahistem
bird tree+on available
'bird sits on the tree'

?a rawaMa dim ibbo
he tree+case under sleep+pr.t.
'he sleeps under the tree'

go khare pherem praknun
I fence over jump
'I jump over the fence'

go bazarga~ netham chu
I market near stay
'I am near the market'

4.1.5 NUMERAL

There are two types of numerals used in Sunwar language . These are cardinal and ordinals. The cardinal numerals are the primary numerals and the ordinals are the secondary numerals. The Sunwar has decimal numeral system. The basic cardinal numerals from one to ten. The other numerals are derived from compounding the basic cardinal numerals.

Cardinal Numerals

<i>ka</i>	‘one’
<i>nisĩ</i>	‘two’
<i>sã</i>	‘three’
<i>le</i>	‘four’
<i>M’o</i>	‘five’
<i>raku</i>	‘six’
<i>chani</i>	‘seven’
<i>sasi</i>	‘eight’
<i>hiyã</i>	nine
<i>gausum</i>	‘ten’

The first syllable of the numeral ten follows the cardinal numbers respectively from seventeen to nineteen.

<i>kagus</i>	‘eleven’
<i>ni gaus</i>	‘twelve’
<i>sã gaus</i>	‘thirteen’
<i>le gaus</i>	‘fourteen’
<i>Mosgaus</i>	‘fifteen’
<i>ragaus</i>	‘sixteen’
<i>changaus</i>	‘seventeen’
<i>sasgaus</i>	‘eighteen’
<i>hiyã gaus</i>	‘nineteen’

To count the cardinals twenty, thirty etc the second syllable part of the cardinal number ‘ten’ follows.

<i>nisum</i>	‘twenty’
2 + 10	
<i>sã sum</i>	‘thirty’
3 10	
<i>lesum</i>	‘forty’
<i>Mot sum</i>	‘fifty’
<i>raksum</i>	‘sixty’
<i>chani sum</i>	‘seventy’
<i>sa sum</i>	‘eighty’
<i>hiyã sum</i>	‘ninety’
<i>gau sumka</i>	‘hundred’

To count one hundred the cardinal number ‘one’ is suffixed with the cardinal number ‘ten’.

Ordinals

The ordinal numerals are monomorphemic in nature. The ordinal numbers are used in Sunwar like the following the *wōit* – is suffixed before the allomorphs for one , two, three etc.

<i>wōitra</i>	‘first’
<i>wōitnolay</i>	‘second’
<i>wōitnolayga~nolay</i>	‘third’

Fractions

The formation of fractional numerals are like the following .

<i>payōfa</i>	‘quarter’
<i>laya faka</i>	‘half’

4.2 VERB MORPHOLOGY

4.2.1.1 FINITE VERB

Finite verb is a complete verb and shows the completion of an action which is realised through the use of Tense , Person, Gender and Number markers added in the verb root . In Sunwar the formation of the finite verb is made up of the stem + the tense marker only.

<i>go</i>	<i>ei</i>	<i>kowinuM</i>
I	you	see
‘I see you’		

<i>go</i>	<i>ako</i>	<i>kohnuM</i>
I	it	see
‘I see it’		

<i>rawa</i>	<i>dimbo</i>
tree	+ fall + pr.t
‘the tree falls’	

<i>chibkali</i>	<i>ʔa</i>	<i>abbo</i>
bird	he	hit
‘he hits the bird’		

<i>chiwo pũik</i>	<i>bretnim</i>
bird	fly
‘birds fly’	

Tense

Sunwar verb shows three way opposition for tense. That is present , past and future. The tense markers occur at the end of the verb. The substantive verbs also function as present tense marker.

Substantive verb

There are two different forms used to denote the substantive verb. the suffix starts with / n- / and gets different colour according to the base verb and the numeral . that is, /naM',nis, nik, and nim/ mean 'is'.

chibo bret nim
bird fly + pr.t.
'bird flies'

gopuik ei konnik
we you see
'we see you'

go kumsoka painuM
I song+ one sing+ pr.t.
'I sing a song'

mekho kuchumka baʔbo
this dog + one is
'this is a dog'

go niS'i kumsoka painis
we (two) song+one sing+pr.t.
'we two sing a song'

mek kuchum niS'i nas
there dog two available
'there are two dogs available'

go ʔãke phohamin nuM'
I my cart + in available
'I am in my cart'

mekek khĩ niS'i bahmtem
these house +two available
'these are two houses'

Present Tense

The present tense is realised generally by the suffix /-ta/ on rare occasion the siffix /-ya/ is also used to mean the same.

<i>go</i>	<i>miskali</i>	<i>kohta /tawata</i>	'I see her'
I	she	see +pr.t	
<i>ʔa</i>	<i>uyu</i>	<i>lawibo</i>	'he goes away'
he	away	go+ pr.t.	
<i>go</i>	<i>mis</i>	<i>kohta</i>	'I see her'
I	her	see+ pr.t.	
<i>go</i>	<i>tal</i>	<i>tuh nuM</i>	'I drink water'
I	water	drink+pr.t.	
<i>e~kal</i>	<i>ei</i>	<i>tawi</i>	'You see me'
me	you	see+pr.t	

Past Tense

The simple past tense is realised by the suffix /-tho / and /-ti /

ʔa batike khĩm lahto
 he native place go+ p.t.
 'he went to the native place'

gowim jelre ʔa kali tahto
 I window he-case see + p.t.
 'I saw him through window'

ʔakal ʔa tahto
 me he see + p.t.
 'he saw me'

sinat go ã pauki lati
 yesterday I my village go +p.t.
 'I went to my native village yesterday'

Future Tense

The future tense is realised by the suffixes /-bo / and /-nuM / which occur after the main verb.

e~kal ʔa tuhbo
 me he beat +will
 'he will beat me'

a~kal ʔa tuhbo
 me he beat +will
 'he will beat me'
go bazar lahinuM
 I market go will
 'I will go to the market'

go wim bazar lahinuM
 We market go will
 'We will go to the market'

Aspect

There are two aspects such as perfect and present durative is realised in Sunwar language .

The present perfect tense is realised by the suffix/-S'o/.

ʔa bazar gaS'o
 he market gone
 'he has gone to the market'

khab hi~kS'a khĩ puik nelle prowltemS'o
 due to earthquake house+pl. collapse + p.t.
 'Due to earth quake the houses have collapsed'

goinu waitu gowem genawi matauS'o
 you+case. before myself never not+see+p.t.
 'I have never seen you before'

ʔa sinat khuS'o
 he yesterday come + p.t.
 'he has come yesterday'

Present Tense

The present duration / continuous of action is realised by the base verb it self that is , the base verb which is reduplicated.

ola meker ban ban bahat/baʔbo
the child there sitting is
‘the child is sitting there’

syar yon yon bahat/baʔbo
the horse grazing is
‘the horse is grazing’

kuchum hon hon bahat/baʔbo
dog barking is
‘the dog is barking’

Mood

Mood expresses the speaker’s point of view about the occurrence of the event. It is the mode or manner which is used to express a statement, a command, a question or doubt in a sentence. There are six moodals identified in Sunwar language. such as, Indicative, Imperative, Interrogative, Subjunctive, Probability and Optative mood.

Indicative Mood

The indicative mood is realised in the declarative sentences.

mekho kuchum ka bahat/baʔbo
this dog + one is
‘this is a dog’

eker bermoka bahat/baʔbo
have cat +one available.
‘here is a cat’

ʔa gurchi waibo
he mango eat + pr.t.
‘he eats mango’

Imperative Mood

In order to make request the suffix / -ya / is used with the verb stem and to express the command sometimes /-yu / is added with the verb stem or sometimes the verb root itself denotes command.

<i>ek</i> have	<i>piyu</i> come	‘come here’
<i>mek</i> there	<i>lauya</i> go	‘go there’
<i>ek</i> here	<i>pineyu</i> come+please	‘please come here’
<i>mek</i> there	<i>launeyu</i> go+please	‘please go there’
<i>bako</i>	<i>bakenyo</i>	‘sit down’
<i>bakiney</i>	<i>bakyoa</i>	‘sit down please’
<i>chul</i>	<i>bokoyu</i>	‘stand up’
<i>boke</i>	<i>neyu</i>	‘please stand up’
<i>roko</i>	<i>rakeyur</i>	‘open the door’
<i>lepeho</i>	<i>rokeneyo</i>	‘please open the door’

Interrogative Mood

The Interrogative mood expresses the question. In Sunwar the Interrogativeness is realised by a separate morpheme

go aga ohaeha chab nuM
I inside enter+to may+ pr.t.
‘may I come inside?’

goi ʔakal warch paine
you me help do+can
‘can you help me?’

goi sinakpti telauwe
you yesterday where go
‘where did you go yesterday?’

ʔa su~ bamey
he who is
‘who is he?’

ge marde gRumum noley dume
 you why office late
 ‘why are you late to the office?’

?a doso mud jadit
 he how old going+on
 ‘how old is he?’

ge gena kuwe
 you when come+pt.
 ‘when did you come?’

goi tekho juk boine
 you which book want
 ‘which book do you want?’

Conditional Mood

The conditional mood is realised by the suffix / *hona* /

?a rimsopã paReptho hona ?a gRabo
 he well study+p.t. if he pass+will
 ‘If he studied well, he could have passed’

?a dikse geh paw hona ?a maik gRabothyo
 he hardwork do if he would pass+f.t.
 ‘if he works hard he would have passed’

Probability Mood

The action of probability is realised by the suffix / *dum-* /

dũmcha bbo nagra gem eko krikeT gRa bo
 may +do Nagaland it cricket win may
 ‘may the Nagaland win in cricket’

dumchabbo yintin breyekbo
 may +do Indian service may
 ‘he may do the Indian service’

Optative Mood

The optative mood expresses the desire, permission or request. The desire is expressed by the suffix / *mul* /

mul kũmsoka pawya
let us song+one sing +pr.t.
'let us sing a song'

mul parkam lau ya
let us park+to go+pr.t.
'let us go to the park'

4.2.1.2 NON FINITE VERB

Infinitive Verb

The verb which does not express the completion or finiteness of an action is an infinitive verb. The infinitive marker is realised in Sunwar by the suffix / *-cha* / added to the verb.

go laucha~ sonem bakbo go malaM
I go +to had but I not+do
'I had to go but I did not'

go puik samumdrem Ma geischa disa lawinik
we sea fish catch +to tomorrow go+to
'we go to sea to catch fish'

ge mar jawocha puinei
you what eat+ to like+pr.t.
'what do you want to eat?'

Verbal Noun

The verb function as noun is called verbal noun. The verbal noun in Sunwar is realised by the suffix / *-cha* /

suní dembRecha yawenura ribbo
morning read +ing health +for good +pr.t.
'reading in the morning is good for health'

purob dorchá suní hoihoi gawenura ribbo
to jog +doing morning often health+for good+pr.t.
'jogging in the morning is good for health'

Gerund

The Gerund is realised by the suffix /-nu/ in Sunwar language.

<i>lamin</i>	<i>gayenu</i>	<i>ʔa</i>	<i>goman</i>	<i>busu</i>	<i>taptho</i>
road	walk+ing	he	cobra	dead	to notice+p.t.

‘walking along the road , he noticed a dead cobra’

Participle

/-yom/ is the suffix to denote past participle which occurs with the main verb.

<i>lapchonya</i>	<i>rokyom</i>	<i>kuchum</i>	<i>bokt</i>
door	crack+ ing	dog	awake +p.t.

‘cracking the door, awaken the dog’

<i>yom lāMa</i>	<i>lapch om</i>	<i>re pāthoyoM</i>	<i>ʔa</i>	<i>Mōk cha</i>	<i>machob</i>
gate	knock + ing	loudly	he	enter+ to	lost +p.t.

‘loudly knocking the gate , he lost his entry’

4.2.1.3 CAUSATIVE VERB

The action of cause is realised by the suffix /swiklo-/ in Sunwar.

<i>goiñ</i>	<i>misnu</i>	<i>kumsoka</i>	<i>pande</i>	<i>swiklo mati</i>
her	I	song+one	sing+ to	make + do

‘I make her sing a song’

<i>syerpuiknu</i>	<i>dortibem</i>	<i>dorcha</i>	<i>ʔa swiklo</i>
horse +pl+case	race	run to	he make+ to + do

‘he makes the horses to run in the race’

4.2.1.4 AUXILIARY VERB

The auxiliary verbs of “can , and should” are realised by the suffixes /cab/ and /si/ respectively in Sunwar.

<i>ʔā</i>	<i>tau</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>ca b bo</i>
my	son	walk	can + do

‘my son can walk’

go jo i saikcap naM
 I tiger kill + can pr.t.
 'I can kill the tiger'

ʔa misey gyube pauchamalbo
 she marriage need + pt.
 'she needed marriage'

gopuik phiep malbthyo simik
 we early sleep should
 'we should sleep early'

4.2.1.5 NEGATIVE VERB

The negation is realised by the form /*ma-*/ which is prefixed to the verb

ʔa teyi maba m
 he where not + is
 'he is nowhere'

ʔa ge ma pai si nik
 he work not do should
 'he should not do this work'

muna t go ma kui naM
 today I not come pr.t.
 'today I am not coming'

gowim malso ako Ma~ bahbo mako
 I not that fish is. this
 'not that fish but this fish I need'

gowim malso ako Ma~ bakbo makomanam
 I not that fish available nothing
 'I have nothing with me to tell'

The suffix /*-nu*/ is used for correlated negatives.

goi tuiS'a n nu gewum
 you know nor myself
 'neither you nor I know'

Transitive Verb

The verb which is used with a direct object called transitive verb. Transitive verb is a verb which requires an object (expressed or implied) to complete its meaning the effect of the action denoted by the verb follows the subject.

wāis kumsoka pa ibo
he song +one sing +pr.t.
'he sings a song'

gowim mar jawcha parnei
I what eat shall
'what shall I eat?'

go mis?a tawata
I her see + pr.t.
'I see her'

go wa k tuhnuM
I water drink + pr.t.
'I drink water'

Intransitive Verb

A verb which requires no object to express the feeling that is a verb which does not take direct object. In Sunwar the intransitive verb occurs with the tense marker

<i>ib cha</i>	'sleep'
<i>dohcha</i>	'fell'
<i>bokcha</i>	'rise'
<i>bretcha</i>	'fly'
<i>ohcha</i>	'enter'

go ohti
I enter + p.t.
'I entered'

go tuchi MoS'im bohodi
I exactly 5 O'clock getup
'I get up 5 o'clock'

go eipnuM
 I sleep +pr.t.
 'I sleep'

S'uni nah dabbo
 sun morning rise
 'The Sun rises in the morning'

cheib brebbo
 bird fly
 'The birds fly'

4.2.1.6 COMPOUND VERB

When actions are expressed by combinations of verb+verb, verb + noun etc. are realised as compound verbs.

<i>hiñ cha</i>	<i>koĩS'ya</i>	'to fear'
fear + do		
vb + vb		

<i>waĩkS'o</i>	<i>bamtem</i>	'keep on doing'
keep	doing	
vb +	vb	

<i>khosõ</i>	<i>pã</i>	'to look'
like	do	
vb +	vb	

<i>lẽka</i>	<i>khRe yunu</i>	'to plan'
plan	have + do	
N +	vb + vb	

4.2.2 ADVERB

Adverbs are the classes of words which are used to modify the meanings of verbs. Adverbs are divided into three groups such as 1) Adverbs of place 2) Adverbs of time and 3) Adverbs of manner.

Adverb of place is realised by a set of free morphemes which occur either before noun or verb.

Mandirgna~ langam ei bahcha malsothyo
 temple outside you must stay
 ‘you should stay outside the Temple’

go koincha aʒgetham bahati thyo
 I Sunwar beside sit+p.t.
 ‘I sat beside Mr. Sunwar’

go phukofa noiti dok rafnuM
 I garden in front of stand +pr.t.
 ‘I stand in front of the garden’

Adverb of Manner

The Adverb of Manner is realised by a separate suffix / -pa / which occurs with the adjective and is used before the verb.

hohsa de~ch ‘speak loudly’
 loud +ly speak

rimpa precha ‘neatly write’
 neat +ly write

rekpa rischa ‘laugh loudly’
 loud + ly laugh

darba prep cha ‘nicely comb’
 nice +ly comb

Adverb of Time

The adverbs of time are a set of free morphemes which occur either before or after the nouns / pronouns.

yesam sui makum
 sofar anyone not +come
 ‘so far no one has come’

munat go dopa~ go lawinuM
 today I go must + pr.t.
 ‘Today I must go’

sinatre ʔa tas jyersya bahso cha
 yesterday+since he cards game playing do
 'he has been playing cards since yesterday'

gopuikim sin amdore puja panpanaki
 we since might prayer doing
 'we have been praying since night'

namdo nah dabbo
 evening sun sets
 'sun sets in the evening'

sunī nah bohbo
 morning sun rises
 'sun rises in the morning'

disa go phukofa lawcha
 tomorrow I garden+to go +f.t.
 'I shall go to the garden tomorrow'

4.2.3 PARTICLE

Particles generally connect two sentences as connective. In Sunwar there are four types of particles realised namely connective, compulsive, negative, correlative and emphatic particle.

Connective Particle

go ʔa gyaili sa mtaM ʔomin munat go malaM
 I my net(fishing) missing because today I not + go
 'I missed my net therefore I couldn't go today'

goipuik suika wāk lawnei
 we +one go +let and water fetch
 'let some of you go and fetch water'

amisa mekmin bakbo thyo marderib tawmey
 she there but soon go +p.t.
 'she was there but soon went'

Emphatic Particle

gowim noiti ekali genai matoM
 I before myself never not+see+pt.
 'I have never seen you before'

Compulsive Particle

A particle which is used to denote the compulsion like should ,might etc. In Sunwar the compulsive particle occurs after the main verb.

<i>waiska</i>	<i>ga~ida</i>	<i>malch hawcha</i>	<i>malsothyo</i>
boy +a	job	find +to	go should
‘a boy should go to find a job			

<i>go lawcha</i>	<i>thyo</i>
I go + to	had
‘I had to go ‘	

Correlative Particle

A Particle which helps to correlate two or more sentences called Correlative Particle which occurs in between two verbs

<i>ei</i>	<i>dohso</i>	<i>geyney moso</i>	<i>thahnum</i>
you	how much	give as much as	take + shall
‘I shall take as much as you give’			

Negative Particle

A Particle which helps to denote negation is called negative particle . The negative particle in Sunwar is realised by the suffix / -ma /

<i>go</i>	<i>eko</i>	<i>mapai nam</i>
I	this	not can do
‘I can not do this’		

4.2.4 ECHO WORD

A compound whose second member repeats the first with an initial consonant or syllable altered with the general meaning and the like. In Sunwar this echoing of second component begins with the phoneme /-s / and this gives out the meaning of ‘etc’.

<i>phasi</i>	>	<i>sasi</i>	‘air etc’
<i>khab</i>	>	<i>sab</i>	‘earth ‘etc’
<i>lab</i>	>	<i>sab</i>	road ‘etc’
<i>phuklu</i>	>	<i>saiklu</i>	‘rock etc’
<i>puha</i>	>	<i>saha</i>	‘snow etc

5. SYNTAX

Sunwar is a Subject + Object + Verb language .

5.1 ORDER OF WORDS IN SENTENCES

The order of words in Sunwar is subject + object + verb.

<i>kucham</i>	<i>bermotawsa</i>	<i>hobo</i>
dog	cat+ case+see	bark + pr.t
'dog barks at the cat'		

<i>ʔa</i>	<i>rawaMa</i>	<i>fedim</i>	<i>ʔb bo</i>
he	tree+case	under	sleeps
'he sleeps under the tree'			

<i>go</i>	<i>khore</i>	<i>aiktare</i>	<i>pRok naM</i>
I	fence	over	jump +pr. t.
'I jump over the fence'			

<i>bikal</i>	<i>gās</i>	<i>pith</i>
cow+for	grass	bring
'Bring grass for the cow'		

5.2 DESCRIPTION OF TYPES OF SENTENCES

There are five types of sentences realised Imperative, Interrogative, Negative, Causative and Co-ordinate sentences.

Imperative sentence

In order to make request the suffix / -ya / is used with the verb stem and to express the command sometimes /- yu / is added with the verb stem or sometimes the verb root itself denotes command .

<i>ek</i>	<i>piu</i>	'come here'
here	come	

<i>mek</i>	<i>lawo</i>	'go there'
there	go	

<i>ek</i>	<i>piney</i>	'please come here'
here	come+please	

<i>mek</i> there	<i>lawnei</i> go+please	‘please go there’
<i>bakinei</i>		‘sit down’
<i>baken</i>		‘sit down please’
<i>bok nei</i>		‘stand up’
<i>boker</i>		‘please stand up’
<i>lapcho rokene</i>		‘open the door’
<i>roken</i>		‘please open the door’

Interrogative Sentence

The interrogation is realised by a separate morpheme like / *sũ* / ‘who’ / *gena* / ‘when’ etc.

<i>go</i>	<i>aga</i>	<i>ohcha</i>	<i>puinuM</i>
I	inside	enter+to	may+ pr.t.

‘may I come inside?’

<i>ge</i>	<i>ʔakal</i>	<i>warch</i>	<i>paine</i>
you	me	help	do+can

‘can you help me?’

<i>ei</i>	<i>sinah</i>	<i>tlauwe</i>
you	yesterday	where go

‘where did you go yesterday?’

<i>woĩs</i>	<i>sũ</i>	<i>nam</i>
he	who	is

‘who is he?’

<i>ge</i>	<i>grumum</i>	<i>merde</i>	<i>nalay</i>	<i>jahdiwi</i>
you	why	office		late

‘why are you late to the office?’

<i>ʔa</i>	<i>dis</i>	<i>jahdit</i>
his	age	howmuch

‘how old is he?’

ei gena kuwe
 you when come+pt.
 'when did you come?'

ei teko juk puinei
 you which book want
 'which book do you want?'

Negative Sentence

The negation is realised by the form /*mo-*/ which is prefixed to the verb

ʔa tehi moba m
 he where not + is
 'he is nowhere'

ʔa ako ga~ida pawcha momalbthyo
 he that work do not should
 'he should not do this work'

munaht go mokuinuM
 today I not come pr.t.
 'today I am not coming'

meko Ma~ momoi bakbo Ma~la gowim malah
 that fish not need fish I need
 'not that fish but this fish I need'

goare mōroi dehcha mobah
 I with nothing say not have
 'I have nothing with me to tell'

The suffix /*-nu*/ is used for correlated negatives.

gowim johso hana eim
 I + myself nor know you
 'neither you nor I know'

Causative Sentence

The action of cause is realised by the suffix / *moitta* / and / *lawisto* / in Sunwar

gowim miskal kumso ka pai de moitta
 I her song+one sing+ to make + do
 'I make her sing a song'

S'arean dertikem ʔa dorchā lawisto
 horse +pl+case race he run to make+ to + do
 'he makes the horses to run in the race'

dawajai gowim misnu de moitta
 medicine I her eat make + do
 'I make her eat the medicine'

Co-ordinate Sentences

The co-ordination is taken place by using the conjunctive particles.

go lawchihyo marena go melam
 I go + to but I not +do
 'I had to go but I did not go'

ei twiso honna gowim twiso
 you know nor I know
 'neither you know nor I'

gopuik kyar menu khomay owi~tok
 we rice and mutton ate
 'we ate rice and mutton'

lawo menu lessa kuwo
 go and come back
 'go and come back'

pen hanayo pencilomyo pawya (paibo)
 pen or pencil by do will
 'either pencil or pen will do'

5.3 DESCRIPTION OF PATTERNS OF SENTENCES

The sentences in Sunwar may be divided into Simple, Complex and Compound.

Simple Sentences

ako kuchum ka bah
this dog one is
'This is a dog'

eker bermóka baʔbo
here cat + one available
'here is a cat'

kuchum howoba
dog bark +pr.t
'dog barks'

go ʔa phoham nuM
I my cart + in available
'I am in my cart'

mis akhim grumbo
she her +house available
'Is she available in her house'

ge akal warch paine
you me help can
'can you help me?'

woĩs su nam
he who is
'who is he?'

bok 'stand up'

bak 'sit down'

eko prowl
you +break+pr.t.
'break it'

eko thek/gyak
it hold + pr.t.
'hold it'

Complex Sentence

The complex sentences of Sunwar is framed by joining the subordinate clauses with the main clause .

go puikim balkafu kurso miskal gRumtok
we basket met girl carried
'we met a girl who carried a basket full of flowers'

reke nehsa waiskal pukbohem
noise hear boy wake +p.t
'hearing the noise boy woke up'

go jahdis Motti ʔa lawney thumso bah ko
I reach reach he go already night
'he might have gone before I reached'

Compound Sentence

Two or more main clause sentences are joined by the particles to make a compound sentence.

ichka Mo~puik rimmat minu ichka Mo~puik rahmmat
some fishes fresh and some fishes rotton
'some fishes fresh and some are rotton'

lao minu lessa kuwo
go and come back
'go and come back'

meko Mo~momi merde ako Ma~ melu
that fish not but this fish need
'not that fish but I want this fish'

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- | | | |
|------------------------------------|------|---|
| Acharya K.P. | 1983 | <i>Lotha Grammar</i> , C.I.I.L. Grammar Series No.10 |
| Benedict, Paul K. | 1972 | <i>Sino-Tibetan: A conspectus</i> . J.A.Matisoff(Ed.) |
| Giridhar. P.P. | 1981 | <i>Angami Grammar</i> , Mysore, CIIL Grammar Series No.1 |
| Grierson, George
Abraham. | 1909 | <i>Linguistic Survey of India. Vol. III Part –I Tibeto-Burman Family, Himalayuan Dialects, North Assam Groups</i> , Delhi, Motilal Banarasidas.(Reprint 1967) |
| Gurubasave Gowda | 1975 | <i>Ao Grammar</i> . Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysore. |
| Hockett, C.F. | 1970 | <i>A Course in Modern Linguistics</i> , Oxford & IBH, New Delhi. |
| Mahapatra, B.P. & et.al | 1989 | <i>The Written Languages of the World: A Survey of the Degree and Modes of Use</i> . Government of India, New Delhi and Laval University Press, Canada. |
| Shafer, Robert | 1966 | <i>Introduction to Sino-Tibetan (Part – 1)</i> , Wiesbaden:Otto Harrassowitz. |
| Shafer, Robert | 1967 | <i>Introduction to Sino-Tibetan (Part – 2)</i> , Wiesbaden:Otto Harrassowitz. |
| Shafer, Robert | 1968 | <i>Introduction to Sino-Tibetan (Part – 3)</i> , Wiesbaden:Otto Harrassowitz. |
| Y.P.Yadav and | 1999 | <i>Topics in Nepalese Linguistics</i> , Royal Nepal Academy, Kathmandu |
| W.W.Glower | | |
| Census of India | 1961 | <i>Language Tables, Vol.I part II-C(ii)</i> , Governemnt of India, Delhi |

TEXT

SUNWAR

kyerbus kali khadha potim dopã saiskto
'How crow hen killed the black snake'

<i>er</i> here	<i>ot</i> there	<i>S'usun</i> large	<i>hoga paiS'yo</i> branch spread	<i>barka</i> banyan	<i>rewem</i> tree
<i>a poti</i> crow one	<i>basat</i> crow hen	<i>bammat</i> lived	<i>meḷam</i> hen-crow	<i>a fem</i> mother and father	

Among the spreading branches of a banyan tree lived a crow and his wife, the crow hen.

<i>dasgyram</i> their nest	<i>lekoĩ</i> four	<i>im ims</i> small	<i>wafofiknu</i> eggs	<i>rimpã</i> great	<i>kauS'a</i> care	<i>basat</i> guard did
-------------------------------	----------------------	------------------------	--------------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	---------------------------

In the nest were four little eggs which the parents guarded with great care.

<i>reweMa</i> 'trees	<i>tharim</i> above	<i>kyer buska</i> snake	<i>bah mat</i> lived	<i>meS'um</i> because
<i>me khad ni kS'i</i> crows these two	<i>aikchen</i> very	<i>hiyu kS'ahiyu sot.</i> feared		

In a hollow of that tree trunk lived a black snake whom the crows feared greatly.

<i>katpotim gine hana</i> hen-crow every time	<i>yo</i> au	<i>?ã wofo</i> her-egg	<i>gevamat</i> giving	<i>basaba ?ate</i> stayed	<i>mebois</i> that snake
<i>gasresa</i> crawled	<i>a</i> that	<i>gyom jagdisa</i> nest togo	<i>mekho jaibamaba?</i> that ate up		

Every time the crow-hen laid her eggs the snake crawled up to the nest and ate them up.

<i>mekho</i> that	<i>katpotim</i> crow hen	<i>ḷa</i> her	<i>waĩskat nu</i> husband	<i>dẽta</i> said	<i>eko muwom</i> this time
----------------------	-----------------------------	------------------	------------------------------	---------------------	-------------------------------

yo ʔã wafo mekho kher busum wayeptu
also my egg that black snake ate

If the black snake eats up my eggs this time also, I will refuse to live in this tree any longer.

hana yekho rawam go genayo mawa nun~ tekho pithiyo goeĩ selbso
if this tree I neighbour beside where any our build

We must build our nest some where else, said the bird.

sõitre gopuik eker bahaS'yo
long time we have lived

We have lived here for a long time.

tikyo lauS'ya ʔã khĩ puRoi cha
eksewhere my house to live

macha ʔis dẽSya wõiS kadom dẽ tu
difficult saying he crow said

I can't bear to desert my home and go to live else where' said the crow.

mefi k laufan fan mesum me ʔan iktch aidi m
they together talking that –time their very just

puM reS'o awaS'ka nehetas
hissing sound heard

While they were talking, they heard a hissing sound just below them.

suka awaS' deS'a meni S'im tuistas as owa funu
which sound thought together know that eggs

datem paun warch motaiS'o koiS'o dumS'ya
protect + ing help lessly like stayed

They sat helplessly in their nest trying to protect their eggs.

as gyom bahtas mekho kyer bus gyoMa netham kasresa jadit tho
thir nest sat that snake nest + in near crawl reached
The black snake crawled closer to the nest.

min hu Tebyan *awas pã*
and big hissing sound

mekom meniS'i *chibnu* *saischa paikstonu* *win~pa~ khyer*
that they together bird killed try to fear lot

tu minu *bret ast kyerbu som* *mekho* *owofik* *ka kapã* *waikto*
away fled snake that eggs one one by ate

Then with a loud hiss he tried to strike at the bird who flew away in terror . One by one the snake ate up all the eggs.

?as wofunel *wasas* *mawab* *tuS'a* *me* *amaf*
their egg all eating not use knew the parents

kad Mam jauS'a *as* *gyomleto* *mekho* *sai kicha pũimp*
crow sad + very their returned that murderous

busnu *saischakali* *go* *lẽka* *kRe yunu*
snake kill + to I plan have

dẽS'a khad *woĩsm*
said + crow husband

The parents came back sadly to their nest knowing well that they would find it empty. The crow said, I must find a way to destroy this murderous snake.

dẽ to a bechaMa *kRaibo*
said that deadly sting

dopã jinini dẽS'a akhad potim *beS'o* *khoS'opã* *dẽto*
how fight said crow parents despair like said

How can you ever fight with him. His sting is so deadly, said his wife in despair.

ĩã da Mam *majau cha* *kyerbu* *aikch* *kRaipnu*
my dear worry not + do snake that poisonous

saikscha kali go wom *warska* *thuiS'onum* *dẽS'a* *khad*
kill + to I have friend have said crow

woiS'om *dẽtho* *minhu* *ẽtha* *rawem* *bRetS'aw* *tekom*
husband said and fly tree flying in that

S'iwarka maikS'o ʔa DaMa warS' babo mekho buiS'im
 jackal name theclose friend is that snake

Don't worry, my dear, I 've got a friend who is cunning enough to destroy the most poisonous of snakes, said the crow, and off he flew to another tree under which lived his dear friend Jackal.

nat khoi khoi wofonel woibo dēsa
 daily small egg + s swallow that

gena neto mekhum ʔa warskhali dēto “ʔā warS'
 when heard that his friend said my friend

supuik chō marimS'o thũ paikS'o baʔbo nole mekom
 which one cruel greedy those are leter that

marimS'o lā thibo mahum cha mekhonu saikschakali gom Moska
 had end will do not fear far that to kill I plan

sōche ne thu mS'onaM
 thought al ready

When the Jackal heard how the snake always ate up the eggs, he said, 'My friend those are cruel and greedy always meet with a bad end. I have already thought of a plan to destroy him.

mekhone nehsa khadem dētho
 plan hearing crow said

ʔala mekho marnam ʔākhali dēyun
 oh that what to tell do

nole S'iwarem hīch koiS'ya dēto
 there somuch fear daily said

mekom nehebo mekho buskali
 he over heard that snake

Oh, do tell me what it is, said the crow. Then the Jackal, fearing he might be overheard, whispered to his friend what he should do to destroy the snake.

dopā sahisksha malso dē warS'kali
 how kill should say friend

nefem muikto khad potinu bretS'a'
 whispering appeared crow hen fly

lekto minu mekho MasMa nehēpaikto
return and that plan told

eko da” akch katra babo dēS’a
it rather deadly available tools

kha dom dēto go puik kaupā
crow hen said we will

baʔaS’i cha mal psip
have to do it

a ʔ am chibhim yomS’a dē tho
the mother bird bravely said

ā wafokali bRō waikscha kali marai yo painuM
my eggs saving + to anything do + will

The crow flew back to his wife and about the plan. It is rather risky, said the crow. We will have to be very careful. I will do any thing to save my eggs said the mother bird bravely.

Mo pā nole me aspuik ragiMa
that so because they country

hapo/gyuro rikhipith bredhthakS’. mekho
king palace flew + towards that

rikhī chō mepuiki babo raware nethan
palace they are tree + from near

babo meas rikhiMa puMa Thepka
available they palace garden big

talom jaditas tekor rakS’iMa misan
pond approached their royal queens

puikhi chisa
pl. bathing

‘So off they flew towards the palace of the King of the country. The palace was not far from the tree in which they lived. They approached a big pond in the palace garden where they saw royal ladies having a bath.’

<i>baʔaS'o</i> doing	<i>me</i> they	<i>nikS'im</i> two			
<i>thámthas</i> saw	<i>me ʔan</i> they	<i>mékho</i> that	<i>kuwaMa</i> pond +case		
<i>nektam</i> near	<i>ʔan</i> their	<i>awuMa</i> gold	<i>tila</i> chin	<i>S'õ pu</i> pearl	<i>mar mar</i> other
<i>puiki</i> jewels	<i>waikS'o</i> kept		<i>a ʔam</i> the mother	<i>chib</i> bird	
<i>bredS'a</i> flew	<i>dohoto</i> down	<i>ʔã</i> her	<i>tõT Tom</i> beaks		
<i>tila-ka</i> chain + one	<i>phiguipkS'aw</i> picked		<i>minhu</i> and	<i>bre dna</i> start	
<i>bred</i> fly	<i>ʔã</i> her	<i>babgowa</i> living	<i>khoin khoin</i> towards	<i>Mola</i> slow	
<i>Mol</i> -ly	<i>lahatas</i> fly-ed	<i>awuMa</i> gold		<i>tila</i> chain	<i>kuriS'a</i> carry

The mother bird flew down, picked up a gold chain her beak and started flying slowly towards the tree in which she lived.

<i>rikhiMa</i> palace	<i>wispiyan</i> guard	<i>puikhim</i> pl.	<i>tam teme</i> saw		
<i>mepuikhim</i> they	<i>ʔan</i> their	<i>gadha khurS'ya</i> club carrying the	<i>me</i>		
<i>chiwnu</i> bird	<i>khera</i> towards	<i>paiktsa</i> just +put	<i>chiwim</i> bird	<i>rawoMa</i> live	

When the palace guards saw the bird flying off with a gold chain, they took up their clubs and chased their bird.

<i>pirsili kham</i> hole	<i>mekho</i> that	<i>tila</i> chain	<i>do paikptas</i> put		
<i>meʔan</i> they	<i>puikim</i> guard	<i>tamtem</i> saw it	<i>mekho</i> that	<i>tila</i> chain	

They saw the bird drop the chain into the hollow of the tree.

<i>malchakali</i>	<i>wispika</i>	<i>poRoiS'a</i>	<i>rawem</i>
find	guard + one	among	tree

<i>moiktSaw</i>	<i>megho tila</i>	<i>taucha kali</i>	<i>pir sili</i>
claimed	that	chain take+to	hole

<i>ʔa</i>	<i>aga</i>	<i>ʔãgui</i>	<i>MolS'onu</i>	<i>kyer</i>	<i>buskha</i>
his	hand	there	put	blake	snake

<i>gruelsa</i>	<i>tahsa</i>	<i>mekom</i>	<i>tapto</i>
curled	found	that	saw

One of the guards climbed up the tree to get the chain. As he geput his hand inside the hole, he saw a snake curled up there.

<i>gui kham</i>	<i>kowkey</i>	<i>tupS'ya</i>	<i>meko</i>
hand one	club	hit	that

<i>saiskto</i>	<i>minhu</i>	<i>Mofa</i>	<i>meko</i>
killed	and	this	way

<i>kyer bus</i>	<i>beheto</i>
black snake	died

With one hard stroke of his clu he killed it and that was the end of the black snake.

<i>meknolay</i>	<i>minhu</i>	<i>S'uS'om</i>
later	and	large

<i>im imch</i>	<i>khadh</i>	<i>chai puikhi</i>
children	crow	child

<i>as</i>	<i>rawem</i>	<i>khathnu</i>	<i>khadh poti</i>	<i>gyer S'a</i>	<i>bamtas.</i>
their	live	crow	parents	happily	lived

The crow and the crow hen lived in that tree happily after wards and had many little baby crows.

-----X-----

COMPARATIVE LEXICON - SELECTED 500 LEXICAL ITEMS
NON-PRONOMINALISED TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES IN SIKKIM

SLNo.	ENGLISH GLOSS	BHOTIA	TIBETAN	LEPCHA
I. Earth, Sky and Water etc.				
1	air	<i>l`uM / lúMma</i>	<i>l`uM</i>	<i>síkmit</i>
2	ashes	<i>ḡAteó</i>	<i>ḡAtéñ</i>	<i>purúsor</i>
3	cloud	<i>ñuMpó / ñapú</i>	<i>ti`mb`a</i>	<i>kumbyonM</i>
4	cold	<i>k^hyaM`Tá</i>	<i>daMwa`</i>	<i>ahim</i>
5	darkness	<i>nagsú:k / M`enná</i>	<i>muMp`a</i>	<i>tye`Mlit</i>
6	earth	<i>jamliM / saS`i</i>	<i>s`a</i>	<i>kirúsup</i>
7	eclipse	<i>ji`M</i>	<i>sañ</i>	<i>dársith`oM</i>
8	fire	<i>mih / mi`</i>	<i>meñ / m`e</i>	<i>mí</i>
9	fog	<i>namla mukpá / ñuMná</i>	<i>muMpa / timba</i>	<i>kimbyo`Mat`oM</i>
10	forest	<i>nagČin / nagČal / naJi / dAMýe / dAMé</i>	<i>S`iMnak</i>	<i>pinj`ok</i>
11	hill	<i>rih / ri` / gaM / lá</i>	<i>ri`</i>	<i>kiM</i>
12	ice	<i>k^háow</i>	<i>ḡar / k^h`egpa</i>	<i>sino`M</i>
13	island	<i>c^holiM / liMT^hen</i>	<i>liMt^h`en</i>	<i>tapu</i>
14	path	<i>l^hám</i>	<i>l^ham</i>	<i>lop</i>
15	moon	<i>ḡaka`</i>	<i>ḡawa`</i>	<i>lawó</i>
16	mountain	<i>ri` / gaM / gaMri / g`Áce / gaMce</i>	<i>k^haMri`</i>	<i>hló</i>
17	rain	<i>c^hapó / c^hap</i>	<i>c^harpa</i>	<i>S`o</i>
18	river	<i>kyoM / ČaMpó</i>	<i>c^hu`w`o</i>	<i>uMkyó</i>
19	road	<i>l^hám</i>	<i>l^ham</i>	<i>lómu</i>
20	sand	<i>l^hom</i>	<i>c^h`ema</i>	<i>ló`Mzi</i>
21	sea	<i>gyemCó</i>	<i>c^ho`gyamcho` (ocean)</i>	<i>samundra tala</i>
22	sky	<i>namk^há</i>	<i>namk^ha`</i>	<i>tiléyaM</i>
23	snow	<i>k^h`awó</i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup>aMri`</i>	<i>s`inoM</i>
24	star	<i>karmó</i>	<i>karma</i>	<i>sihór</i>
25	stone	<i>dó</i>	<i>ḡo`</i>	<i>lón</i>
26	storm	<i>lúMC^húp / lúMc^há</i>	<i>lu`MC`o</i>	<i>phúyuk</i>
27	sun	<i>M`yim</i>	<i>nyima</i>	<i>t`ik</i>
28	water	<i>c^hú</i>	<i>c^hu`</i>	<i>puM</i>
29	weather	<i>namla / namS`ey</i>	<i>naps`e / naps`i</i>	<i>sómi</i>
30	wind	<i>l`uM</i>	<i>l`uM</i>	<i>S`i`km`it</i>
31	wood	<i>S`iM</i>	<i>S``iM</i>	<i>syèM</i>
II. Mankind, Sex, Family and Relationships etc.				
32	baby	<i>b`oCó / AMye</i>	<i>pugu</i>	<i>íma</i>
33	boy	<i>bú</i>	<i>pu`</i>	<i>tigríoM</i>
34	bride	<i>nam / namá</i>	<i>bama</i>	<i>yo`M</i>
35	bride-groom	<i>makó</i>	<i>tayu</i>	<i>myók</i>
36	brother /elder(e.)/younger(y.)	<i>acú / agyá (e.) phamiM /púnló (y.)</i>	<i>pu`gemb`a (e.)/ pu`chuMS`u (y.)</i>	<i>an`i m?iM / anamjim</i>

COMPARATIVE LEXICON - SELECTED 500 LEXICAL ITEMS
NON-PRONOMINALISED TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES IN SIKKIM

SHERPA
<i>luM</i>
<i>thaljàm</i>
<i>mùkpa</i>
<i>khéwa / teMgi</i>
<i>nàkcúpi</i>
<i>jambuúliM</i>
<i>dájin</i>
<i>me</i>
<i>bhō / bhoròk</i>
<i>naTùM</i>
<i>la</i>
<i>khyárum</i>
<i>luMtoM</i>
<i>lham</i>
<i>dáwa / aulá</i>
<i>kàMri</i>
<i>càrpa</i>
<i>càMbu</i>
<i>lam</i>
<i>pémã</i>
<i>gyamCo</i>
<i>nam</i>
<i>kha</i>
<i>khàrma</i>
<i>do</i>
<i>luMchup</i>
<i>Mi' ma</i>
<i>Cú</i>
<i>namS'ey</i>
<i>urtú / luM</i>
<i>siM</i>
<i>aMá</i>
<i>khyòkpeja</i>
<i>náma</i>
<i>màkpa</i>
<i>Cocō/ núk</i>

COMPARATIVE LEXICON - SELECTED 500 LEXICAL ITEMS
NON-PRONOMINALISED TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES IN SIKKIM

TAMANG	GURUNG	SUNWAR	NEWARI	MANGARI	Sl.No.
I. Earth, Sky and Water etc.					
<i>laba</i>	<i>khien</i>	<i>phasi</i>	<i>fe</i>	<i>namsu</i>	1
<i>mepra</i>	<i>miura</i>	<i>pulu</i>	<i>naü</i>	<i>baDap</i>	2
<i>kasu</i>	<i>namsio</i>	<i>gil</i>	<i>supé'</i>	<i>Diyabu</i>	3
<i>kaMba</i>	<i>M'iuba</i>	<i>jyu</i>	<i>koM</i>	<i>jumcha</i>	4
<i>top</i>	<i>mais</i>	<i>kitu</i>	<i>kyü</i>	<i>chumcpak</i>	5
<i>jambuliM</i>	<i>hiughin</i>	<i>kab</i>	<i>ca'</i>	<i>jhanok</i>	6
<i>grain</i>	<i>laicam</i>	<i>grah</i>	<i>gänki</i>	<i>chumche</i>	7
<i>me</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>meh</i>	8
<i>kasu</i>	<i>namäsyö</i>	<i>gasu</i>	<i>khasú'</i>	<i>Diyabu</i>	9
<i>ri</i>	<i>panlo</i>	<i>puwki</i>	<i>ghü'</i>	<i>nam</i>	10
<i>goM</i>	<i>ko t, pro</i>	<i>himo</i>	<i>co'</i>	<i>Tag</i>	11
<i>jommu, gliM</i>	<i>kli</i>	<i>hie/hniu</i>	<i>cepu</i>	<i>MuMsa</i>	12
<i>gandila guMri sa</i>	<i>dh anba d e kiu lo</i>	<i>dip</i>		<i>goDum</i>	13
<i>gyem, lam</i>	<i>kia</i>	<i>pulu</i>	<i>laga</i>	<i>Digom</i>	14
<i>loni, lani</i>	<i>lai</i>	<i>thasla</i>	<i>timi'la</i>	<i>gyahoT</i>	15
<i>goM, gaM</i>	<i>thär</i>	<i>himo</i>	<i>ghü'</i>	<i>mipaM</i>	16
<i>nam</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>rew</i>	<i>wäs</i>	<i>namas</i>	17
<i>soM, S'yoM</i>	<i>syö</i>	<i>jagor</i>	<i>khüsi</i>	<i>DiDol</i>	18
<i>gyam</i>	<i>gyä</i>	<i>laga</i>	<i>lõ</i>	<i>hajiklam</i>	19
<i>sabi, savi</i>	<i>sabi</i>	<i>phuilkab</i>	<i>phí</i>	<i>luMja</i>	20
<i>gandi</i>	<i>siu</i>	<i>pokhari / doha</i>	<i>samündar</i>	<i>pokhari</i>	21
<i>mu</i>	<i>mhu</i>	<i>sari`M</i>	<i>sèrga</i>	<i>noma</i>	22
<i>jommu, gliM</i>	<i>kli</i>	<i>phu~ / pho~</i>	<i>tewépu</i>	<i>muMser</i>	23
<i>karjel ,sar</i>	<i>Mar</i>	<i>S'or</i>	<i>nou</i>	<i>tuMga</i>	24
<i>yuMba</i>	<i>yum</i>	<i>phuilu</i>	<i>lohõ'</i>	<i>luM</i>	25
<i>laba luMsar</i>	<i>kaina</i>	<i>phacila</i>	<i>gwá fe</i>	<i>nawas naM su</i>	26
<i>dini</i>	<i>thihã</i>	<i>nha</i>	<i>sürdyo</i>	<i>naMkhan</i>	27
<i>kui, ki</i>	<i>kyui</i>	<i>wa~ku / wak</i>	<i>läu</i>	<i>Di</i>	28
<i>yam</i>	<i>kuiphar</i>	<i>has</i>	<i>mósem</i>	<i>muMsak</i>	29
<i>laba</i>	<i>kaĩ</i>	<i>phas</i>	<i>féye</i>	<i>namsu</i>	30
<i>kaDi, S'iM</i>	<i>siM</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>sĩ</i>	<i>siM</i>	31
II. Mankind, Sex, Family and Relationships etc.					
<i>kola, cyama</i>	<i>kolo</i>	<i>alo</i>	<i>màcha</i>	<i>mija</i>	32
<i>braba, dabo</i>	<i>mai yu kolo</i>	<i>waismur</i>	<i>màcha</i>	<i>lenja</i>	33
<i>semu</i>	<i>prisyo</i>	<i>gyup paipmise</i>	<i>bhau máza</i>	<i>bouja</i>	34
<i>sebu</i>	<i>piäla</i>	<i>gyup paipwois</i>	<i>mizõ'</i>	<i>chanja</i>	35
<i>jojo, ajo (e.) / cyon , aley (y.)</i>	<i>aghe / alli</i>	<i>Daggyo / lobo</i>	<i>Dazú Dai</i>	<i>Daje</i>	36

COMPARATIVE LEXICON - SELECTED 500 LEXICAL ITEMS
NON-PRONOMINALISED TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES IN SIKKIM

SL.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	BHOTIA	TIBETAN	LEPCHA
37	child	<i>b`oCó</i>	<i>pugu / t^h rugu / Cipa</i>	<i>íma</i>
38	daughter	<i>b`um / seyAm</i>	<i>p`om`o</i>	<i>tiwkiip</i>
39	father	<i>p^hó / apó</i>	<i>pa</i> (ordinary) <i>pala</i> (honorific)	<i>abó</i>
40	friend	<i>rú / dukú</i>	<i>druk p`o</i>	<i>atyoi</i>
41	girl	<i>b`um</i>	<i>p`om`o</i>	<i>téyi</i>
42	husband	<i>p^hogya / gýap</i>	<i>c^ho`g`a</i>	<i>awó</i>
43	male	<i>p^h`A</i>	<i>p<sup>h</sup>o`´</i>	<i>bóse ebe</i>
44	man	<i>p^h`A / m`I / p^h`A li</i>	<i>mi f̃ / m`i</i>	<i>pheghó</i>
45	marriage	<i>M`yen</i>	<i>c<sup>h</sup>aMS`´a</i>	<i>bri</i>
46	maternal uncle	<i>aS`ám</i>	<i>asaM</i>	<i>azo`M</i>
47	maternal uncle's daughter	<i>aS`ám ki bum</i>	<i>asaMkyi`´p`om`o</i>	<i>ano`m</i>
48	mother	<i>a`m</i>	<i>ama</i> (ordinary) <i>amala</i> (honorific)	<i>ma</i>
49	nephew	<i>c^h`o</i>	<i>C`ob`o</i>	<i>namkip</i>
50	niece	<i>c^ham</i>	<i>C`om`o</i>	<i>namk`iptayú</i>
51	old man	<i>m`i kudi</i>	<i>mi f̃ gyap`o</i>	<i>piyóm</i>
52	person	<i>p^h`A li</i>	<i>gasaM / kyo</i>	<i>tigriòM</i>
53	tall	<i>JuriM / kuJú / riMkó</i>	<i>riMwa`´</i> (tall)/ <i>riMsu`´</i> (tallest)	<i>athobu</i>
54	lean	<i>miJú byakrá / Jup^hyeTá</i>	<i>kamp`o / kyop`o</i> (related to living thing)	<i>acimbu</i>
55	fat	<i>gyakpá / gyakpó</i>	<i>gyakp`a</i>	<i>asúbu</i>
56	dumb	<i>kukpá</i>	<i>dami</i>	<i>boM</i>
57	blind	<i>m̃ik mat^hoMpó / m̃ik kapkapó</i>	<i>S`ark`ok</i>	<i>miksápmáro</i>
58	sister /elder(e.) /younger(y.)	<i>num (e.) / busim (y.)</i>	<i>se`m`o</i>	<i>anóm</i>
59	sister-in-law	<i>a f̃igyumi</i>	<i>se`m`o p`om`o</i>	<i>azo`M</i>
60	son	<i>bú</i>	<i>pu`´</i>	<i>tegri`´kip</i>
61	widow	<i>moryém / yAksámo / yAksám</i>	<i>yu`ks`ama f̃</i>	<i>tayíwin</i>
62	wife	<i>jadu / tendu / Cidu</i>	<i>cuMa</i> (ordinary & intimate)/ <i>kem`e</i> (honorific)	<i>ayi</i>
63	woman	<i>m̃o</i>	<i>p`i me f̃ / pim`e</i>	<i>tayímu</i>
III. Animals, Birds, etc.				
64	ant	<i>gyomá</i>	<i>but^h ruma</i>	<i>tikfyul</i>
65	bird	<i>p^hyicúM</i>	<i>p^hya`´ / c<sup>h</sup>ya`´</i>	<i>fó</i>
66	cat	<i>al`i`´</i>	<i>S`yimi</i>	<i>aliw</i>
67	claw	<i>si f̃ú</i>	<i>baM d̃i f̃</i>	<i>pínci</i>
68	cock	<i>byepú</i>	<i>Ce`p`o</i>	<i>hikbi</i>
69	cow	<i>b`a</i>	<i>bamo</i>	<i>bikyú</i>
70	crab	<i>diksiM</i>	<i>diS`´iM</i>	<i>tihi</i>

COMPARATIVE LEXICON - SELECTED 500 LEXICAL ITEMS
NON-PRONOMINALISED TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES IN SIKKIM

SHERPA
<i>aMá</i>
<i>pum</i>
<i>papa/ hába</i>
<i>dálja</i>
<i>pum</i>
<i>khyówa</i>
<i>pho</i>
<i>mi</i>
<i>gyènkutúp</i>
<i>ajyaM</i>
<i>urutikpe</i>
<i>máma</i>
<i>sápyu</i>
<i>sápyu ma</i>
<i>migáwa</i>
<i>dómi</i>
<i>thènbu</i>
<i>chyába</i>
<i>gyàkpa</i>
<i>kuwa</i>
<i>S'yàrba</i>
<i>aji</i>
<i>namá</i>
<i>puijum</i>
<i>yúsím</i>
<i>pèr mi</i>
<i>humpúm</i>
<i>urú</i>
<i>chajyùm</i>
<i>bèr maM</i>
<i>dersòM</i>
<i>cháyubu</i>
<i>cúM ma</i>
<i>gaMáTa / diksiM</i>

COMPARATIVE LEXICON - SELECTED 500 LEXICAL ITEMS
NON-PRONOMINALISED TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES IN SIKKIM

TAMANG	GURUNG	SUNWAR	NEWARI	MANGARI	Sl.No.
<i>kola</i>	<i>kolo</i>	<i>ʔal /alo</i>	<i>màcha</i>	<i>jaja</i>	37
<i>jame</i>	<i>chame</i>	<i>Tomi</i>	<i>mhě́</i>	<i>masto mija</i>	38
<i>aba</i>	<i>ap</i>	<i>afo</i>	<i>buá</i>	<i>boi</i>	39
<i>ro</i>	<i>th̥u</i>	<i>warch / varch</i>	<i>pása</i>	<i>lafa</i>	40
<i>mriMkola</i>	<i>riekolo</i>	<i>mismur</i>	<i>misá màcha</i>	<i>masTo</i>	41
<i>rembo</i>	<i>piu</i>	<i>waṣe</i>	<i>bhàta</i>	<i>lenja</i>	42
<i>rembakola</i>	<i>mayu</i>	<i>waisa</i>	<i>mizǒ</i>	<i>lenja</i>	43
<i>mi</i>	<i>mhi</i>	<i>mur</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>barmi</i>	44
<i>brelsaM</i>	<i>bayē</i>	<i>giwbe</i>	<i>byá</i>	<i>galeMpeT</i>	45
<i>aseM</i>	<i>asyō</i>	<i>kuku</i>	<i>pajú</i>	<i>mama</i>	46
<i>nana , ana</i>	<i>Molsyo</i>	<i>bu</i>	<i>mhě</i>	<i>boini</i>	47
<i>am</i>	<i>am</i>	<i>mama / amo</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>moi</i>	48
<i>kon</i>	<i>mitc</i>	<i>batij</i>	<i>kayécha</i>	<i>baTis</i>	49
<i>konme</i>	<i>ritc</i>	<i>batijni</i>	<i>mhé ne cha</i>	<i>baTiji</i>	50
<i>keppa mi</i>	<i>paccai kiba</i>	<i>kholpa</i>	<i>buRá mhanu</i>	<i>guchey barmi</i>	51
<i>mi</i>	<i>mhi</i>	<i>mur</i>	<i>titah</i>	<i>warmi</i>	52
<i>meba, noba</i>	<i>nuba</i>	<i>laiksho</i>	<i>taRhi</i>	<i>gaMce</i>	53
<i>jyotpa , rikpa</i>	<i>proba</i>	<i>komso</i>	<i>titáh</i>	<i>ruTche</i>	54
<i>coba, baMba</i>	<i>choba</i>	<i>lomso / Domso</i>	<i>lhwǒ</i>	<i>Dasche</i>	55
<i>lemba, laDa</i>	<i>lur</i>	<i>moro / noro</i>	<i>laTa</i>	<i>moro</i>	56
<i>mi ameMba, amraMba</i>	<i>miamruba</i>	<i>michimataib</i>	<i>andhá</i>	<i>mik chum</i>	57
<i>nana (e.) buriM (y.)</i>	<i>ana / ani</i>	<i>bu</i>	<i>misa</i>	<i>Dai</i>	58
<i>caM</i>	<i>cho</i>	<i>pobu</i>	<i>misa</i>	<i>lata</i>	59
<i>ja</i>	<i>cha</i>	<i>Tau</i>	<i>káe</i>	<i>miza</i>	60
<i>rembu sibala</i>	<i>rārsyo</i>	<i>radi</i>	<i>bhidáwa</i>	<i>pidewa</i>	61
<i>kui, kuyu</i>	<i>mri, prisyo</i>	<i>mise</i>	<i>misa</i>	<i>maja</i>	62
<i>mriMkol</i>	<i>ri</i>	<i>misbu</i>	<i>misa</i>	<i>masTo</i>	63
III. Animals, Birds, etc.					
<i>sewri ,nakrut</i>	<i>lōpu, ḍwaru</i>	<i>rakmaci</i>	<i>imú</i>	<i>mhar</i>	64
<i>name ,nemna</i>	<i>ciya, neu</i>	<i>chebi</i>	<i>càkhũ</i>	<i>gwaja</i>	65
<i>tawar, guri</i>	<i>nowar</i>	<i>bermo</i>	<i>bàu</i>	<i>suThu</i>	66
<i>yapla</i>	<i>yosĩ</i>	<i>chuchcho/ khaj</i>	<i>chucho</i>	<i>miwuT</i>	67
<i>naga waba , naga bale</i>	<i>nato</i>	<i>gai/ wuwa bhalay</i>	<i>gòMa</i>	<i>gwabhalya</i>	68
<i>memama , mey</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>bi</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>MeT</i>	69
<i>kakrey, kre, kapre</i>	<i>krōi</i>	<i>kaMta</i>	<i>kangeTa</i>	<i>rewa</i>	70

COMPARATIVE LEXICON - SELECTED 500 LEXICAL ITEMS
NON-PRONOMINALISED TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES IN SIKKIM

SLNo.	ENGLISH GLOSS	BHOTIA	TIBETAN	LEPCHA
71	dog	<i>k^hyi</i>	<i>k^hyi</i> ´	<i>kazu</i> ´
72	egg	<i>goMdó</i>	<i>goMa</i> ´	<i>ati</i>
73	feather	<i>byeidók</i>	<i>Capu</i>	<i>pinkók</i>
74	fish	<i>M'ya</i>	<i>M'ya</i>	<i>nu</i>
75	fly	<i>b'om</i>	<i>daMma</i>	<i>lamsyóuM</i>
76	fox	<i>w fī am</i>	<i>wa</i> ´	<i>hému</i>
77	goat	<i>ra</i>	<i>ra</i> ´	<i>sipár</i>
78	grease	<i>c^hilú</i>	<i>S'akCi</i> ´	<i>num</i>
79	guts	<i>gyumá</i>	<i>naMtrul</i>	
80	horn	<i>racó</i>	<i>raco</i>	<i>aróM</i>
81	horse	<i>tá</i>	<i>tá</i> ´	<i>puM</i>
82	lion	<i>siMgi</i> (a loan from Hindi)	<i>S'imge</i> (a loan from Hindi)	<i>siMi</i>
83	louse	<i>si'k</i>	<i>si'k</i>	<i>sewok</i>
84	monkey	<i>peó / peú</i>	<i>ti</i> ´u	<i>sih̃</i>
85	nest	<i>p^hyicúM CaM</i>	<i>CaMc^haM</i>	<i>asyap</i>
86	tail	<i>Júkma</i>	<i>S'ugu</i> ´ (colloquial)/ <i>nama</i> (literary)	<i>ti</i> ´kS'im
87	tiger	<i>iak / t'a</i>	<i>t^hak</i>	<i>thampik</i>
88	tortoise	<i>rubé</i>	<i>r`obe</i> ´	<i>pinko</i>

IV. Body parts, Bodily functions and conditions, etc.

89	wing	<i>sokó</i>	<i>dama / S'okpa</i>	<i>gyuk</i>
90	work	<i>y`ok</i>	<i>l`eka</i>	<i>vong/Togum</i>
91	back	<i>gyap / g`epó</i>	<i>gy`ap</i>	<i>tyanum</i>
92	belly	<i>p^hocúM</i>	<i>towa / tawa</i>	<i>dobok</i>
93	blood	<i>k^hyá</i>	<i>t^hak</i>	<i>wi</i>
94	body	<i>s`uk</i>	<i>sukpu</i> ´	<i>miMzu</i>
95	bone	<i>rotó</i>	<i>ro`p`a</i>	<i>ahsRet</i>
96	breast	<i>b'yaMgó</i>	<i>no`m`a</i>	<i>kirgi</i>
97	chest	<i>b'yaMgó</i>	<i>daM</i>	<i>kirgu</i>
98	ear	<i>namcó</i>	<i>nawa / amco</i>	<i>nyurlop</i>
99	eye	<i>mik</i>	<i>m`ik</i>	<i>amik</i>
100	face	<i>k^hadÁM</i>	<i>Mu /do`M</i>	<i>mlém</i>
101	fever	<i>dreba</i>	<i>Ce`p`a</i>	<i>dilót</i>
102	finger	<i>Jukcúm</i>	<i>su`m`o</i>	<i>kizóm</i>
103	flesh	<i>S'á</i>	<i>S'yana</i>	<i>man</i>
104	foot	<i>kaMpó</i>	<i>ka`Mp`a</i>	<i>atho`M</i>
105	hair	<i>kyá</i>	<i>tr`a</i>	<i>aeht`o`m</i>
106	hand	<i>lakó</i>	<i>la`kp`a</i>	<i>ak̃</i>
107	head	<i>goe</i>	<i>go fī / g`o</i>	<i>athya`k</i>
108	heart	<i>duM'iM</i>	<i>niM</i>	<i>alit</i>

COMPARATIVE LEXICON - SELECTED 500 LEXICAL ITEMS
NON-PRONOMINALISED TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES IN SIKKIM

SHERPA
<i>khi</i>
<i>cemétok/ karjú</i>
<i>pusyô k</i>
<i>Mya</i>
<i>phurúp</i>
<i>kipcaM</i>
<i>ra</i>
<i>chilu</i>
<i>gyuma</i>
<i>archyok</i>
<i>tah</i>
<i>seMé</i>
<i>riu</i>
<i>CaM</i>
<i>Máma</i>
<i>tak</i>
<i>rubel</i>
<i>syókpa</i>
<i>gyap</i>
<i>gyep</i>
<i>sup</i>
<i>Tak</i>
<i>oMbúk</i>
<i>rukòk</i>
<i>núma</i>
<i>Céko</i>
<i>namJók</i>
<i>mik</i>
<i>céMa</i>
<i>khézer</i>
<i>théptok</i>
<i>S'a</i>
<i>jeh</i>
<i>ráh</i>
<i>lákpa</i>
<i>go</i>
<i>Mi`M</i>

COMPARATIVE LEXICON - SELECTED 500 LEXICAL ITEMS
NON-PRONOMINALISED TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES IN SIKKIM

TAMANG	GURUNG	SUNWAR	NEWARI	MANGARI	Sl.No.
<i>nagi , nigi</i>	<i>nagi</i>	<i>kuchum</i>	<i>kícha</i>	<i>chew</i>	71
<i>pum</i>	<i>phũ</i>	<i>wafu</i>	<i>khẽ</i>	<i>miruh</i>	72
<i>byap</i>	<i>phya</i>	<i>berbo</i>	<i>papú/pa</i>	<i>mikhar</i>	73
<i>ta reMa</i>	<i>thāga</i>	<i>Ma</i>	<i>nya</i>	<i>Disya</i>	74
<i>napraM</i>	<i>ḍaurō</i>	<i>churuM</i>	<i>pují</i>	<i>wurki</i>	75
<i>luondi</i>	<i>siala</i>	<i>siwaray</i>	<i>siyal</i>	<i>silah</i>	76
<i>ra</i>	<i>ra</i>	<i>kyas/ kyars</i>	<i>bakRa</i>	<i>rah</i>	77
<i>giris</i>	<i>cuci</i>	<i>jibil</i>	<i>chiplo</i>	<i>chiplo</i>	78
<i>ca</i>	<i>nanu</i>	<i>kor / koz</i>	<i>anda</i>	<i>ando</i>	79
<i>ru</i>	<i>rũ</i>	<i>gro</i>	<i>siM</i>	<i>siM</i>	80
<i>ta</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>S'ara</i>	<i>sata</i>	<i>goR</i>	81
<i>gyaMta</i>	<i>sihā</i>	<i>gups</i>	<i>siMa</i>	<i>ragu</i>	82
<i>nyam nyu</i>	<i>tomi, pi:</i>	<i>khĩ</i>	<i>chẽ</i>	<i>im</i>	83
<i>maM , maMu</i>	<i>th imhi</i>	<i>mor</i>	<i>maká</i>	<i>forjache</i>	84
<i>jaM</i>	<i>chuwo</i>	<i>jyo</i>	<i>gũrd</i>	<i>mihim</i>	85
<i>me</i>	<i>mey</i>	<i>puchar</i>	<i>taRhi</i>	<i>meme</i>	86
<i>tak , cyan</i>	<i>cẽ</i>	<i>joĩ</i>	<i>ghu</i>	<i>ragu</i>	87
	<i>lipra t</i>	<i>kachua</i>	<i>kachua</i>	<i>kachuwa</i>	88
IV. Body parts, Bodily functions and conditions, etc.					
<i>byap</i>	<i>pya</i>	<i>fra/ bre</i>	<i>paketa</i>	<i>mikhar</i>	89
<i>gyat , ge</i>	<i>kei</i>	<i>ge / gaida</i>	<i>jya</i>	<i>kajus</i>	90
<i>licca , gyapse</i>	<i>kre / lei</i>	<i>ci / chi</i>	<i>lípa</i>	<i>nuMlak</i>	91
<i>po, hajaM po</i>	<i>pho</i>	<i>andra</i>	<i>tawa</i>	<i>miTuk</i>	92
<i>ka</i>	<i>koh</i>	<i>kun / hus</i>	<i>hĩ</i>	<i>hiw</i>	93
<i>lui</i>	<i>jĩyu</i>	<i>ra</i>	<i>mohõ</i>	<i>jaM</i>	94
<i>na kru , nakrut</i>	<i>ruie</i>	<i>rus</i>	<i>koi</i>	<i>merus</i>	95
<i>nezaM</i>	<i>M'e</i>	<i>kucuTui</i>	<i>yakúla</i>	<i>michaTi</i>	96
<i>ku , kuto</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>kucu</i>	<i>nugópa</i>	<i>michaTi</i>	97
<i>na be , nabin</i>	<i>naphei</i>	<i>nafa</i>	<i>napha</i>	<i>menkeT</i>	98
<i>mi</i>	<i>mie</i>	<i>Michi</i>	<i>mikha</i>	<i>mimik</i>	99
<i>li</i>	<i>lipo</i>	<i>kulo / kulu</i>	<i>anuhor</i>	<i>khanbik</i>	100
<i>cawa</i>	<i>Tao jor</i>	<i>roi</i>	<i>jór</i>	<i>jor</i>	101
<i>jumbi</i>	<i>yor</i>	<i>brepcho</i>	<i>patĩ</i>	<i>niyawla</i>	102
<i>Di</i>	<i>sia</i>	<i>mor / moch</i>	<i>masu</i>	<i>misya</i>	103
<i>bale , kaM , syap</i>	<i>phali</i>	<i>dimla</i>	<i>tuti</i>	<i>Mihil</i>	104
<i>kra</i>	<i>kra</i>	<i>cha</i>	<i>bala</i>	<i>micham</i>	105
<i>ya</i>	<i>iyo</i>	<i>gui / Tabla</i>	<i>lha</i>	<i>mihuT</i>	106
<i>tobo</i>	<i>krase</i>	<i>piya</i>	<i>chó</i>	<i>miTalu</i>	107
<i>tiM</i>	<i>Thĩba</i>	<i>luigir</i>	<i>nugáh</i>	<i>migin</i>	108

COMPARATIVE LEXICON - SELECTED 500 LEXICAL ITEMS
NON-PRONOMINALISED TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES IN SIKKIM

SL.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	BHOTIA	TIBETAN	LEPCHA
109	leg	<i>kaMpó</i>	<i>sugu fi / sug`u</i>	<i>atho`M</i>
110	lip	<i>yamcu / mamcu</i>	<i>cu / c^ho`o</i>	<i>bóMdul</i>
111	liver	<i>c^henpó</i>	<i>c^hi`mp`a</i>	<i>abét</i>
112	lung	<i>lów</i>	<i>lowa</i>	<i>abú</i>
113	mouth	<i>k^ha / S`é</i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup>`a</i>	<i>abo`M</i>
114	neck	<i>k`e</i>	<i>ke`</i>	<i>sigrák</i>
115	nose	<i>na fígúk</i>	<i>na fi /n`a/naku</i>	<i>Topnom</i>
116	spine	<i>ge c^hik</i>	<i>g`yepCi`</i>	
117	tongue	<i>c`e / J`a</i>	<i>Ce`</i>	<i>alie</i>
118	tooth	<i>šo / c^hem</i>	<i>s`o</i>	<i>efo</i>
119	waist	<i>kepó</i>	<i>ke`pa`</i>	<i>kityem</i>

V. Foods Drinks, Cooking and Utencils etc.

120	fruit	<i>S`iMde / S`iMt^hu / S`iMt<sup>h</sup>uk</i>	<i>S`iMtók</i>	<i>thampót</i>
121	liquor	<i>arak</i>	<i>l`empa</i>	<i>arák</i>
122	milk	<i>o`m</i>	<i>`oma`</i>	<i>nin</i>
123	salt	<i>c^ha</i>	<i>c^ha</i>	<i>vom</i>
124	smoke	<i>d^hwa</i>	<i>d^howa</i> (a loan from Hindi)	<i>míkan</i>
125	rice- uncooked (uc.)/ cooked(c.)	<i>tÁ mac^huc^hupó / S`yalá mac<sup>h</sup>opó (uc.) / tÁ chuchupó / S`yalá chuchupó(c.)</i>	<i>d^hre</i> (rice) /macoyep`a (uncooked)	<i>jhe</i>

VI. Clothing, House, Parts of House etc.

126	banian	<i>gAnji</i> (a loan from Hindi)	<i>ganJi</i> (a loan from Hindi)	<i>ianji</i>
127	cloth	<i>gol`ak / namJá</i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup>y`o / k^h`i</i>	<i>Dum</i>
128	cotton	<i>kabobé</i>	<i>re`</i>	<i>kuba</i>
129	front tuck	<i>lApaM</i>	<i>de`nd`a</i>	<i>Tak</i>
130	flute	<i>liMbú</i>	<i>li`Mp`u / t^hriliM</i>	<i>pli`d</i>
131	frock	<i>bakú / jama</i>	<i>t^he`g`i</i>	<i>frok</i>
132	loom	<i>t^hakt^hi</i>	<i>t^ha`kr`i / t^ha`kt<sup>h</sup>`i</i>	<i>kuba</i>
133	stick	<i>k^ha tu / t^he ta</i>	<i>gy`ukpa</i>	<i>patiM</i>
134	bed	<i>me / jine</i>	<i>M`y`at^hi</i>	
135	door	<i>gom</i>	<i>g`o</i>	<i>wim</i>
136	house	<i>k^him / Jimk^háM / k^haMpa</i>	<i>k^ha`Mp`a</i>	<i>li`</i>
137	roof	<i>gúM</i>	<i>t^hoka</i>	<i>likuM</i>
138	rope	<i>t^haMko</i>	<i>t^hakp`a</i>	<i>Takpo</i>
139	wall	<i>CikÁ</i>	<i>Cikp`a</i>	<i>uMláp</i>
140	well water	<i>c^hú</i>	<i>c^hu`CaMm`a</i>	<i>umlak</i>
141	window	<i>gAcuM / gyegá</i>	<i>gerku`M / karku`M</i>	<i>Rap sa</i>

VII. Trees, Vegetables, Fruits and Flowers etc.

COMPARATIVE LEXICON - SELECTED 500 LEXICAL ITEMS
NON-PRONOMINALISED TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES IN SIKKIM

SHERPA
<i>kaMba</i>
<i>cutuik</i>
<i>siMba</i>
<i>lohwa</i>
<i>kha</i>
<i>zi`Mba</i>
<i>nou</i>
<i>suk</i>
<i>celak</i>
<i>sa</i>
<i>kyaldaM</i>
<i>siMde</i>
<i>arak</i>
<i>oma</i>
<i>ca</i>
<i>tuta</i>
<i>syoru</i>
<i>ganli</i>
<i>majya</i>
<i>rui</i>
<i>lumó</i>
<i>lahCi</i>
<i>thak</i>
<i>perka</i>
<i>bed</i>
<i>gom</i>
<i>kaMpa</i>
<i>khaMthok</i>
<i>tako</i>
<i>chikpa</i>
<i>cukó</i>
<i>karuM</i>

COMPARATIVE LEXICON - SELECTED 500 LEXICAL ITEMS
NON-PRONOMINALISED TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES IN SIKKIM

TAMANG	GURUNG	SUNWAR	NEWARI	MANGARI	Sl.No.
<i>kan, kaM, bale</i>	<i>pali</i>	<i>kwaili</i>	<i>TuTi</i>	<i>mikuTa/ mihil</i>	109
<i>suM pi</i>	<i>maTi</i>	<i>letgi</i>	<i>mhuTúsi</i>	<i>miburli</i>	110
<i>nyat</i>	<i>gi</i>	<i>aído</i>	<i>swoĩ</i>	<i>migin</i>	111
<i>globa</i>	<i>lo-o</i>	<i>taroM / phoraM</i>	<i>swõ</i>	<i>mfoksu</i>	112
<i>sum , suM</i>	<i>sũ</i>	<i>S'o / syo</i>	<i>mhũtu</i>	<i>meMer</i>	113
<i>kare</i>	<i>kharji</i>	<i>gyur</i>	<i>gapáh</i>	<i>mighaT</i>	114
<i>na</i>	<i>nuku</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>nhéy</i>	<i>minha</i>	115
<i>TaM</i>	<i>koh d ar</i>	<i>kwai/ chi</i>	<i>hadi</i>	<i>hadi</i>	116
<i>le</i>	<i>le</i>	<i>lě</i>	<i>měy</i>	<i>meleT</i>	117
<i>swa</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>kRoI / krui</i>	<i>wa</i>	<i>misyak</i>	118
<i>cikma, tshikma</i>	<i>kre</i>	<i>kReto / klato</i>	<i>jã</i>	<i>jaM</i>	119
V. Foods Drinks, Cooking and Utencils etc.					
<i>doMro , saynor</i>	<i>kikes</i>	<i>khaffu</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>siMsya</i>	120
<i>airak</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>serwāk sordwak</i>	<i>pálu</i>	<i>maDDe</i>	121
<i>Mi , ne</i>	<i>mheya</i>	<i>buis</i>	<i>đũru</i>	<i>DuT</i>	122
<i>caja</i>	<i>caja</i>	<i>hisi</i>	<i>chi</i>	<i>cha</i>	123
<i>migu , myugu</i>	<i>churaTa, churus</i>	<i>Dum</i>	<i>kũ</i>	<i>khu</i>	124
<i>uncooked: mla, sit</i> <i>cooked: kan, S'ol, S'eba</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>S'ari / S'eri</i>	<i>cawel</i>	<i>chura</i>	125
VI. Clothing, House, Parts of House etc.					
<i>gap kuan</i>	<i>nor</i>	<i>gãji</i>	<i>gànji</i>	<i>ganji</i>	126
<i>kuan , owan</i>	<i>su ĩ i koe</i>	<i>wa</i>	<i>lõ</i>	<i>borhin</i>	127
<i>kabe</i>	<i>koe</i>	<i>rui</i>	<i>kapé</i>	<i>kapas</i>	128
	<i>okoi</i>	<i>Tuk</i>	<i>tak</i>	<i>Tak</i>	129
<i>puli , benu</i>	<i>basni</i>	<i>Taftik</i>	<i>bāsuri</i>	<i>muhroli</i>	130
<i>parey</i>	<i>jama</i>	<i>frok</i>	<i>jama</i>	<i>jama</i>	131
<i>ka</i>	<i>rata, rar</i>	<i>rui</i>	<i>tã´</i>	<i>rosi</i>	132
<i>kaDi , berga</i>	<i>pare</i>	<i>Talnu / kowde / kowkay</i>	<i>talnu</i>	<i>DaMa</i>	133
<i>Mu kyaM</i>	<i>sikhat</i>	<i>yiwik / eiptek</i>	<i>khãfa</i>	<i>khaT</i>	134
<i>mra p</i>	<i>mra</i>	<i>lapcho</i>	<i>khapá</i>	<i>galem</i>	135
<i>dim</i>	<i>dhĩ</i>	<i>khi</i>	<i>chẽ</i>	<i>im</i>	136
<i>sap</i>	<i>phir balas</i>	<i>S'aptiksa</i>	<i>pow</i>	<i>chajin</i>	137
<i>co , coda</i>	<i>cho</i>	<i>Dori</i>	<i>khípa</i>	<i>suTã</i>	138
<i>Den</i>	<i>kara</i>	<i>bitta</i>	<i>pakhá</i>	<i>biTTa</i>	139
<i>kui , ki</i>	<i>kyu khũli</i>	<i>tal / kuwa / kowa</i>	<i>cepu</i>	<i>Tag</i>	140
<i>karkuM</i>	<i>jhial</i>	<i>kiDki</i>	<i>jhaya /jhayal</i>	<i>arwa</i>	141
VII. Trees, Vegetables, Fruits and Flowers etc.					

COMPARATIVE LEXICON - SELECTED 500 LEXICAL ITEMS
NON-PRONOMINALISED TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES IN SIKKIM

Sl.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	BHOTIA	TIBETAN	LEPCHA
142	bamboo	<i>M'yuMmá / paS'iM</i>	<i>M'yu ´ Mm `a</i>	<i>po</i>
143	banana	<i>kédAM</i>	<i>kela</i> (loan word)	<i>kurduM</i>
144	barks	<i>pakú</i>	<i>S'iMpakpa</i>	<i>kuMlop</i>
145	brinjal	<i>ḍAlum</i>	<i>beMgAn</i> (a loan from Hindi)	<i>kundou</i>
146	chilly	<i>kaca / JeCi</i>	<i>sibe ´ M</i>	<i>suMkar</i>
147	coconut	<i>nAriAl</i> (a loan from Hindi)	<i>bete debu</i>	<i>nariwal</i>
148	creeper	<i>ri / riri</i>	<i>diS' ´ iM</i>	
149	flower	<i>miṭ^huk</i>	<i>meṭ ´ ok</i>	<i>rip</i>
150	fruit	<i>S'iMdre / S'iMṭ^hú / S'iMde</i>	<i>S'iMṭ ´ ok</i>	<i>simtok</i>
151	garden	<i>ḍumrá / miṭ^huS'iM</i>	<i>meṭ ´ ok ḍumra</i>	<i>sin</i>
152	grass	<i>Maça / pAMça</i>	<i>C ´ a</i>	<i>pay</i>
153	guava	<i>amra</i>	<i>siu ´</i>	<i>amrut</i>
154	jack fruit	<i>ḍamsi</i>	<i>S'iMci ´ p^har ´ u</i>	<i>Muc ipot</i>
155	leaf	<i>ḍaMá</i>	<i>loma</i>	<i>enum</i>
156	lily	<i>p ´ ema</i>	<i>meṭ ´ ok k i m ´ e</i>	<i>lily</i>
157	mango	<i>amba</i> (a loan from Hindi)	<i>amra</i>	<i>ambi</i>
158	paddy	<i>r ´ e / by ´ a</i>	<i>d ´ e</i> (paddy)/ <i>d ´ eS'im</i> (paddy – field)	<i>zo</i>
159	plough	<i>mÁa / LAmóu</i>	<i>m ´ i</i>	<i>mou</i>
160	potato	<i>kiú</i>	<i>S'ogo</i>	<i>lupok</i>
161	root	<i>racá</i>	<i>Cawa ´</i>	<i>afya</i>
162	sweet	<i>Mamo / S'impo</i>	<i>S'impo ´</i> (related to the taste) / <i>Ciri</i> (related to food item)	<i>akliyám</i>
163	tree	<i>S'iMdóM</i>	<i>S'iMdoM</i>	<i>kuM</i>
164	vegetable	<i>c^heyém / M ´ océ</i>	<i>M ´ oCe ´</i>	<i>bhijom</i>
165	wheel	<i>k^h ´ orló</i>	<i>k^h ´ orlo ´</i>	<i>chaka</i>
166	gum	<i>sokáM</i>	<i>jarCi</i>	<i>gam</i>

VIII. Profession and Professional equipments etc.

167	labourer	<i>lapó / yukyápk^hen / yukyápk^hen</i>	<i>M ´ aCol</i>	<i>loyúkma ´ Dbu</i>
168	farm land	<i>S'iMJi</i>	<i>saJim saye</i>	<i>nyout</i>
169	mid –wife	<i>b ´ oCó kiwe gaMkirok byak^h ´ en</i>	<i>nama ´ diMwa ´ M</i>	<i>ayue</i>
170	money lender	<i>M ´ ulérk^h ´ en</i>	<i>M ´ yul y ´ ark^h e ´ n</i>	<i>kómniyóbu</i>
171	net	<i>JaJá</i> (for tea) / <i>M ´ yaJá</i> (for fish)	<i>c^h aM</i>	<i>sí ´ Mli</i>
172	potter	<i>jané (jok^h ´ en)</i>	<i>s ´ amk^h e ´ n</i>	<i>fizu ´ kbu</i>
173	weaver	<i>ṭ^h a ṭ^h akk^h ´ en</i>	<i>ṭ^h akM ´ y ´ e</i>	<i>thérbu</i>

COMPARATIVE LEXICON - SELECTED 500 LEXICAL ITEMS
NON-PRONOMINALISED TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES IN SIKKIM

SHERPA
<i>padip</i>
<i>malak</i>
<i>subú</i>
<i>baigùm</i>
<i>marchi</i>
<i>nariwàl</i>
<i>cári</i>
<i>metòk</i>
<i>siMto</i>
<i>dumra</i>
<i>soe</i>
<i>ambák</i>
<i>bar</i>
<i>dámak</i>
<i>lily</i>
<i>ambí</i>
<i>dah</i>
<i>samóse</i>
<i>riki</i>
<i>ràca</i>
<i>Mam</i>
<i>doMbi</i>
<i>mócu</i>
<i>kòrlo</i>
<i>gihik</i>
<i>Malcoḥwa</i>
<i>namápàrma</i>
<i>norkhen</i>
<i>il</i>
<i>Jama</i>
<i>cemjei</i>

COMPARATIVE LEXICON - SELECTED 500 LEXICAL ITEMS
NON-PRONOMINALISED TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES IN SIKKIM

TAMANG	GURUNG	SUNWAR	NEWARI	MANGARI	Sl.No.
<i>paTap , rin</i>	<i>ridū, ri</i>	<i>puela</i>	<i>pó</i>	<i>hup</i>	142
<i>moje</i>	<i>macca</i>	<i>mugi</i>	<i>khéRa</i>	<i>mocha</i>	143
<i>pi</i>	<i>phi</i>	<i>kohaj</i>	<i>buk</i>	<i>lokoTa</i>	144
<i>baigune</i>	<i>benDah</i>	<i>chufa</i>	<i>panTa</i>	<i>boigon</i>	145
<i>tu ba , marja</i>	<i>korsan / soba</i>	<i>Duj</i>	<i>malta</i>	<i>TiMuli</i>	146
<i>naryol</i>	<i>naro</i>	<i>najiwal</i>	<i>nakā´</i>	<i>gari</i>	147
<i>laMDo , goki</i>	<i>jhaM</i>	<i>lohra</i>	<i>lahàra</i>	<i>barsaM</i>	148
<i>mendu</i>	<i>Thaha</i>	<i>phu</i>	<i>swā´</i>	<i>sar</i>	149
<i>doMro</i>	<i>kikes</i>	<i>khafu</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>falder</i>	150
<i>mendo mraM</i>	<i>Tha pari</i>	<i>khofru</i>	<i>kheba</i>	<i>sarbari</i>	151
<i>mra , ce</i>	<i>chi</i>	<i>gnas / jhar</i>	<i>ghā</i>	<i>che</i>	152
<i>/amba/</i>	<i>bilwa t</i>	<i>ambak</i>	<i>amāSi</i>	<i>beluTi</i>	153
<i>/doM kaTar/</i>	<i>sīdu khaTar</i>	<i>kafal</i>	<i>ghāyemwāh</i>	<i>kaTaD</i>	154
<i>/lapte/ 'big', /ba/ 'small'</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>sufa</i>	<i>ha</i>	<i>la</i>	155
	<i>Talilli</i>	<i>lily</i>	<i>ufwāh swa</i>	<i>lili</i>	156
<i>amba</i>	<i>bla</i>	<i>gurchi</i>	<i>?ā</i>	<i>saTak</i>	157
<i>sun</i>	<i>mīa</i>	<i>bur</i>	<i>wá</i>	<i>cho</i>	158
<i>pyokpa , moisu , moisiM , moiba</i>	<i>th uba</i>	<i>pyok</i>	<i>sāu wáyewāsa</i>	<i>goyo ki</i>	159
<i>teme</i>	<i>teme khu</i>	<i>rebe</i>	<i>? alú</i>	<i>namiy</i>	160
<i>Ta</i>	<i>jar</i>	<i>jilay</i>	<i>há</i>	<i>cherga</i>	161
<i>kekeba</i>	<i>lība, kikiba</i>	<i>jir / broS'o</i>	<i>cháku</i>	<i>jucha</i>	162
<i>doM</i>	<i>sīdhu</i>	<i>rowa</i>	<i>simā´</i>	<i>arTuM</i>	163
<i>DapDup</i>	<i>Taha Taho</i>	<i>gikhai</i>	<i>lwāsa</i>	<i>pichagau</i>	164
<i>korlo</i>	<i>paMra</i>	<i>chakka</i>	<i>ghācha</i>	<i>kuiya</i>	165
<i>saDil</i>	<i>Tal d i sai</i>	<i>pest</i>	<i>wási</i>	<i>pesi</i>	166
VIII. Profession and Professional equipments etc.					
<i>gyapa</i>	<i>kie laba mhi</i>	<i>gepaip</i>	<i>jyá mi</i>	<i>hya mi</i>	167
<i>mraM</i>	<i>mro</i>	<i>rukheti</i>	<i>cá</i>	<i>hya</i>	168
	<i>su d kerir laba mhi</i>	<i>dayi</i>	<i>diri aji/ sukimisà</i>	<i>kamja che masTo</i>	169
<i>norkit pinba</i>	<i>che pieba mhi</i>	<i>ket geb</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>murumya</i>	170
<i>gyaM</i>	<i>jhal</i>	<i>jali</i>	<i>jha</i>	<i>jhal</i>	171
<i>sapra lataM soba mi</i>	<i>bar ban dh iyu mhi</i>	<i>kurb</i>	<i>kumhá</i>	<i>kumar</i>	172
<i>won raba mi , quan raba mi</i>	<i>robu mhi, perba mhi</i>	<i>probo</i>	<i>tāti</i>	<i>tāti</i>	173

COMPARATIVE LEXICON - SELECTED 500 LEXICAL ITEMS
NON-PRONOMINALISED TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES IN SIKKIM

Sl.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	BHOTIA	TIBETAN	LEPCHA
174	bullock cart	<i>laM ga d̥i</i> (partly a loan from Hindi)	<i>lAM gAdi</i> (partly a loan from Hindi)	<i>ga' Di</i>
175	bus	<i>midók</i>	<i>midóñ</i>	<i>bas</i>
IX. Sense perception, Emotion and temperament etc.				
176	bitter	<i>k^hakó</i>	<i>k^hako´</i>	<i>akrim</i>
177	black	<i>nakkó</i>	<i>nakpo´</i>	<i>anók</i>
178	blind	<i>mik kap kappo´</i>	<i>sAra ñ</i> (male) / <i>sArma ñ</i> (female)	<i>miksap</i>
179	blue	<i>M'yenpo´</i>	<i>M'yampo´</i>	<i>afiM</i>
180	bright	<i>yec^hita</i>	<i>salpo´</i>	<i>S'i´</i>
181	brown	<i>mamúk</i>	<i>mamo´</i>	<i>kugukbu</i>
182	coldness	<i>k^hyaM tá / k^hyaMpá</i>	<i>daMna</i>	<i>ahin</i>
183	green	<i>jaMkú</i>	<i>saMk^hu</i>	<i>afo´M</i>
184	hot	<i>Catá / d̥re Catá</i>	<i>S'yamo´</i>	<i>ahrum</i>
185	light	<i>yaMtá</i>	<i>yaMyaM</i> (related with weight) <i>l'ok</i> (related with electric light) (<i>s í mar</i> (related with oil light))	<i>akye´M</i>
186	red	<i>mapó</i>	<i>marpo´</i>	<i>ahir</i>
187	sour	<i>kyurmó</i>	<i>kyurmo´</i>	<i>acór</i>
188	sweet	<i>Mamó</i> (by taste) / <i>S'impó</i> (by food item)	<i>marmo´</i>	<i>akliyám</i>
189	white	<i>karpó</i>	<i>karpó´</i>	<i>adúm</i>
190	yellow	<i>serpó</i>	<i>serpo´</i>	<i>pu?yòr</i>
191	hungry	<i>gepo t̥oS'e</i>	<i>t̥okpa</i>	<i>ti´ tok</i>
192	love	<i>d̥t̥Msém / jyamsém</i>	<i>t̥`ewa / c^hampo´</i>	<i>lencó</i>
193	pain	<i>suk / Jibo´</i>	<i>n`aCa</i>	<i>dégbu</i>
194	true	<i>d̥énbó</i>	<i>d̥`enpo´</i>	<i>at̥iM</i>
195	wish	<i>doMpá</i>	<i>depa(verb)/ taS'i</i> <i>delek (noun)</i>	<i>semser</i>
X. Education				
196	ink	<i>nakcá</i>	<i>n`agCa´</i>	<i>masi</i>
197	school	<i>lopt^há</i>	<i>l`obta´</i>	<i>cóli</i>
198	student	<i>lopt^húk</i>	<i>l`obt^hu´k</i>	<i>cólipú</i>
199	teacher	<i>lopén</i>	<i>l`obé / g`egé</i> (in derogatory sense)	<i>lépon</i>
XI. War & Law				
200	bullet	<i>d̥iu</i>	<i>de ñ`u</i>	<i>goli</i>
201	drum trumpet	<i>rad̥úM</i>	<i>Ma</i>	<i>t̥iMar</i>
202	enemy	<i>Já</i>	<i>Já</i>	<i>f̥én</i>
203	debt	<i>p^hulón</i>	<i>p^hol`i</i>	<i>num</i>

COMPARATIVE LEXICON - SELECTED 500 LEXICAL ITEMS
NON-PRONOMINALISED TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES IN SIKKIM

SHERPA
<i>siMta khòrlo</i>
<i>bas</i>
<i>kyúrbu</i>
<i>nakú</i>
<i>mikap</i>
<i>think</i>
<i>hócaM</i>
<i>lokpa</i>
<i>sérkya</i>
<i>Monmu</i>
<i>S'yamuM</i>
<i>hèMi</i>
<i>mármu</i>
<i>kyurbu</i>
<i>nám</i>
<i>kàrmu</i>
<i>serbú</i>
<i>tohba</i>
<i>nuimje</i>
<i>sukíru</i>
<i>taMbu</i>
<i>dótpa</i>
<i>nàkci</i>
<i>lápTa</i>
<i>lopTúk</i>
<i>loppèn</i>
<i>daríl</i>
<i>Ma</i>
<i>dah</i>
<i>chyába</i>

COMPARATIVE LEXICON - SELECTED 500 LEXICAL ITEMS
NON-PRONOMINALISED TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES IN SIKKIM

TAMANG	GURUNG	SUNWAR	NEWARI	MANGARI	Sl.No.
<i>glap gaDi</i>	<i>kla gaDi</i>	<i>byafjil</i>	<i>gadi</i>	<i>gaDi</i>	174
<i>bas</i>	<i>th ewa moTar</i>	<i>bas</i>	<i>bas</i>	<i>bas</i>	175
IX. Sense perception, Emotion and temperament etc.					
<i>kamba</i>	<i>kōba</i>	<i>koso</i>	<i>ka yú</i>	<i>kache</i>	176
<i>mIaMai</i>	<i>mlogya</i>	<i>kere</i>	<i>haku'</i>	<i>chica</i>	177
<i>mi amraMba</i>	<i>kansyo/ mhi amroba</i>	<i>michimataib</i>	<i>kā</i>	<i>and</i>	178
<i>mucun , tiMka</i>	<i>pibi</i>	<i>mur</i>	<i>nil</i>	<i>Mancha</i>	179
<i>ya lyel</i>	<i>carba</i>	<i>habuis</i>	<i>ja'h</i>	<i>TeM cha</i>	180
<i>taMsar con</i>	<i>naMya</i>	<i>cherbi</i>	<i>girú</i>	<i>purse</i>	181
<i>simba , kaMba</i>	<i>bele Myuba</i>	<i>jyu</i>	<i>kyüsa</i>	<i>jhuMche</i>	182
<i>piMgai</i>	<i>piMya</i>	<i>gigi</i>	<i>wäyu</i>	<i>phicha</i>	183
<i>leppa</i>	<i>luba, choba</i>	<i>guftik</i>	<i>kwál</i>	<i>miham chop</i>	184
<i>yaMba</i>	<i>mimror srei</i>	<i>nada</i>	<i>ha'ka</i>	<i>Temcha</i>	185
<i>uwala</i>	<i>olgia</i>	<i>lel</i>	<i>hyanyu</i>	<i>gya che</i>	186
<i>kyuMba</i>	<i>kiuba</i>	<i>jurs</i>	<i>paun</i>	<i>bircha</i>	187
<i>kekeba</i>	<i>kikiba</i>	<i>jij</i>	<i>simpo</i>	<i>miTa</i>	188
<i>tar</i>	<i>t argya</i>	<i>banis</i>	<i>karpó</i>	<i>bocha</i>	189
<i>ur</i>	<i>urgya</i>	<i>housi</i>	<i>másu</i>	<i>or cha</i>	190
<i>pokrenba</i>	<i>phokhreba</i>	<i>solu</i>	<i>pityá'h</i>	<i>raisya</i>	191
<i>semjo</i>	<i>bayā</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>hiyé/ matina</i>	<i>roha</i>	192
<i>sukapa</i>	<i>naba</i>	<i>kais</i>	<i>S'yá</i>	<i>bikki</i>	193
<i>demba</i>	<i>kron</i>	<i>thoma</i>	<i>khagú</i>	<i>satya</i>	194
<i>sem</i>	<i>asimala</i>	<i>syadum</i>	<i>icha</i>	<i>sehechaharMeT</i>	195
X. Education					
<i>bri con, nakca</i>	<i>sai</i>	<i>ruk</i>	<i>mási</i>	<i>syahi</i>	196
<i>lopkaM</i>	<i>khebadhĩ</i>	<i>iskul</i>	<i>isku'l</i>	<i>sipal</i>	197
<i>Daba</i>	<i>kheba kolamai</i>	<i>S'ēp</i>	<i>bidyárti</i>	<i>sipya</i>	198
<i>loben</i>	<i>loba mhi</i>	<i>S'ēd</i>	<i>gurúba</i>	<i>wapa</i>	199
XI. War & Law					
<i>goli</i>	<i>ban t ui goli</i>	<i>goli / apchuilu</i>	<i>goti</i>	<i>goli</i>	200
	<i>rabasi</i>	<i>Dramu</i>	<i>dindora</i>	<i>dindora</i>	201
<i>dusman</i>	<i>sa t ur</i>	<i>modarpnur</i>	<i>dusmi</i>	<i>gesma</i>	202
<i>babar</i>		<i>ketkyars</i>	<i>gahrai</i>	<i>gahrai</i>	203

COMPARATIVE LEXICON - SELECTED 500 LEXICAL ITEMS
NON-PRONOMINALISED TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES IN SIKKIM

Sl.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	BHOTIA	TIBETAN	LEPCHA
204	divorce	<i>gi S'e</i> (vb.)	<i>k^h a t^h elwa</i> ´	<i>bredsōMe</i>
205	theft	<i>kyūma</i>	<i>kyuwa</i> ´	<i>tukmo</i>
XII. Religion, Entertainment and Metals etc.				
206	festival	<i>d̥ɕc^hén</i>	<i>suC `e / t<sup>h</sup> í C `e</i>	<i>kurtu</i>
207	garland	<i>miŋok t^heMwa</i>	<i>mit `ok t^heMa</i>	<i>liyek</i>
208	heaven	<i>t^h ori / namk^h a</i>	<i>teMfi ayül / fi ayül</i>	<i>rimlyoM</i>
209	hell	<i>M'yak^hám</i>	<i>nyelwa</i> ´	<i>nyólyo `M</i>
210	worship	<i>c^hépa / c^hakS'é</i>	<i>c^h yeopa</i> ´	<i>mésyem</i>
211	games	<i>Cimo</i>	<i>Ce `mo</i>	<i>lemsyoM</i>
212	flute	<i>liMbu</i>	<i>liMpú</i>	<i>bilit</i>
213	brass	<i>rak</i>	<i>r `ak</i>	<i>súM</i>
214	gold	<i>sér</i>	<i>s `er</i>	<i>zar</i>
215	iron	<i>cá</i>	<i>c `ak</i>	<i>pinjèM</i>
216	lime	<i>śaka</i>	<i>kar `ak</i>	
217	money	<i>ñe / maŋan / M'u `l</i>	<i>My `ul</i>	<i>kom</i>
218	silver	<i>M'úl</i>	<i>My `ul (karpo ´)</i>	<i>silwer</i>
XIII. Numerals				
219	first	<i>d̥aMpó</i>	<i>t^h aMpo</i> ´	<i>ka `tbu</i>
220	second	<i>M'i pó</i>	<i>M'yipa</i> ´	<i>Metbu</i>
221	third	<i>sumpo</i> ´	<i>sumpa</i>	<i>S'ambu</i>
222	one	<i>cik</i>	<i>ci ´k</i>	<i>kat</i>
223	two	<i>M'yi</i>	<i>M'yi</i> ´	<i>net</i>
224	three	<i>sum</i>	<i>sum</i>	<i>S'am</i>
225	four	<i>S' `i</i>	<i>S'i</i> ´	<i>flii</i>
226	five	<i>Ma</i>	<i>M `a</i>	<i>fuMu</i>
227	six	<i>d̥ruk</i>	<i>d `uk</i>	<i>toròk</i>
228	seven	<i>d̥ `i n</i>	<i>d `i n</i>	<i>kukyok</i>
229	eight	<i>gye</i>	<i>gy `e fi</i>	<i>kik í</i>
230	nine	<i>gu</i>	<i>g `u fi</i>	<i>kukyó t</i>
231	ten	<i>cu</i>	<i>c `u fi</i>	<i>kiti</i>
232	sixteen	<i>cu d̥ruk</i>	<i>cu d̥uk</i>	<i>kukyótáp</i>
233	twenty	<i>M'yicu / M'yicu t^hampá</i>	<i>M'yiS' `u</i>	<i>kakát</i>
234	forty	<i>S'ipcú / kheM'yi / S'icu t^hampo</i>	<i>S'ipc `u</i>	<i>kaká `Cakát</i>
XIV. Physical activities verbs etc.				
235	bind	<i>d̥amS' `e</i>	<i>d̥ampa</i>	<i>miksap</i>
236	blow	<i>ŋɕS' `e / p<sup>h</sup>uS' `e</i>	<i>mursuk</i> (noun) <i>mursuk S' `i pa</i> (verb)	<i>asim</i>
237	break (stick, pot, rope, etc.)	<i>čaS' `e</i>	<i>capa fi</i> (stick, pot) / <i>C'epa fi</i> (rope)	<i>sjik</i>
238	burn	<i>Ceás' `e</i>	<i>m `e fi barwa</i>	<i>dop</i>

COMPARATIVE LEXICON - SELECTED 500 LEXICAL ITEMS
NON-PRONOMINALISED TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES IN SIKKIM

SHERPA
<i>namjàMkhátal</i>
<i>kumjyen</i>
<i>túden</i>
<i>génja</i>
<i>thaiful / thárpa</i>
<i>nyálwa</i>
<i>chyópa</i>
<i>chemú</i>
<i>fluT</i>
<i>rak</i>
<i>ser</i>
<i>chya</i>
<i>sakúr</i>
<i>dehwa</i>
<i>silver</i>
<i>taMpa</i>
<i>Mi'pa</i>
<i>súmpa</i>
<i>cik</i>
<i>Mi</i>
<i>súm</i>
<i>si</i>
<i>Ma</i>
<i>Túk</i>
<i>duin</i>
<i>gyet</i>
<i>gu</i>
<i>chu</i>
<i>chutúk</i>
<i>nyisu</i>
<i>sipchu</i>
<i>dombu</i>
<i>phop</i>
<i>chyókup</i>
<i>ikup</i>

COMPARATIVE LEXICON - SELECTED 500 LEXICAL ITEMS
NON-PRONOMINALISED TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES IN SIKKIM

TAMANG	GURUNG	SUNWAR	NEWARI	MANGARI	Sl.No.
<i>peba</i>	<i>par ɽava</i>	<i>kath mobaso</i>	<i>talak</i>	<i>talak</i>	204
<i>yolaba , yo</i>	<i>hiyuba mhi</i>	<i>khuipawcha</i>	<i>chori</i>	<i>chori</i>	205
XII. Religion, Entertainment and Metals etc.					
<i>meniM</i>	<i>car</i>	<i>tawhar</i>	<i>parwa</i>	<i>chahar</i>	206
<i>kada</i>	<i>Tahmala</i>	<i>tila</i>	<i>swā</i>	<i>jhul</i>	207
<i>layul, dewa can</i>	<i>chu chia</i>	<i>sariM</i>	<i>swarg</i>	<i>swar ga</i>	208
<i>Myahwa</i>	<i>kark</i>	<i>safu</i>	<i>safu</i>	<i>nomsa</i>	209
<i>moiba , tenba</i>	<i>puj d̥iba</i>	<i>piyapawch</i>	<i>piya</i>	<i>Dyak</i>	210
<i>klaM</i>	<i>lhōba</i>	<i>jyar</i>	<i>khel</i>	<i>ges</i>	211
<i>benu, puli</i>	<i>pul</i>	<i>fluT</i>	<i>fluT</i>	<i>fluT</i>	212
<i>rak</i>	<i>piyera ta</i>	<i>houji</i>	<i>talba</i>	<i>Tama</i>	213
<i>mar</i>	<i>mar</i>	<i>hou</i>	<i>khɪ́ /lu</i>	<i>ge</i>	214
<i>pai</i>	<i>peai</i>	<i>dau</i>	<i>sàtru</i>	<i>jhau</i>	215
<i>key rak</i>	<i>largiyasa</i>	<i>nimbu</i>	<i>largi</i>	<i>boluMja</i>	216
<i>sigā , TeMai</i>	<i>moai</i>	<i>kete</i>	<i>kete</i>	<i>hil sa</i>	217
<i>mui , nyul</i>	<i>chādi</i>	<i>iska</i>	<i>mahā</i>	<i>chā Di</i>	218
XIII. Numerals					
<i>gicca, Ma ca</i>	<i>osū</i>	<i>noito</i>	<i>pahéla</i>	<i>agera</i>	219
<i>Mica</i>	<i>nisū, Misyo</i>	<i>noitnolay</i>	<i>dos rá</i>	<i>nisera</i>	220
<i>somca</i>	<i>sosū</i>	<i>nolay</i>	<i>tésra</i>	<i>sumera</i>	221
<i>gik, gi</i>	<i>ghri, kri</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>ca/chi</i>	<i>kaT</i>	222
<i>Mi</i>	<i>Mi</i>	<i>niS'i</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>nis</i>	223
<i>som</i>	<i>so</i>	<i>S'ā</i>	<i>swā́</i>	<i>sum</i>	224
<i>bli</i>	<i>pli</i>	<i>le</i>	<i>pyā́</i>	<i>buli</i>	225
<i>Ma</i>	<i>Ma / neo</i>	<i>Mo</i>	<i>nya</i>	<i>baMa</i>	226
<i>Du</i>	<i>Tu</i>	<i>raku</i>	<i>khu</i>	<i>chabga</i>	227
<i>Mis</i>	<i>gi</i>	<i>chani</i>	<i>nhé</i>	<i>saMha</i>	228
<i>brat, bret</i>	<i>pre</i>	<i>sasi</i>	<i>chyá</i>	<i>anga</i>	229
<i>ku</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>eiya</i>	<i>gū</i>	<i>naMa</i>	230
<i>cui</i>	<i>chiu</i>	<i>gousum</i>	<i>jhi</i>	<i>danga</i>	231
<i>cuk Du</i>	<i>chiyeTu</i>	<i>rag aus</i>	<i>jhi khúgu</i>	<i>sronga</i>	232
<i>Mi cui</i>	<i>Mi chiu</i>	<i>nisum</i>	<i>ni gú</i>	<i>biranga</i>	233
<i>bli cui , bokal Mi</i>	<i>pli chiu</i>	<i>lesun</i>	<i>pi gú</i>	<i>chiraMa</i>	234
XIV. Physical activities verbs etc.					
<i>kibar</i>	<i>mhiamba</i>	<i>michimotaib</i>		<i>maDaM</i>	235
<i>put (mouth) , ser (nose)</i>	<i>phuk d̥i, phuiba</i>	<i>apch</i>	<i>barchá</i>	<i>muTKi</i>	236
<i>quitpa (stick), tiba labar (pot), TaMba labar (rope)</i>	<i>nohyai</i>	<i>prowlch</i>	<i>chyá</i>	<i>gyakki</i>	237
<i>kronalaba</i>	<i>luhoba</i>	<i>bri</i>	<i>chyáke</i>	<i>sika kki</i>	238

COMPARATIVE LEXICON - SELECTED 500 LEXICAL ITEMS
NON-PRONOMINALISED TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES IN SIKKIM

Sl.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	BHOTIA	TIBETAN	LEPCHA
239	carry (on head, in hand, on shoulder)	<i>bakS'`e</i>	<i>c^herwa</i>	<i>bjsyem</i>
240	catch (chase and catch an animal, something thrown)	<i>šeS'`e</i>	<i>s iwa</i> (catch an animal) / <i>S'`empa</i> (catch something thrown)	<i>cam</i>
241	clean	<i>ĈamS'`e</i>	<i>newa ´</i>	<i>aco ´M</i>
242	do (non-specific verb)	<i>b̃yaS'`e</i>	<i>c^hegyu</i>	<i>zük</i>
243	fall	<i>l^humbó</i>	<i>risoM</i> (noun)/ <i>riwa´</i> (verb)	<i>glú</i>
244	float	<i>c^hulhó</i>	<i>k^herwa ´</i>	<i>rud</i>
245	flow	<i>c^huḃebS'`e</i> / <i>c^hu lu</i>	<i>c^hup^happá</i>	<i>b i nan</i>
246	hit	<i>ḡunS'`e</i>	<i>gy`eppá</i>	<i>lém</i>
247	hold	<i>šiS'`e</i>	<i>c^haMwa ´</i>	<i>camthó</i>
248	lean (against something)	<i>CamṣuS'`e</i>	<i>yowa ´</i>	<i>tyop</i>
249	lick	<i>jaS'`e</i>	<i>ḡagpá</i>	<i>ló k</i>
250	make	<i>JoS'`e</i>	<i>sowa ´</i>	<i>juksom</i>
251	mix	<i>ḴasiS'`e</i>	<i>t `ewa ´</i>	<i>dép</i>
252	open (a door, eyes, bag)	<i>p^hiS'`e</i>	<i>c<sup>h</sup> `ewa ´</i>	<i>ók</i>
253	pick	<i>ḡukS'`e</i>	<i>ḡ`ukpá</i>	<i>ót</i>
254	play	<i>CiS'`e</i>	<i>C `emo ´ C `ewa ´</i>	<i>lamS'yoM</i>
255	pull	<i>l^hanS'`e</i>	<i>l<sup>h</sup> `enpá</i>	<i>théM</i>
256	push	<i>aS'`e</i>	<i>ḡ `i gy `egpa</i>	<i>nók</i>
257	put	<i>šakS'`e</i>	<i>S'okpá</i>	<i>thap</i>
258	rub	<i>ḡArpa</i> / <i>p^hur p^hur S'e</i>	<i>ḡarwa ´</i>	<i>syet</i>
259	sell	<i>ĈoS'`e</i>	<i>C`oMwa ´</i>	<i>upíl</i>
260	shut	<i>(ḡAm) ḡiS'`e</i>	<i>gy`eppá</i>	<i>thok</i>
261	sink	<i>nupS'`e</i>	<i>nubpá</i>	<i>nip</i>
262	sprinkle	<i>c^hu ca ca t^horS'`e</i>	<i>l^hrukpá</i>	<i>fyót</i>
263	squeeze	<i>CiS'`e</i>	<i>cerwa ´</i> / <i>cirwa ´</i>	<i>apsi</i>
264	spit	<i>l^húk S'`e</i>	<i>c^hindop yukpá</i>	<i>dyuk</i>
265	swell	<i>boS'`e</i>	<i>byúpá</i>	<i>nulS' yom</i>
266	tear	<i>migc^hu</i>	<i>relwa ´</i>	<i>migrum</i>
267	throw	<i>ku S'`e</i>	<i>yúkpá</i>	<i>densyom</i>
268	wash	<i>k^hyúS'`e</i>	<i>l^hri pá</i>	<i>khyu</i>
269	wipe	<i>yúkS'`e</i>	<i>c^hiwá</i>	<i>sepS' yom</i>
270	work	<i>yókS'`e</i>	<i>l`eka C`epá</i>	<i>cham</i>
XV. Instrument Verbs				
271	cut	<i>tókS'`e</i>	<i>c`epá</i>	<i>tyot</i>
272	dig (dig up)	<i>kókS'`e</i> / <i>raca kókS'`e</i> / <i>ḡom kókS'`e</i>	<i>l<sup>h</sup>i pá</i>	<i>dus`yoM</i>
273	hunt	<i>S'a ḡaS'`e</i>	<i>rida fi</i>	<i>seràbu</i>

COMPARATIVE LEXICON - SELECTED 500 LEXICAL ITEMS
NON-PRONOMINALISED TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES IN SIKKIM

SHERPA
<i>khurùp</i>
<i>jimbu</i>
<i>chemgi</i>
<i>kinìp</i>
<i>lumbu</i>
<i>S'akup</i>
<i>jyãdop</i>
<i>gyàkup</i>
<i>jimbu</i>
<i>phúlen</i>
<i>lakúp</i>
<i>joep</i>
<i>reh</i>
<i>betùp</i>
<i>dembu</i>
<i>khel</i>
<i>thendùp</i>
<i>pulup</i>
<i>jyókup</i>
<i>darùp</i>
<i>co'Mse</i>
<i>tomba</i>
<i>gekup</i>
<i>thorup</i>
<i>chekup</i>
<i>chemak</i>
<i>babu</i>
<i>mikchu</i>
<i>kyúrup</i>
<i>thutùp</i>
<i>yipù</i>
<i>yóse</i>
<i>chèytup</i>
<i>kòhop</i>
<i>ridäk</i>

COMPARATIVE LEXICON - SELECTED 500 LEXICAL ITEMS
NON-PRONOMINALISED TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES IN SIKKIM

TAMANG	GURUNG	SUNWAR	NEWARI	MANGARI	Sl.No.
<i>ci mari puiba</i> (waist), <i>tobari puiba</i> (head) , <i>yeri puiba</i> (hand)	<i>kranuba, nohba</i>	<i>curcha, kurb</i>	<i>kai</i>	<i>buki</i>	239
<i>cuMba</i>	<i>kaba</i>	<i>gyaischa</i>	<i>layé</i>	<i>goki</i>	240
<i>caMmo</i>	<i>proba, majdu</i>	<i>saf</i>	<i>safe</i>	<i>seche</i>	241
<i>laba</i>	<i>laba</i>	<i>pawcha</i>	<i>tyó</i>	<i>jaTo</i>	242
<i>pappa , aiba</i>	<i>ṭība</i>	<i>dohcha</i>	<i>kuTu</i>	<i>jalki</i>	243
<i>byoM byoMba</i>	<i>kupra ṭ ba</i>	<i>bomicha</i>	<i>lipúkane</i>	<i>jokki</i>	244
	<i>myareba</i>	<i>glucha</i>	<i>bagno</i>	<i>jokki</i>	245
<i>roppa</i>	<i>priebe</i>	<i>apchal</i>	<i>kéku</i>	<i>Dumki</i>	246
<i>cuMba</i>	<i>kaba</i>	<i>Thekckha</i>	<i>nya/ chóye/ néhi</i>	<i>ghoki</i>	247
<i>syontaba</i>	<i>barlaba</i>	<i>chekla</i>	<i>chakku</i>	<i>mek</i>	248
<i>lemba</i>	<i>lehba</i>	<i>chaT</i>	<i>cha</i>	<i>jurkhi</i>	249
<i>soba</i>	<i>ban ḍ ba</i>	<i>selcha</i>	<i>dhaykay</i>	<i>kha ski</i>	250
<i>doMba</i>	<i>konba</i>	<i>yoycha</i>	<i>lawákachai</i>	<i>molokki</i>	251
<i>ToMkba , orba</i>	<i>ṭh onba</i>	<i>rohcha</i>	<i>chyáke</i>	<i>phokhi</i>	252
<i>dutpa</i>	<i>ṭh uba</i>	<i>pletcha</i>	<i>Tipnu</i>	<i>Damki</i>	253
<i>klaMba</i>	<i>loba</i>	<i>jyarcha</i>	<i>mituwawane</i>	<i>ges ki</i>	254
<i>ceMba</i>	<i>cainba</i>	<i>Tan</i>	<i>saláh</i>	<i>Tan Dhi ki</i>	255
<i>uiba</i>	<i>kaheba</i>	<i>Tel</i>	<i>kwáyei/ dhakha</i>	<i>Duski</i>	256
<i>yu , tanba</i>	<i>Te ṭh ba, Theiba</i>	<i>kurpacha</i>	<i>thi/ thai</i>	<i>kaki</i>	257
<i>nayba</i>	<i>meT ḍ iba</i>	<i>liwcha</i>	<i>sukhe</i>	<i>ghoDDiki</i>	258
<i>cuMba</i>	<i>chuhuba</i>	<i>ul</i>	<i>ul</i>	<i>arlaki</i>	259
<i>DuMba</i>	<i>toba</i>	<i>lehcha</i>	<i>pathi</i>	<i>Thunki</i>	260
<i>byaMba</i>	<i>Dup ḍ iba</i>	<i>dobanu</i>	<i>kutu wòlla</i>	<i>Tha ki</i>	261
<i>Tamba</i>	<i>charka ḍ iba</i>	<i>charki</i>	<i>cháwake</i>	<i>cham kaski</i>	262
<i>jorba</i>	<i>ciorba</i>	<i>dalayeha</i>	<i>swépiye</i>	<i>kuchas ki</i>	263
<i>toba</i>	<i>ṭh uba</i>	<i>Tok cha</i>	<i>thukéla</i>	<i>Tho kki</i>	264
<i>TaMba</i>	<i>ronba</i>	<i>nil</i>	<i>nilno</i>	<i>sokki</i>	265
<i>Deba</i>	<i>kyanba</i>	<i>midum</i>	<i>kówi</i>	<i>mimikDi</i>	266
<i>gyalba , byaMba</i>	<i>vyonba</i>	<i>taischa</i>	<i>bachói</i>	<i>lokhi</i>	267
<i>kruba</i>	<i>kruba</i>	<i>muirscha</i>	<i>silá</i>	<i>hurki</i>	268
<i>pyaba</i>	<i>puj ḍ iba</i>	<i>phicha</i>	<i>asat</i>	<i>si T ki</i>	269
<i>gya tlaba</i>	<i>kyeba</i>	<i>gaida</i>	<i>jya</i>	<i>jaT ki</i>	270
XV. Instrument Verbs					
<i>taba</i>	<i>Thoba</i>	<i>kyorcha</i>	<i>thú</i>	<i>che ki</i>	271
<i>quaba , owaba</i>	<i>ṭh aba</i>	<i>dokcha</i>	<i>muhúe</i>	<i>koki</i>	272
<i>can, syurba</i>	<i>phaseimba</i>	<i>saischa</i>	<i>alhan</i>	<i>Datki</i>	273

COMPARATIVE LEXICON - SELECTED 500 LEXICAL ITEMS
NON-PRONOMINALISED TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES IN SIKKIM

Sl.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	BHOTIA	TIBETAN	LEPCHA
274	pound	<i>CôS'e</i>	<i>burcuk S'uk c^h empo</i>	
275	shoot	<i>dá kyap S'e</i>	<i>m`enda fī gy`eppa</i>	<i>tyúk</i>
276	split (wood)	<i>S'iM jukS'e</i>	<i>cakpá</i>	<i>afelkad</i>
XVI. Verbs of Fighting				
277	fight	<i>JinS'e</i>	<i>l^hapá</i>	<i>adyur</i>
278	kill	<i>CeS'é, S'ikS'e</i>	<i>C`epá</i>	<i>S'ót</i>
279	quarrel	<i>l^h am kyapS'e</i>	<i>C'í pá</i>	<i>diwsyòM</i>
280	stab	<i>giCúk S'e</i>	<i>dri cukpá</i>	<i>etchyoM</i>
XVII. Music Verbs				
281	beat (a drum)	<i>na d^hun S'e</i>	<i>d^huMwa`</i>	<i>ahrum</i>
282	sing	<i>lukábS'e</i>	<i>lu lempá</i>	<i>theMsyòM</i>
XVIII. Motion Verbs				
283	arrive	<i>l^hépS'e</i>	<i>sorwa` / lepsòM</i>	<i>thisyoM</i>
284	ascend	<i>yaJíkS'e</i>	<i>Jegpá</i>	<i>groMtsyoM</i>
285	bring	<i>bakyómS'e</i>	<i>k^herwa`</i>	<i>bidí</i>
286	climb	<i>JíkS'e</i>	<i>Jegpá</i>	<i>S'ron</i>
287	come	<i>fī ÁMS'e</i>	<i>yuMwa` (ordinary) / S'ok (honorific)</i>	<i>lât</i>
288	dance	<i>S'ápduS'e</i>	<i>S'yabá</i>	<i>loktsyoM</i>
289	drag	<i>dúS'e</i>	<i>l^henpá</i>	<i>doMe</i>
290	enter	<i>JúlS'e</i>	<i>sulwa`</i>	<i>wontsyoM</i>
291	escape	<i>l^hás'e</i>	<i>dripá</i>	<i>ettsyoM</i>
292	fly (as a bird)	<i>p^húrS'e</i>	<i>p^hurwa`</i>	<i>lìmsyoM</i>
293	get	<i>l^hópS'e</i>	<i>l^hoppá</i>	<i>thup</i>
294	get up	<i>yár luMS'e</i>	<i>M'iseppa`</i>	<i>luksiyoM</i>
295	give	<i>p^hinS'e</i>	<i>terwa`</i>	<i>disiyoM</i>
296	go	<i>gyúS'e / sÁMS'e</i>	<i>drowa` / gyuk</i>	<i>nu</i>
297	jump	<i>fīopyás'e / fīopyárS'e</i>	<i>c^hoMwa`</i>	<i>tyúk</i>
298	move (tram)	<i>gúlS'e / páS'e</i>	<i>c^hewa`</i>	<i>lón</i>
299	run	<i>gyúkS'e / cánS'e</i>	<i>gyugpa</i>	<i>daM</i>
300	send	<i>lÁMS'e</i>	<i>lòMwa`</i>	<i>klóm</i>
301	slip	<i>salu kaMpó gíkS'e</i>	<i>M'egyugpa</i>	<i>lhag</i>
302	stand up	<i>yár lúMS'e</i>	<i>y`ar loMwa`</i>	<i>lúk</i>
303	swim	<i>c^hi kyápS'e</i>	<i>kelwa`</i>	<i>wasyoM</i>
304	swing	<i>yu` S'e</i>	<i>yugpá</i>	
305	take	<i>l^hús'e</i>	<i>lempá</i>	<i>cam</i>
306	vomit	<i>kókS'e, kyúS'e</i>	<i>kyukpá</i>	<i>mot</i>
307	walk	<i>gyúS'e</i>	<i>drowa`</i>	<i>lem</i>
XIX. Occupational Verbs				

COMPARATIVE LEXICON - SELECTED 500 LEXICAL ITEMS
NON-PRONOMINALISED TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES IN SIKKIM

SHERPA
<i>lomá</i>
<i>medaMyákup</i>
<i>chyokùp</i>
<i>jimgup</i>
<i>setup</i>
<i>tamúkse</i>
<i>tihsirúp</i>
<i>duMúp</i>
<i>laMup</i>
<i>lèpu</i>
<i>jàkup</i>
<i>bakyom</i>
<i>jekúp</i>
<i>lèpi/hóbu</i>
<i>chyómu</i>
<i>tohòp</i>
<i>syukup</i>
<i>yipu</i>
<i>púrseup</i>
<i>nyétup</i>
<i>lamùp</i>
<i>terúp</i>
<i>dohóp</i>
<i>phirúp</i>
<i>yukup</i>
<i>chimúp</i>
<i>toMúp</i>
<i>salu</i>
<i>yarláMup</i>
<i>S'ákup</i>
<i>S'ukyákup</i>
<i>kúrseup</i>
<i>kuiše</i>
<i>gyuk</i>

COMPARATIVE LEXICON - SELECTED 500 LEXICAL ITEMS
NON-PRONOMINALISED TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES IN SIKKIM

TAMANG	GURUNG	SUNWAR	NEWARI	MANGARI	Sl.No.
<i>kotpa</i>	<i>raha</i>	<i>burco</i>	<i>burcoM</i>	<i>Digom</i>	274
<i>roppa</i>	<i>priba</i>	<i>apcha</i>	<i>diyopno</i>	<i>muna miTTum</i>	275
<i>cappa , tsappa</i>	<i>sijhaba</i>	<i>tiyot</i>	<i>tiyot</i>	<i>baki</i>	276
XVI. Verbs of Fighting					
<i>catpa</i>	<i>niba</i>	<i>krelcha</i>	<i>lawá</i>	<i>pun ki</i>	277
<i>satpa</i>	<i>saiba</i>	<i>saiksa</i>	<i>syai</i>	<i>saT ki</i>	278
<i>boMba</i>	<i>ponba neba</i>	<i>krelcha</i>	<i>hudok</i>	<i>punki</i>	279
<i>blowba</i>	<i>th anba</i>	<i>awar</i>	<i>sattú</i>	<i>robDi ki</i>	280
XVII. Music Verbs					
<i>rappa</i>	<i>rahaba</i>	<i>Tafcha</i>	<i>kwa</i>	<i>armaT ki</i>	281
<i>woigoba</i>	<i>phriba</i>	<i>kumS'o</i>	<i>hále</i>	<i>li M ki</i>	282
XVIII. Motion Verbs					
<i>dokaba</i>	<i>khaba</i>	<i>jakdicha</i>	<i>thèMa</i>	<i>Taraki</i>	283
<i>kratpa</i>	<i>kreba</i>	<i>maischa</i>	<i>timaunu</i>	<i>kalha ki</i>	284
<i>baba</i>	<i>bau</i>	<i>kuischa</i>	<i>kàya</i>	<i>rakki</i>	285
<i>kratpa</i>	<i>kreba</i>	<i>maischa</i>	<i>aswan</i>	<i>kalki</i>	286
<i>kaba</i>	<i>khoba</i>	<i>kucha</i>	<i>wo</i>	<i>rakhi</i>	287
<i>syaba</i>	<i>seba</i>	<i>silcha</i>	<i>pyákkauleh</i>	<i>sya ki</i>	288
<i>ceMba</i>	<i>chainba</i>	<i>krelcha</i>	<i>ghasit</i>	<i>TanDiki</i>	289
<i>uwaMba</i>	<i>hoba</i>	<i>ucha</i>	<i>chayá</i>	<i>kelkhi</i>	290
<i>syorba, kyoppa</i>	<i>siurba</i>	<i>prokcha</i>	<i>tito</i>	<i>bogDis ki</i>	291
<i>pyaMba</i>	<i>ur d̥iba</i>	<i>bretcha</i>	<i>bóh</i>	<i>bur ki</i>	292
<i>yeMba, kinba</i>	<i>yonba</i>	<i>tahcha</i>	<i>thup</i>	<i>Dinki</i>	293
<i>renba</i>	<i>re d̥oba</i>	<i>bokcha</i>	<i>dáne</i>	<i>soki</i>	294
<i>pinba</i>	<i>piba</i>	<i>gewcha</i>	<i>byú</i>	<i>yaki</i>	295
<i>niba</i>	<i>yaba</i>	<i>lawcha</i>	<i>wo</i>	<i>nuM ki</i>	296
<i>cyoMba</i>	<i>nihiba</i>	<i>prakcha</i>	<i>kówa</i>	<i>for joki</i>	297
<i>braba</i>	<i>lipra t̥</i>	<i>gacha</i>	<i>nàssiwone</i>	<i>kes ki</i>	298
<i>yarba</i>	<i>d̥eiba</i>	<i>darcha</i>	<i>daM</i>	<i>kheR ki</i>	299
<i>pitpa</i>	<i>pieba</i>	<i>soicha</i>	<i>kloM</i>	<i>yem kaki</i>	300
<i>plaba , pleyba</i>	<i>pleba</i>	<i>Thinchá</i>	<i>athiat</i>	<i>arbheT ki</i>	301
<i>reinba</i>	<i>re d̥h ba</i>	<i>boko</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>ToMki</i>	302
<i>kiklaMba</i>	<i>kiu lohba</i>	<i>a pa</i>	<i>lalkai</i>	<i>pouriski</i>	303
<i>yoMba</i>	<i>buhiba</i>	<i>laha</i>	<i>uslùM</i>	<i>phiMaki</i>	304
<i>taba</i>	<i>kiba</i>	<i>Takoha</i>	<i>káye</i>	<i>laki</i>	305
<i>rutpa</i>	<i>ruhiba</i>	<i>amot</i>	<i>banta</i>	<i>cho ki</i>	306
<i>braba</i>	<i>praba</i>	<i>gacha</i>	<i>nassiwóne</i>	<i>wah ki</i>	307
XIX. Occupational Verbs					

COMPARATIVE LEXICON - SELECTED 500 LEXICAL ITEMS
NON-PRONOMINALISED TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES IN SIKKIM

Sl.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	BHOTIA	TIBETAN	LEPCHA
308	cultivate	lo ^h úk duS'`e / S'inmúS'`e	S'iM mowá	akaM
309	comb	goéS'`e	somá (noun)/ gy`uk pá (verb)	rhit
310	graze	simcén Ja kyápS'`e / nuJa túnS'`e	S'akCi	zyot
311	harvest	lo ^h ú duS'`e / lo <sup>h</sup> uk duS'`e	t en t ^h ok	?ksyoM
312	lend	naMwa / M'yéMS'`e	kimpa / p <sup>h</sup> ole `n	nuM ulsyoM
313	milk	nu om JoS'`e / ómS'`e	`oma ´ S' `orwa ´	nin
314	plant	sencamS'`e	toppá	khuMkip
315	reap	lo c ^h o po(n./adj.) / lo bik S'`e(vb.)	C `ema ´	mehn
316	saw	súliS'`e	t ^h oMc ^h uM (noun)/ t ^h oMsarwa (verb)	ari
317	sow (seed)	sén tápS'`e / sa M'yon tápS'`e	suin t`oppá	phatCiM
XX. Culinari Verbs				
318	bark	k ^h yí happe (n.) / háps'`e (vb.)	fí`appá	pú
319	bite	k ^h yí so táppo (n.) / so táps'`e (vb.)	so gy`eppá	chuk syM
320	cook	CúS'`e	c`ipá	MusyoM
321	drink	t ^h úMS'`e	t ^h uMwa ´	thon
322	eat	sáS'`e	sawa ´	tháS'i
323	feed	t ^h ubinS'`e	S'u`epá	zoMkoM
324	suck	jípS'`e	S'`ipá	yupsyoM
325	tie	ciMS'`e / dāmS'`e	d`ampá	dam
326	wear	golák gen / guénS'`e / namsáS'`e	k ^h enpá	dyám
XXI. Communication Verbs				
327	answer	lin lúkS'`e / drélen (answer a question)/ kúikko (answer a call)	len gy`appá	riMlen
328	ask	drewa kyápS'`e / drewa S'thwa (question) /gendren S'thwa(request)	driwá	wet
329	call	b`eS'`e	ke t`aMwa ´ / p ^h ewa ´	lik
330	say	lápS'`e , súMS'`e	mawa ´ / l`epa	lisyòm
331	shout	kecen kÿappo(n.) / keS'ó S'e/ kicin kÿapS'`e (vb.)	ke gy`ap	doM
332	write	driS'`e / yigi driS'`e	t ^h riwa ´	pi
XXII. Stationary Verbs				
333	burn	sínS'`e / CíkS'`e	m`e fí b`arwa ´	mehba
334	choose	séS'`e / dām <sup>h</sup> a kyápS'`e	d`ampá	sém

COMPARATIVE LEXICON - SELECTED 500 LEXICAL ITEMS
NON-PRONOMINALISED TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES IN SIKKIM

SHERPA
<i>siM sonam kirup</i>
<i>gyakup</i>
<i>chohop</i>
<i>duhMakup</i>
<i>phèlen lenup</i>
<i>mai</i>
<i>S'en</i>
<i>chóbu</i>
<i>thoMúp</i>
<i>dépu</i>
<i>ber</i>
<i>sadépu</i>
<i>chótup</i>
<i>thuMup</i>
<i>zat</i>
<i>c á</i>
<i>jipse</i>
<i>chimgúp</i>
<i>konùp</i>
<i>gyap</i>
<i>tehep</i>
<i>buse</i>
<i>sínrup</i>
<i>keso</i>
<i>tinkup</i>
<i>cikse</i>
<i>dembu</i>

COMPARATIVE LEXICON - SELECTED 500 LEXICAL ITEMS
NON-PRONOMINALISED TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES IN SIKKIM

TAMANG	GURUNG	SUNWAR	NEWARI	MANGARI	Sl.No.
<i>suba , Daba</i>	<i>mr̥or key laba</i>	<i>rudocha</i>	<i>niyot</i>	<i>gyah ki</i>	308
<i>kra koba</i>	<i>prasaiba</i>	<i>chafe</i>	<i>chene</i>	<i>saT</i>	309
<i>caba</i>	<i>rahenba</i>	<i>yogcha</i>	<i>zai</i>	<i>archaki</i>	310
<i>taba</i>	<i>t̥uba</i>	<i>rehcha</i>	<i>lai</i>	<i>onDaki</i>	311
<i>pinba</i>	<i>chepinba</i>	<i>geycha</i>	<i>udar</i>	<i>poĩ cho</i>	312
<i>neba</i>	<i>Myeiba</i>	<i>buS'e</i>	<i>duru</i>	<i>DuT</i>	313
<i>suba</i>	<i>sasĩd̥hu</i>	<i>kumgiku</i>	<i>kuM</i>	<i>choyd̥</i>	314
<i>taba, dutpa</i>	<i>th̥oba</i>	<i>eitcha, rit</i>	<i>khaT</i>	<i>raw</i>	315
<i>Duppa</i>	<i>Mroiba</i>	<i>tawcho</i>	<i>kati</i>	<i>ari</i>	316
<i>Dwaba</i>	<i>pluba</i>	<i>khumcha</i>	<i>?ali</i>	<i>bereT ki</i>	317
XX. Culinari Verbs					
<i>cuba</i>	<i>cyoiba</i>	<i>pucha</i>	<i>puh</i>	<i>lokTa</i>	318
<i>krappa</i>	<i>chiba</i>	<i>kraitcha</i>	<i>chut</i>	<i>ji kki</i>	319
<i>daiba , yoba</i>	<i>Tiba</i>	<i>kewcha</i>	<i>jũk</i>	<i>khankhi</i>	320
<i>tuMba</i>	<i>thũba</i>	<i>tuwcha</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>gaki</i>	321
<i>caba</i>	<i>caba</i>	<i>juwcha</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>jya ki</i>	322
<i>uaba</i>	<i>koba</i>	<i>thulcha</i>	<i>kawa</i>	<i>kas ki</i>	323
<i>DuTpa</i>	<i>Maba</i>	<i>chuse</i>	<i>chus</i>	<i>chupki</i>	324
<i>kiba</i>	<i>phahiba</i>	<i>wortcha</i>	<i>worthem</i>	<i>cha kki</i>	325
<i>quanba</i>	<i>khiba</i>	<i>phecha</i>	<i>them</i>	<i>bil ki</i>	326
XXI. Communication Verbs					
<i>tamdoba</i>	<i>jhaba</i>	<i>lohcha</i>	<i>jewab</i>	<i>garTi</i>	327
<i>Myotpa</i>	<i>Mueba</i>	<i>hillopacha</i>	<i>awiat</i>	<i>gin ki</i>	328
<i>Motpa</i>	<i>huiba</i>	<i>prekcha</i>	<i>lik</i>	<i>argha ki</i>	329
<i>paMba</i>	<i>biba</i>	<i>maikscha</i>	<i>bol</i>	<i>Deki</i>	330
<i>kriMba</i>	<i>su th̥eba</i>	<i>hahcha</i>	<i>awag</i>	<i>chya kki</i>	331
<i>briba</i>	<i>praheba</i>	<i>brehcha</i>	<i>api</i>	<i>ri kki</i>	332
XXII. Stationary Verbs					
<i>kr̥oba</i>	<i>luhoba</i>	<i>krischa</i>	<i>fau</i>	<i>sikkĩ</i>	333
<i>damba</i>	<i>Tahaba</i>	<i>cokcha</i>	<i>chok</i>	<i>bhak khi</i>	334

COMPARATIVE LEXICON - SELECTED 500 LEXICAL ITEMS
NON-PRONOMINALISED TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES IN SIKKIM

SLNo.	ENGLISH GLOSS	BHOTIA	TIBETAN	LEPCHA
335	die	<i>S'iS' `e / d̥raS' `e</i>	<i>S'iwa ´</i>	<i>mak</i>
336	live (at)	<i>d̥epo / d̥i S' `e</i>	<i>d̥ `ewa ´</i>	<i>bàm</i>
337	earn	<i>druppo / caka t̪hópS' `e</i>	<i>t̪h'ippá</i>	<i>zyukzyoM</i>
338	hide	<i>tan baS'a / béS' `e</i>	<i>fi'ippá</i>	<i>ma</i>
339	keep	<i>S'ákS' `e</i>	<i>S' `akpá</i>	<i>tho</i>
340	turn	<i>kʰagírS' `e</i>	<i>korwa ´</i>	<i>sok</i>
341	sit	<i>sakʰád̥e / sakʰás'i (sit down)/d'i S' `e /sakháde (on ground) /kúpkyá / téde/ kúpkyateS'i (on chair)</i>	<i>d̥ `epá</i>	<i>Man</i>
342	stop	<i>gákS' `e/ yók gakS' `e</i>	<i>k `agpá</i>	<i>nen</i>
XXIII. In cohative Verbs				
343	change	<i>si cák cák ko/ j̪iS' `e</i>	<i>gyurwa ´</i>	<i>yuk</i>
344	freeze	<i>kʰéks' `e , cákS' `e</i>	<i>cʰas `ukpá / kʰyagy `ukpá</i>	<i>gyeMsyoM</i>
345	swell	<i>b i S' `e</i>	<i>by `upá</i>	<i>sup</i>
346	wet (mskr wet)	<i>bánS' `e</i>	<i>l `empá</i>	<i>sel</i>
XXIV. Cognitive Verbs				
347	count	<i>gyaMkʰa kyápS' `e</i>	<i>d̥ `aMwa ´</i>	<i>fròm</i>
348	know	<i>taMge gyuyéS' `e ( to know a fact)/ (mih M'o) S'iS' `e (to know a person)</i>	<i>S' `epá</i>	<i>yuesyM</i>
349	learn	<i>l̪hápS' `e / liS' `e</i>	<i>saMwa ´</i>	<i>hlap</i>
350	think	<i>no šan tawá / nóS' `e / t̪husan siS' `e</i>	<i>s `ampá</i>	<i>chiM</i>
351	break	<i>cás' `e</i>	<i>c `okpa / c `okwa ´</i>	<i>phog</i>
XXV. Sensory and Emotive Verbs				
352	cry (weep)	<i>M'ós' `e / S'úmS' `e</i>	<i>M `upá</i>	<i>lik</i>
353	fear	<i>juS' `e</i>	<i>J'igpá</i>	<i>ru</i>
354	hear	<i>M'yénS' `e</i>	<i>kʰopá</i>	<i>thyu</i>
355	laugh/ smile	<i>gaS' `e/gedo/ gawa (laugh)/ jum tenbo (smile)</i>	<i>gyu `epá</i>	<i>then</i>
356	read	<i>drókS' `e / d̥úkS' `e</i>	<i>l `okpá</i>	<i>rók</i>
357	sleep, lie	<i>M'yálS' `e / JinS' `e / t̪hós' `e</i>	<i>Melwa ´</i>	<i>da?so</i>
358	smell	<i>drim ñuñúmS' `e</i>	<i>drima m `oMpa</i>	<i>niyóm</i>
359	taste	<i>býókócʰoS' `e / býókómoMS' `e</i>	<i>t̪h rowa ´</i>	<i>kon</i>
360	touch	<i>d̥opo / d̥i S' `e</i>	<i>rigpa / cʰampá</i>	<i>deoksyoM</i>
361	wake up	<i>M'yesikS' `e</i>	<i>yala M / M'i ´C `epá</i>	<i>luksyòm / sisyoM</i>
362	annoy	<i>Cikku JáS' `e</i>	<i>sumo C `epá</i>	<i>kyo</i>
363	kiss	<i>ñA byás' `e</i>	<i>kʰ a kʰ elwa ´</i>	<i>boMchuk</i>

COMPARATIVE LEXICON - SELECTED 500 LEXICAL ITEMS
NON-PRONOMINALISED TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES IN SIKKIM

SHERPA
<i>seheup</i>
<i>deto</i>
<i>cakatse</i>
<i>bakup</i>
<i>jyākup</i>
<i>gyurúp</i>
<i>detúp</i>
<i>gekùp</i>
<i>sicakse</i>
<i>kyākup</i>
<i>dasé</i>
<i>lenba</i>
<i>Mohóp</i>
<i>hakótup</i>
<i>lopu</i>
<i>sámse</i>
<i>tyóp</i>
<i>Mohòp</i>
<i>jiba</i>
<i>tho</i>
<i>gáse</i>
<i>rokup</i>
<i>elokùp</i>
<i>tehma</i>
<i>roh nyomup</i>
<i>rekup/ thukup</i>
<i>nyesélup</i>
<i>cigosase</i>
<i>pukàMbu</i>

COMPARATIVE LEXICON - SELECTED 500 LEXICAL ITEMS
NON-PRONOMINALISED TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES IN SIKKIM

TAMANG	GURUNG	SUNWAR	NEWARI	MANGARI	Sl.No.
<i>siba</i>	<i>siaiba</i>	<i>behcha</i>	<i>mak</i>	<i>si ki</i>	335
<i>soba</i>	<i>sōba</i>	<i>bloacha</i>	<i>bambu</i>	<i>juwaki</i>	336
<i>soba</i>	<i>moi yoba, kama d̥iba</i>	<i>chemcha</i>	<i>ajuk</i>	<i>kama Diki</i>	337
<i>luba</i>	<i>loba</i>	<i>Ma</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>aTchuk ki</i>	338
<i>tanba</i>	<i>th̥eba</i>	<i>waikS'a</i>	<i>tho</i>	<i>Daki</i>	339
<i>doba</i>	<i>lītoba</i>	<i>fikocha</i>	<i>woM</i>	<i>che rak ki</i>	340
<i>ciba, Tiba</i>	<i>kūba</i>	<i>bak</i>	<i>phétu</i>	<i>Muki</i>	341
<i>rappa</i>	<i>koyeba</i>	<i>To</i>	<i>thom</i>	<i>tun ki</i>	342
XXIII. In cohative Verbs					
<i>deppa</i>	<i>sar d̥iba</i>	<i>batlaso</i>	<i>gáye</i>	<i>yoski</i>	343
<i>kega</i>	<i>chaba</i>	<i>phomir</i>	<i>koM</i>	<i>jamDis</i>	344
<i>TaMba</i>	<i>ronba</i>	<i>fiyu</i>	<i>fiyua</i>	<i>sokki</i>	345
<i>bamba</i>	<i>pahba</i>	<i>sel</i>	<i>wāis</i>	<i>chimki</i>	346
XXIV. Cognitive Verbs					
<i>jaba</i>	<i>chyoba</i>	<i>hihcha</i>	<i>chyoba</i>	<i>hilki</i>	347
<i>goba, seba</i>	<i>reba</i>	<i>fuischa</i>	<i>siyé</i>	<i>warkhi</i>	348
<i>loppa</i>	<i>luba</i>	<i>johcha</i>	<i>bónei</i>	<i>pakhi</i>	349
<i>Danba</i>	<i>ciyiba</i>	<i>Momcha</i>	<i>sōc</i>	<i>armeT ki</i>	350
<i>kyutpa</i>	<i>phuba</i>	<i>pakcha</i>	<i>awaM</i>	<i>awiM</i>	351
XXV. Sensory and Emotive Verbs					
<i>kraba</i>	<i>kroba</i>	<i>Macha</i>	<i>kwi</i>	<i>rap ki</i>	352
<i>loMba</i>	<i>Mihiba</i>	<i>huitcha</i>	<i>geye</i>	<i>birlhi ki</i>	353
<i>taiba, teba</i>	<i>t̥iba</i>	<i>nehcha</i>	<i>tāye</i>	<i>seki</i>	354
<i>Metpa</i>	<i>Mei syuba</i>	<i>rischa</i>	<i>nili</i>	<i>reT ki</i>	355
<i>Doba</i>	<i>kheba</i>	<i>sedecha</i>	<i>bowe</i>	<i>poDis ki</i>	356
<i>Moba, merba, simba</i>	<i>roba</i>	<i>eibmiS'</i>	<i>dène</i>	<i>miski</i>	357
<i>taMnaba, taMkaba</i>	<i>suinba</i>	<i>niomcha</i>	<i>nah</i>	<i>nam ki</i>	358
<i>myaMba</i>	<i>mioba</i>	<i>thomcha</i>	<i>nane</i>	<i>myan ki</i>	359
<i>turba</i>	<i>chui</i>	<i>thiwcha</i>	<i>thīye</i>	<i>chu ki</i>	360
<i>corba</i>	<i>rie</i>	<i>bokcha</i>	<i>dhána</i>	<i>soki</i>	361
<i>Moba</i>	<i>Tupiba</i>	<i>dikaicha</i>	<i>kheláne</i>	<i>miris kya ki</i>	362
<i>jomba</i>	<i>moyeba</i>	<i>cumcha</i>	<i>cuppáne</i>	<i>chup ki</i>	363

COMPARATIVE LEXICON - SELECTED 500 LEXICAL ITEMS
NON-PRONOMINALISED TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES IN SIKKIM

SLNo.	ENGLISH GLOSS	BHOTIA	TIBETAN	LEPCHA
364	love	<i>c^hamp byáS''e</i>	<i>c^h' empo / c^h ewa '</i>	<i>lensy'o</i>
365	tired	<i>ṭ^h ancà cápó</i>	<i>ṭ^h aMc^h ewa '</i>	<i>phel</i>
XXVI. Other Verbs				
366	bathe	<i>c^huS'i kyáS''e</i>	<i>t^h ruwa ' / lu thruwa (bathing whole body)</i>	<i>thet</i>
367	buy	<i>M'yóS''e</i>	<i>Mewa '</i>	<i>pha</i>
368	drip	<i>ṭepoJáS''e</i>	<i>J'agpá</i>	<i>joksyoM</i>
369	meet	<i>p^hikS''e</i>	<i>Jelwa '</i>	<i>chīm</i>
370	repay	<i>linlúKS''e</i>	<i>Myul lokpá</i>	<i>Topsyom / tepS'yoM</i>
371	ridicule , joke	<i>k^hasópS''e</i>	<i>c^h omi fi</i>	<i>athen macho</i>
372	show	<i>p^hilo ṭónS''e</i>	<i>ṭ 'eMwa '</i>	<i>nyat / S'yoM</i>
373	scratch	<i>brékS''e</i>	<i>barS'e gy'appá</i>	<i>kutsyom</i>
374	stick	<i>Járpa</i>	<i>sarwa '</i>	<i>puddiM</i>
375	vomit	<i>kyúS'e / kókS''e</i>	<i>ky'ugpá</i>	<i>mot</i>
376	wean (a child)	<i>(b'òCó o'm) cikS''e</i>	<i>S' 'epa / kagyu ' l</i>	<i>nomsyom</i>
377	wipe	<i>naṭi p^hiS'e</i>	<i>c^h iwa '</i>	<i>syèt</i>
378	name	<i>míMS'e</i>	<i>m 'iM (noun)/ miMkhulwa' (verb)</i>	<i>abreyaM</i>
XXVII. Adjectives				
379	all	<i>ṭ^hámçe</i>	<i>c^h a 'Mm 'a</i>	<i>gīn</i>
380	bad	<i>M'yénpó/ malépó</i>	<i>ḍukc'a / ḍukpá</i>	<i>azen</i>
381	big	<i>bómpó</i>	<i>c^h' empo '</i>	<i>atimbu</i>
382	dirty	<i>Cókkó</i>	<i>cokpá</i>	<i>muchoM</i>
383	dry	<i>kámpó</i>	<i>k 'ampo '</i>	<i>son</i>
384	few	<i>M'yón</i>	<i>k^h aS'e</i>	<i>chuekam</i>
385	full	<i>ḡuMé</i>	<i>gaMwa '</i>	<i>?omla</i>
386	good	<i>lem</i>	<i>y 'akpo '</i>	<i>ajem</i>
387	hand	<i>lakó</i>	<i>l'akpá</i>	<i>akle</i>
388	honest	<i>ḍanpó</i>	<i>draMpo '</i>	<i>an?ank</i>
389	long	<i>riMkó</i>	<i>riMpo '</i>	<i>atinbu</i>
390	many	<i>képó</i>	<i>maMpo '</i>	<i>agvep</i>
391	narrow	<i>ḍṭ' Ṭ'a</i>	<i>ṭ^h okpó</i>	<i>apit</i>
392	new	<i>sapo</i>	<i>S'arpa '</i>	<i>alMi</i>
393	old	<i>M'yénku</i>	<i>niMpa '</i>	<i>arú</i>
394	raw	<i>fi' asum</i>	<i>Jempa '</i>	<i>azyu</i>
395	rotten	<i>ruruwa</i>	<i>ruipa '</i>	<i>asyer</i>
396	right	<i>ṭ en ṭ en</i>	<i>ṭ^h aMpo '</i>	<i>ateM</i>
397	dull	<i>S' enpó</i>	<i>M'opó</i>	
398	lie	<i>yón</i>	<i>J i n</i>	<i>kabsiyam</i>
399	sharp	<i>M'y' onpó</i>	<i>ḍ arpo '</i>	<i>let bi</i>

COMPARATIVE LEXICON - SELECTED 500 LEXICAL ITEMS
NON-PRONOMINALISED TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES IN SIKKIM

SHERPA
<i>chyáMbu</i>
<i>thapkuabu</i>
<i>thuS'yal</i>
<i>Myóbu</i>
<i>thiwa</i>
<i>thétup</i>
<i>leMjetup</i>
<i>Mejak</i>
<i>denup</i>
<i>brékse</i>
<i>sarpa</i>
<i>kyúse</i>
<i>bócom</i>
<i>natipse</i>
<i>miM</i>
<i>teri</i>
<i>Menpa</i>
<i>chéwa</i>
<i>miS'anwa</i>
<i>kambu</i>
<i>nyúwa</i>
<i>khatéMup</i>
<i>jaMbu</i>
<i>toktòk kirúp</i>
<i>taMbu</i>
<i>riMbu</i>
<i>alaki</i>
<i>rhémé</i>
<i>sambá</i>
<i>gáwa</i>
<i>asum</i>
<i>Cóbu</i>
<i>dikúp</i>
<i>lenbá</i>
<i>juT</i>
<i>nenbu</i>

COMPARATIVE LEXICON - SELECTED 500 LEXICAL ITEMS
NON-PRONOMINALISED TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES IN SIKKIM

TAMANG	GURUNG	SUNWAR	NEWARI	MANGARI	Sl.No.
<i>semjo, koba</i>	<i>bayan laba</i>	<i>dacha</i>	<i>matine</i>	<i>roha</i>	364
<i>blappa</i>	<i>narDiba</i>	<i>DahS'a</i>	<i>tenum</i>	<i>MuMkhi</i>	365
XXVI. Other Verbs					
<i>kilaba, nwaplaba</i>	<i>khru_{ba}, ma d_iiba</i>	<i>cheecha</i>	<i>luyé</i>	<i>nohas_{ki}</i>	366
<i>gluba</i>	<i>kiba</i>	<i>jyabcha</i>	<i>kai</i>	<i>loki</i>	367
<i>taibar</i>	<i>chaiba</i>	<i>euncha</i>	<i>chunu</i>	<i>Topa</i>	368
<i>syappa</i>	<i>t_oba</i>	<i>grumcha</i>	<i>chónrmùne</i>	<i>Dupa ki</i>	369
<i>paba</i>	<i>yebiba</i>	<i>figaycha</i>	<i>tirnu</i>	<i>Tir ki</i>	370
<i>Moba</i>	<i>nilaba</i>	<i>reucha</i>	<i>dilagi</i>	<i>reTak ki</i>	371
<i>hwonba</i>	<i>whiba</i>	<i>Tapaischa</i>	<i>kháne</i>	<i>Tannak ki</i>	372
<i>kretpa</i>	<i>reba</i>	<i>korscha</i>	<i>giye</i>	<i>koreT ki</i>	373
<i>karba</i>	<i>t_as d_iiba</i>	<i>kraycha</i>	<i>khàthi</i>	<i>DaMa</i>	374
<i>rutpa</i>	<i>ruiba</i>	<i>nekcha</i>	<i>ruiba</i>	<i>chol</i>	375
<i>kuaba, quaba</i>	<i>kroba</i>	<i>banicha</i>	<i>durúchiye</i>	<i>mijā</i>	376
<i>pyaba</i>	<i>puj d_iiba</i>	<i>puscha</i>	<i>pusnu</i>	<i>siT ki</i>	377
<i>min tanba, can tanba</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>ghe</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>myer min</i>	378
XXVII. Adjectives					
<i>mokun, yarnun, yakkun, kyaMnun</i>	<i>t_an</i>	<i>nell</i>	<i>dòkkă</i>	<i>poTTo</i>	379
<i>aje_{ba}</i>	<i>achab</i>	<i>morimso</i>	<i>bamlá</i>	<i>mas che</i>	380
<i>hajeM</i>	<i>t_eba</i>	<i>theb</i>	<i>tádă</i>	<i>baRako</i>	381
<i>kidi, kridi</i>	<i>achyaba, baila</i>	<i>maila</i>	<i>for</i>	<i>chascha</i>	382
<i>karba</i>	<i>kar</i>	<i>S'ohso</i>	<i>swe</i>	<i>chopha</i>	383
<i>udid_i, cagi</i>	<i>cukuTi</i>	<i>ichka</i>	<i>bati'cha</i>	<i>chegja</i>	384
<i>naMba, pliMba</i>	<i>pliba</i>	<i>syush</i>	<i>ja</i>	<i>heppa</i>	385
<i>jyaba, jeba</i>	<i>cēba</i>	<i>rimsho</i>	<i>bhi</i>	<i>seche</i>	386
<i>koMba</i>	<i>yo</i>	<i>gui</i>	<i>pati</i>	<i>mihuT</i>	387
<i>jyeba</i>	<i>ciamali</i>	<i>thomaS'ip</i>	<i>hané</i>	<i>bar poD che</i>	388
<i>reMba</i>	<i>riMyo</i>	<i>laisso</i>	<i>tahā</i>	<i>loT cha</i>	389
<i>lanan, danna, yarnen</i>	<i>lele / bele</i>	<i>S'uS'</i>	<i>phùjja/tah</i>	<i>DhaliM</i>	390
<i>utiba</i>	<i>chirba</i>	<i>kochreko</i>	<i>kāti</i>	<i>mar cha</i>	391
<i>char</i>	<i>car</i>	<i>nak</i>	<i>niw</i>	<i>minam</i>	392
<i>keppa 'animate', bokTo 'inanimate'</i>	<i>sioka</i>	<i>checo</i>	<i>buRa</i>	<i>ToTreya</i>	393
<i>ciMai</i>	<i>siu</i>	<i>kaca</i>	<i>kóchi</i>	<i>mibil</i>	394
<i>naiba</i>	<i>krahba</i>	<i>eahso</i>	<i>karab</i>	<i>gerel cha</i>	395
<i>demba</i>	<i>MiTaba</i>	<i>thoma</i>	<i>ba/kha</i>	<i>secha</i>	396
<i>liba, kinbari akamba</i>	<i>pleku</i>	<i>prolso</i>	<i>bigreko</i>	<i>maridcha</i>	397
<i>luba</i>	<i>syur</i>	<i>rol</i>	<i>déne</i>	<i>Dat Di ki</i>	398
<i>cyarba</i>	<i>carba</i>	<i>chu</i>	<i>tikkôr</i>	<i>gem cha</i>	399

COMPARATIVE LEXICON - SELECTED 500 LEXICAL ITEMS
NON-PRONOMINALISED TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES IN SIKKIM

SLNo.	ENGLISH GLOSS	BHOTIA	TIBETAN	LEPCHA
400	short	<i>t^huM t^huM</i>	<i>t^huM t^huM</i>	<i>atàn</i>
401	some	<i>aCícik / lala</i>	<i>k^haS'e</i>	<i>S'itetre</i>
402	small	<i>c^huM c^huM</i>	<i>c^huM c^huM</i>	<i>ciw</i>
403	smart	<i>jaje</i>	<i>corpoc`en</i>	<i>arimbu</i>
404	smooth	<i>Jampó</i>	<i>jampo´</i>	<i>arim</i>
405	soft	<i>M'yóp M'yóp</i>	<i>jampa´</i>	<i>al?al (muM mugli)</i>
406	straight	<i>k^haṭ^hu / ḍanpó</i>	<i>k^haduk</i>	<i>anáM</i>
407	strength	<i>S'úk</i>	<i>S'uk / M'yam ṭ^hup</i>	<i>atombu</i>
408	thick	<i>ṭ^húṭa</i>	<i>ṭ^hokpo´</i>	<i>atoM</i>
409	thin	<i>sáp sáp</i>	<i>ḥ rap ḥ rap</i>	<i>asap</i>
410	ugly	<i>kyú kyú</i>	<i>ḍ`oM'e´</i>	<i>ajyen</i>
411	vice	<i>ḍiku</i>	<i>ḍigpa´</i>	
412	virtue	<i>géwá</i>	<i>gewa´</i>	<i>sam sakchin</i>
413	warm	<i>midre / ḍinpó</i>	<i>ṭ^hropo´</i>	<i>ahrím</i>
414	weak	<i>M'an mipó</i>	<i>s`ukpo´ M'y`ampa´</i>	<i>asyenbu</i>
415	wet	<i>j`enpó / l`unpó</i>	<i>l`empo´</i>	<i>asel</i>
416	wide	<i>S'a´r</i>	<i>gyac^h`enpo´</i>	<i>thoMtheMbu</i>
417	wild	<i>ma ṭol k^hen</i>	<i>k^hy`oMpo´</i>	<i>dup</i>
418	wise	<i>k^hṭa</i>	<i>k^hy`epo´ / k<sup>h</sup>y`epa´</i>	<i>numyomchan</i>
XXVIII. Functional Words				
419	east	<i>S'`ar</i>	<i>S'y`ar</i>	<i>ciklát</i>
420	end	<i>júk</i>	<i>ṭ^ha ḥ</i>	<i>pal</i>
421	far	<i>ṭ^hariM / ṭ^hakriM</i>	<i>ṭ^hagri´M</i>	<i>lotta</i>
422	left side	<i>yoncók</i>	<i>y`eMc<sup>h</sup>`ok</i>	<i>jiyoM</i>
423	middle	<i>barm / buna</i>	<i>kil</i>	<i>dékbu</i>
424	near	<i>ṭ^haM'i / bolokk^ha / ḍúnlo</i>	<i>ṭ^hakM'i</i>	<i>athol</i>
425	north	<i>jyóM</i>	<i>c^haM</i>	<i>sugyòM</i>
426	out	<i>náṭe / p^hilo</i>	<i>c^hil`ok</i>	<i>leyom oM</i>
427	right side/hand	<i>yecók</i>	<i>y`e c<sup>h</sup>`ok / y`epá</i>	<i>gMomkon</i>
428	south	<i>ṭ^hó</i>	<i>ḥ l`o</i>	<i>chuksuM</i>
429	again	<i>lókçen</i>	<i>yaMky`er</i>	<i>sṭhadola</i>
430	always	<i>aṭ`AM / aṭ`ArAM / nám maça</i>	<i>ṭ^henṭ^hú</i>	<i>eiMsiM</i>
431	before	<i>M'yenli</i>	<i>ḍoMla / Momá</i>	<i>nahan</i>
432	daily	<i>M'yím cami</i>	<i>namgin</i>	<i>?ulodo/rimsi</i>
433	day	<i>M'yíma</i>	<i>nyima</i>	<i>sṭknyem</i>
434	evening	<i>p^hiCám</i>	<i>c^hiruk / p^hiruk</i>	<i>nakmèn</i>
435	fast/quick	<i>gyöp / mala</i>	<i>gy`okpo´</i>	<i>cheoMla</i>
436	full moon day	<i>CicenM`ya</i>	<i>ḍawa sa kawá</i>	
437	late	<i>p^hṭi</i>	<i>c^hipo´</i>	<i>anyók</i>

COMPARATIVE LEXICON - SELECTED 500 LEXICAL ITEMS
NON-PRONOMINALISED TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES IN SIKKIM

SHERPA
<i>thìrme</i>
<i>cek</i>
<i>tíkpe</i>
<i>zému</i>
<i>zémul</i>
<i>balmu</i>
<i>denpa</i>
<i>S'yuk</i>
<i>thúta</i>
<i>sap</i>
<i>melewa</i>
<i>kuijon</i>
<i>gewa</i>
<i>Candijób</i>
<i>Merme</i>
<i>lunpo</i>
<i>Sar</i>
<i>S'erpacém</i>
<i>khita</i>
<i>S'yar</i>
<i>àiM</i>
<i>thariM</i>
<i>yenbi chyók</i>
<i>kúMtu</i>
<i>chàla</i>
<i>chyáM</i>
<i>nale</i>
<i>lakpà</i>
<i>lhõ</i>
<i>lòhoM</i>
<i>namiaM</i>
<i>toMlá</i>
<i>takpar</i>
<i>Min</i>
<i>gómu</i>
<i>tubu</i>
<i>sécena</i>
<i>phimu</i>

COMPARATIVE LEXICON - SELECTED 500 LEXICAL ITEMS
NON-PRONOMINALISED TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES IN SIKKIM

TAMANG	GURUNG	SUNWAR	NEWARI	MANGARI	Sl.No.
<i>tunba</i>	<i>re ɖu</i>	<i>puS'tum</i>	<i>chi/pathi</i>	<i>Tun cha</i>	400
<i>udidi , cagi</i>	<i>cukuTi</i>	<i>morai</i>	<i>su</i>	<i>koiko</i>	401
<i>utiba , jaja</i>	<i>cuba</i>	<i>imchi</i>	<i>chi</i>	<i>maja</i>	402
<i>yalyel</i>	<i>reba seba</i>	<i>citikai</i>	<i>thasi</i>	<i>pur ti lo</i>	403
<i>cowcow</i>	<i>Mya Mya</i>	<i>chilchil</i>	<i>chulu</i>	<i>Mecha</i>	404
<i>nyemba</i>	<i>Mya Mya</i>	<i>musmus</i>	<i>naiyu</i>	<i>molayem</i>	405
	<i>so dh</i>	<i>thaita</i>	<i>sida</i>	<i>soja</i>	406
<i>boMba</i>	<i>vohba</i>	<i>dombo</i>	<i>ballamma</i>	<i>phes</i>	407
<i>ruMba</i>	<i>ruBa</i>	<i>thais</i>	<i>gasi</i>	<i>TeTcha</i>	408
<i>paja</i>	<i>proba</i>	<i>S'omso</i>	<i>chepto</i>	<i>lui re</i>	409
<i>ajeBa</i>	<i>achyeba</i>	<i>morimso</i>	<i>bamlá</i>	<i>mas cha</i>	410
<i>kai</i>	<i>chioDe</i>	<i>wāisal</i>	<i>wāisal</i>	<i>pap</i>	411
<i>jeba</i>	<i>Tasij</i>		<i>satá</i>	<i>punye</i>	412
<i>leppa</i>	<i>Toba</i>	<i>hoso</i>	<i>kwa</i>	<i>khan cha</i>	413
<i>rikpa, jutpa</i>	<i>proba</i>	<i>mochap</i>	<i>néya</i>	<i>ruTna</i>	414
<i>bamba</i>	<i>siun</i>	<i>yitso</i>	<i>bhijeko</i>	<i>chok</i>	415
<i>hajeM</i>	<i>khaniToTan</i>	<i>laisso</i>	<i>ah</i>	<i>farek</i>	416
<i>rila</i>	<i>panarbai</i>	<i>pwako</i>	<i>jaMáli</i>	<i>jangeli</i>	417
<i>kenpo</i>	<i>rebaseb</i>	<i>thoma</i>	<i>buddhi</i>	<i>wrcha</i>	418
XXVIII. Functional Words					
<i>syar</i>	<i>sia</i>	<i>pero</i>	<i>pusúpa</i>	<i>purba</i>	419
<i>tumba</i>	<i>khai</i>	<i>thumcha</i>	<i>uli</i>	<i>DuM</i>	420
<i>tareM</i>	<i>rego</i>	<i>dihso</i>	<i>tapá</i>	<i>los</i>	421
<i>lom</i>	<i>Torkya</i>	<i>aganal</i>	<i>kawa</i>	<i>debre poTi k</i>	422
<i>guM</i>	<i>majer</i>	<i>adih</i>	<i>dàTwi</i>	<i>mig gyeM</i>	423
<i>Mam</i>	<i>chedhō</i>	<i>netha</i>	<i>napā'</i>	<i>ke rep</i>	424
<i>lo</i>	<i>lhō</i>	<i>getha</i>	<i>yu</i>	<i>utter</i>	425
<i>muMer , pirgep</i>	<i>pairu</i>	<i>tuMa</i>	<i>có ye</i>	<i>khe ki</i>	426
<i>daine glari/ya</i>	<i>kiyola yo</i>	<i>agetha</i>	<i>agetha</i>	<i>daine poTTi k</i>	427
<i>jyaM</i>	<i>coM</i>	<i>dakS'in</i>	<i>daken</i>	<i>dakkin</i>	428
<i>dappen , dosi</i>	<i>Te</i>	<i>fieles</i>	<i>feri</i>	<i>khal</i>	429
<i>rerenun</i>	<i>yukurna</i>	<i>natre</i>	<i>nabele</i>	<i>S'a Dei</i>	430
<i>Maca , hondoM</i>	<i>aso</i>	<i>mait</i>	<i>napa</i>	<i>Mas</i>	431
<i>rerenun</i>	<i>yukurna</i>	<i>natkhohi</i>	<i>nhi nhi</i>	<i>yakoi</i>	432
<i>ray , kunu</i>	<i>thihā</i>	<i>nah</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>yak</i>	433
<i>nya se</i>	<i>Meser</i>	<i>nado</i>	<i>sanná</i>	<i>nabi laM</i>	434
<i>yu na , yo na</i>	<i>Mina</i>	<i>jyurchi</i>	<i>yàkkana</i>	<i>milik</i>	435
<i>nya</i>	<i>purni</i>	<i>tasla</i>	<i>purnema</i>	<i>gyohaT naliM</i>	436
<i>gaina</i>	<i>kaheba</i>	<i>molay</i>	<i>liwai</i>	<i>abela</i>	437

COMPARATIVE LEXICON - SELECTED 500 LEXICAL ITEMS
NON-PRONOMINALISED TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES IN SIKKIM

Sl.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	BHOTIA	TIBETAN	LEPCHA
438	month	<i>dawa / dā</i>	<i>dawá</i>	<i>lawolneom</i>
439	morning	<i>dópanadó</i>	<i>M`apo`</i>	<i>Tulo</i>
440	night	<i>p^hiru</i>	<i>c^h`emo`</i>	<i>hap</i>
441	season	<i>dúCo</i>	<i>namdui</i>	<i>namtun</i>
442	today	<i>d^hariM</i>	<i>t^hariM</i>	<i>zuròM</i>
443	tomorrow	<i>t^horaM</i>	<i>saM M`i</i>	<i>tukkál</i>
444	yesterday	<i>dAM</i>	<i>k^h`asa`M</i>	<i>thaS`o</i>
445	after/afterwards	<i>gyáp^{le}</i>	<i>Jemá</i>	<i>alo`M</i>
446	behind	<i>gy`ap<sup>le</sup> / gy`apM`ole</i>	<i>gy`ap t^o`</i>	<i>tugùM</i>
447	between	<i>bana / barna</i>	<i>p^harla</i>	<i>abéka</i>
448	by	<i>gi / Cále</i>	<i>M`yam t^hu</i>	<i>lem</i>
449	down	<i>méd^{lo} / f^húkle</i>	<i>f^h`oklá</i>	<i>sosòM</i>
450	for	<i>d^henlé / d^hunlé</i>	<i>c`edu`</i>	<i>S`a</i>
451	from	<i>le / ñe / Cále</i>	<i>n`e</i>	<i>lo`m</i>
452	he/she	<i>k^hú / k^ho / mú / mò</i>	<i>k^h`o (he)/ m`o (she)</i>	<i>hi</i>
453	to her, to him	<i>múraM / múlo (to her) / khúraM / khúlo (to him)</i>	<i>mol`a (to her)/ kh`ol`a (to him)</i>	<i>h`dusa</i>
454	here	<i>nák^ha / d^hik^ha</i>	<i>d`ir</i>	<i>abi</i>
455	his/her	<i>k^hui / k^hoMi</i>	<i>k^hoki (his)/moyi (her)</i>	<i>htdosa</i>
456	how	<i>g^haté(y)</i>	<i>g`aCe</i>	<i>slòm</i>
457	I	<i>Má</i>	<i>Ma`</i>	<i>abi</i>
458	it / this	<i>dí</i>	<i>d^hi`f<sup>h</sup> / d<sup>h</sup>i` (it)/ th`e (this)</i>	<i>are</i>
459	to it / to this	<i>dílo</i>	<i>d^hi`la (to it)/ th`elá (to this)</i>	<i>h`dusa tuanka</i>
460	its / of this	<i>díyi</i>	<i>d^hi f^h i` (its)/ th`eyi (of this)</i>	<i>aresa</i>
461	like	<i>d^hrábo</i>	<i>drapó</i>	<i>alyok / go</i>
462	to me	<i>Malo</i>	<i>Malá</i>	<i>kisjum</i>
463	my	<i>Mái / ñe</i>	<i>M`e</i>	<i>kisjsa</i>
464	our	<i>Macíye</i>	<i>Manc^hui</i>	
465	not	<i>mén / ma</i>	<i>mare</i>	<i>mogon</i>
466	so / thus	<i>díyi / bya</i>	<i>k^ha t^hey / k^ha t^hi</i>	<i>kaih</i>
467	that	<i>p^hídi</i>	<i>p^h`agi</i>	<i>ure</i>
468	to them	<i>k^hoMló</i>	<i>k^honc^hola / t^hec^hola</i>	<i>heyum</i>
469	then	<i>odíyi / gAM / `onalé</i>	<i>d`ene/ t^hene</i>	<i>?en</i>
470	those	<i>`odí`C`u</i>	<i>p<sup>h</sup>`anc^ho</i>	<i>une</i>
471	there	<i>p^híña</i>	<i>p^h`agey / p<sup>h</sup>`age</i>	<i>obi</i>
472	they	<i>k^h`oMC`u</i>	<i>k^honc^ho`</i>	<i>hiyú</i>
473	their	<i>k^hoMgi</i>	<i>k^honc^hu`i/ k<sup>h</sup>onc<sup>h</sup>uy`i</i>	<i>hiyuS`a</i>

COMPARATIVE LEXICON - SELECTED 500 LEXICAL ITEMS
NON-PRONOMINALISED TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES IN SIKKIM

SHERPA
<i>lah</i>
<i>tòplá</i>
<i>núpla</i>
<i>thuCo</i>
<i>hariM</i>
<i>sála</i>
<i>da</i>
<i>tiMla, zeal</i>
<i>gyapla</i>
<i>Càmla</i>
<i>néma</i>
<i>hókla</i>
<i>móla</i>
<i>néh</i>
<i>khó / mo</i>
<i>móla</i>
<i>déh</i>
<i>khói / mói</i>
<i>Cukkyá</i>
<i>na</i>
<i>dí</i>
<i>dílā</i>
<i>díha</i>
<i>semdóp</i>
<i>nala</i>
<i>Me</i>
<i>ore</i>
<i>min</i>
<i>dukyā</i>
<i>tíh</i>
<i>tíwala</i>
<i>kyáwi / tamā</i>
<i>dítíwa</i>
<i>the</i>
<i>téwa</i>
<i>koMgi</i>

COMPARATIVE LEXICON - SELECTED 500 LEXICAL ITEMS
NON-PRONOMINALISED TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES IN SIKKIM

TAMANG	GURUNG	SUNWAR	NEWARI	MANGARI	Sl.No.
<i>la</i>	<i>kun ɽu</i>	<i>sin</i>	<i>lah</i>	<i>sahak</i>	438
<i>S'yo</i>	<i>nagha</i>	<i>sunī</i>	<i>suThé</i>	<i>gorak</i>	439
<i>muna , top</i>	<i>mais</i>	<i>nam</i>	<i>boni</i>	<i>nambik</i>	440
<i>yamdui</i>	<i>casu</i>	<i>bela</i>	<i>ritú</i>	<i>chayaM</i>	441
<i>tini</i>	<i>ṭiyā</i>	<i>munat</i>	<i>thoM</i>	<i>chiniM</i>	442
<i>naMar , namsyo</i>	<i>pana</i>	<i>disa</i>	<i>kanhé</i>	<i>pyoM rak</i>	443
<i>tila</i>	<i>tel</i>	<i>sinat</i>	<i>míga</i>	<i>Tise min</i>	444
<i>tela licca</i>	<i>culi</i>	<i>meknolay, mekle</i>	<i>lipá</i>	<i>minhu lok</i>	445
<i>licca , gyapse</i>	<i>liso/ li</i>	<i>anolay</i>	<i>liwne</i>	<i>liso</i>	446
<i>guMri</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>bic</i>	<i>napá</i>	<i>mig gyen</i>	447
<i>seo</i>	<i>ḍe</i>	<i>sumi</i>	<i>pakhē</i>	<i>lekiM</i>	448
<i>mar</i>	<i>mai, mayi</i>	<i>?akem</i>	<i>kuni</i>	<i>maklak</i>	449
<i>da</i>	<i>lagir</i>	<i>khali</i>	<i>yatá</i>	<i>knaMi</i>	450
<i>rance</i>	<i>wale</i>	<i>re</i>	<i>yē</i>	<i>lekiM</i>	451
<i>te</i>	<i>cha</i>	<i>?a</i>	<i>wā</i>	<i>ase</i>	452
<i>teda</i>	<i>chalai</i>	<i>goin</i>	<i>wānapā</i>	<i>askoki</i>	453
<i>cu ri , iTri</i>	<i>churi</i>	<i>eker</i>	<i>thāna</i>	<i>ila</i>	454
<i>tela</i>	<i>chal</i>	<i>ama</i>	<i>wāita</i>	<i>askum</i>	455
<i>katlasi , kadelasi, katpa</i>	<i>khaili</i>	<i>dapa</i>	<i>gaté yāna</i>	<i>kuTe</i>	456
<i>Ma</i>	<i>Ma</i>	<i>go</i>	<i>ji</i>	<i>Ma</i>	457
<i>cu</i>	<i>chu</i>	<i>aka</i>	<i>tho</i>	<i>ise</i>	458
<i>cuda</i>	<i>chulai</i>	<i>mekho</i>	<i>goMa</i>	<i>iski</i>	459
<i>cula</i>	<i>chui</i>	<i>mekhor</i>	<i>tho</i>	<i>isyo</i>	460
<i>raMba , taMba</i>	<i>khoba</i>	<i>daw</i>	<i>yé</i>	<i>lyak cha</i>	461
<i>Mada</i>	<i>Malai</i>	<i>akal</i>	<i>ji</i>	<i>Maki</i>	462
<i>Mala</i>	<i>Mai</i>	<i>?ā</i>	<i>jigu</i>	<i>Mou</i>	463
<i>hyaMla</i>	<i>Myola</i>	<i>aman</i>	<i>jhígu</i>	<i>kanuk</i>	464
<i>ain</i>	<i>aMi</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>ma</i>	465
<i>hotselama</i>	<i>cha ṭasi</i>	<i>?omin</i>	<i>wáh</i>	<i>ijaTna</i>	466
<i>oza</i>	<i>cha</i>	<i>meker</i>	<i>wa</i>	<i>hose</i>	467
<i>teMda</i>	<i>chamai lai</i>	<i>tiniharuko</i>	<i>tineha</i>	<i>hokherlak</i>	468
<i>oS'em , hozahinse</i>	<i>litā</i>	<i>jaba</i>	<i>jaba</i>	<i>hokarikuM</i>	469
<i>tenidugu</i>	<i>chamai</i>	<i>junchai</i>	<i>wáhpī</i>	<i>hokarik</i>	470
<i>hozri , teri</i>	<i>chari</i>	<i>mekher</i>	<i>?a na</i>	<i>hola</i>	471
<i>teyma , teni , tedugu</i>	<i>chamai</i>	<i>mepuik</i>	<i>ipī</i>	<i>hor kurik</i>	472
<i>teila , tedugula</i>	<i>chamail</i>	<i>?an</i>	<i>?ana</i>	<i>horkum</i>	473

COMPARATIVE LEXICON - SELECTED 500 LEXICAL ITEMS
NON-PRONOMINALISED TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES IN SIKKIM

SLNo.	ENGLISH GLOSS	BHOTIA	TIBETAN	LEPCHA
474	these	<i>d̥i' Cú</i>	<i>d̥' enc^h o'</i>	<i>are</i>
475	to us	<i>Macaló</i>	<i>Manc^h o' la</i>	<i>kayusa</i>
476	we	<i>Macá</i>	<i>Manc^h o'</i>	<i>kayú</i>
477	what	<i>gan / kan / gambo</i>	<i>k^h ar' e</i>	<i>S'u</i>
478	when	<i>nan / nam</i>	<i>k^h a d̥ui'</i>	<i>s̥iṭha</i>
479	where	<i>ganá</i>	<i>k^h awa'</i>	<i>S'ibi</i>
480	who	<i>ka</i>	<i>su'</i>	<i>tusa</i>
481	whose	<i>kai</i>	<i>sue'</i>	<i>tusam</i>
482	whom	<i>kaló</i>	<i>s' ula'</i>	<i>toram</i>
483	you	<i>čA / raM</i>	<i>k^h e (honorific) kh'eraM (ordinary)</i>	<i>ho</i>
484	to you	<i>cAló, raMlo</i>	<i>k^h ela (honorific) / kh'eraMla (ordinary)</i>	<i>ayus'a</i>
485	your	<i>ceyi / raMki</i>	<i>k^h eraMk^h i'</i>	<i>h̥idosā</i>
486	year	<i>l^h 'o</i>	<i>l' o / lo fi</i>	<i>nam</i>
487	and	<i>dAM</i>	<i>d̥' aM / t̥^h ' aM</i>	<i>?in</i>
488	at	<i>na</i>	<i>l' a</i>	<i>ka re</i>
489	if	<i>gési</i>	<i>n' e / yina</i>	<i>permit</i>
490	in	<i>nalo / naMlo</i>	<i>naM / naMla</i>	<i>ka</i>
XXIX. Mixed Words				
491	wave	<i>baláp</i>	<i>wa' l' uM</i>	
492	ancestor	<i>gy ʈ d̥ / p^h a d̥ aM ma gy ʈ d̥ / jop^h am</i>	<i>m' i fi po'</i>	<i>nyutiM</i>
493	brother-in-Law	<i>aju gyobú</i>	<i>keme ki' p' u (wife's brother)/ khyoga ki' p' u (husband's brother)</i>	<i>myok</i>
494	sister-in-Law	<i>ahi gyumí</i>	<i>keme ki' p' om' o (wife's sister)/ khyega ki' p' om' o (husband's sister)</i>	<i>azoM</i>
495	mouse	<i>bici</i>	<i>ci' ci</i>	<i>kalak</i>
496	spider	<i>bakà / baà</i>	<i>l^h om</i>	<i>sunreoM</i>
497	beard	<i>gya</i>	<i>gy' a / gya fi</i>	<i>keyut</i>
498	moustache	<i>gyarók / gyarú</i>	<i>k^h apu</i>	<i>muMmat</i>
499	navel	<i>ti fi o</i>	<i>t̥i wa'</i>	<i>baklim</i>
500	mirror	<i>mílAM</i>	<i>mel' oM</i>	<i>miluM</i>

COMPARATIVE LEXICON - SELECTED 500 LEXICAL ITEMS
NON-PRONOMINALISED TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES IN SIKKIM

SHERPA
<i>diwa</i>
<i>Macalo</i>
<i>Mi'ra</i>
<i>kaM</i>
<i>nām</i>
<i>kāne</i>
<i>sú</i>
<i>kai</i>
<i>sam</i>
<i>kíre</i>
<i>raMlo</i>
<i>RaMki</i>
<i>lho</i>
<i>tam</i>
<i>teMla</i>
<i>si / siM</i>
<i>la</i>
<i>bhālap</i>
<i>phāma</i>
<i>ajugyopu</i>
<i>gyumi</i>
<i>peh</i>
<i>balzáM</i>
<i>gyap</i>
<i>géyrok</i>
<i>návi</i>
<i>aina</i>

COMPARATIVE LEXICON - SELECTED 500 LEXICAL ITEMS
NON-PRONOMINALISED TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES IN SIKKIM

TAMANG	GURUNG	SUNWAR	NEWARI	MANGARI	Sl.No.
<i>cunidugu</i>	<i>chu</i>	<i>mekhe</i>	<i>thupĩ</i>	<i>hose</i>	474
<i>hyaMda</i>	<i>Milai</i>	<i>hamro</i>	<i>hamo</i>	<i>kanko lak</i>	475
<i>hyaM</i>	<i>Mi</i>	<i>gopuik</i>	<i>jhipĩ</i>	<i>kan kurik</i>	476
<i>tik</i>	<i>toh</i>	<i>mar</i>	<i>chu</i>	<i>hi</i>	477
<i>kaima , kema</i>	<i>khōya</i>	<i>gina</i>	<i>gawá ye</i>	<i>sen</i>	478
<i>kairi</i>	<i>khannir</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>gana</i>	<i>kula</i>	479
<i>kala</i>	<i>khau</i>	<i>su</i>	<i>su</i>	<i>su</i>	480
<i>kalla</i>	<i>khabal</i>	<i>sú</i>	<i>su</i>	<i>su</i>	481
<i>kalda</i>	<i>khablai</i>	<i>sukali</i>	<i>suko</i>	<i>suki</i>	482
<i>ye</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>goi</i>	<i>cha</i>	<i>naku</i>	483
<i>yeda, aida</i>	<i>kilai</i>	<i>goikali</i>	<i>cha</i>	<i>naku ki</i>	484
<i>yela</i>	<i>kyola / khila</i>	<i>einke</i>	<i>chógu</i>	<i>nakuM</i>	485
<i>diM</i>	<i>salahi</i>	<i>saisato</i>	<i>barsa</i>	<i>lis</i>	486
<i>osem, ten</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>minu</i>	<i>wah</i>	<i>Da</i>	487
<i>ri</i>	<i>ri</i>	<i>nu</i>	<i>dúne</i>	<i>maM</i>	488
<i>bisam</i>	<i>ya <u>dh</u> e</i>	<i>?ana</i>	<i>?á na</i>	<i>yaDi</i>	489
<i>naM</i>	<i>ri</i>	<i>min</i>	<i>dúne</i>	<i>aM</i>	490
XXIX. Mixed Words					
<i>syoM lare</i>	<i>chal</i>	<i>dipam</i>	<i>hayei</i>	<i>kes ki</i>	491
<i>tetma</i>	<i>khema mae</i>	<i>purkha</i>	<i>purkha</i>	<i>jyAb ju</i>	492
<i>ma, syaMbo</i>	<i>mho, auMo</i>	<i>Dagyo</i>	<i>Dazu</i>	<i>jwai</i>	493
<i>caM</i>	<i>chor</i>	<i>pobu</i>	<i>bhow</i>	<i>khoM khoM</i>	494
<i>namnyu , namyuM</i>	<i>nimi</i>	<i>musa</i>	<i>chũ ’</i>	<i>byu</i>	495
<i>hwaM hwaM</i>	<i>th oMru</i>	<i>maku</i>		<i>gharuwa</i>	496
<i>maMrey</i>	<i>tar</i>	<i>daRi</i>	<i>wō</i>	<i>mimur</i>	497
<i>suMrey</i>	<i>mhor / mor t</i>	<i>juMga</i>	<i>oĩ</i>	<i>mimur</i>	498
<i>pede, pete</i>	<i>pa <u>d</u> e</i>	<i>pete</i>	<i>naito</i>	<i>mepeRre</i>	499
<i>meloM</i>	<i>Tarban</i>	<i>mecim</i>	<i>ehèkka</i>	<i>ayi na</i>	500

COMPARATIVE LEXICON - SELECTED 500 LEXICAL ITEMS
NON-PRONOMINALISED TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES IN SIKKIM

Sl.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	BHOTIA	TIBETAN	LEPCHA
--------	---------------	--------	---------	--------

COMPARATIVE LEXICON - SELECTED 500 LEXICAL ITEMS
NON-PRONOMINALISED TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES IN SIKKIM

SHERPA

COMPARATIVE LEXICON - SELECTED 500 LEXICAL ITEMS
NON-PRONOMINALISED TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES IN SIKKIM

TAMANG	GURUNG	SUNWAR	NEWARI	MANGARI	Sl.No.
--------	--------	--------	--------	---------	--------